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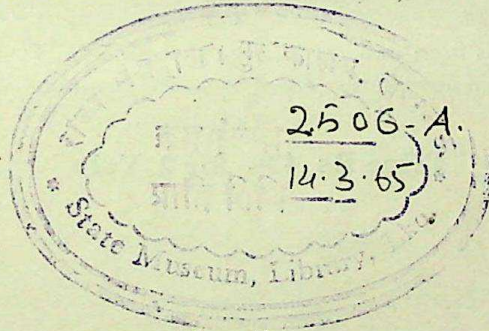
भारतीयाधिशसनसंरक्षकतायां प्रकाशितम्
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THE
ASHTĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀNINI

EDITED & TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

LATE ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU



VOL. I

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
DELHI :: VARANASI :: PATNA

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ग्रन्थोऽयं भारतीयाधिशसनविनियोजितावश्यकालभ्यसंस्कृतग्रंथ-
पुनर्मुद्रणयोजनायां प्रकाशितः ।

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Vol. I

*"The book is being published and sold under the orders of the
District Judge, Varanasi in regular
Suit No. 36 of 1962".*

TO THE

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORD-
SHIP'S SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRA-
TION OF JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

THE HISTORY OF THE
INDIAN EMPIRE
FROM THE EARLIEST
TO THE PRESENT
BY
J. H. M. J. VAN DER
KAMPE
TRANSLATED
BY
J. H. M. J. VAN DER
KAMPE

FOREWORD

Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī represents the first attempt in the history of the world to describe and analyse the components of a language on scientific lines. It can be rightly said to be a monument of a perfected art whose chief interest lies not in what the described material should be but in what it is. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Aṣṭādhyāyī has not only been universally acclaimed as the first and foremost specimen of Descriptive Grammar but has also been the chief source of inspiration of linguists engaged in describing languages all the world over.

Brevity, it is said, is the soul of wit and it is not surprising that the most cherished objective of the descriptive grammarian, according to Patañjali, should be the brevity underlying such description. The Paṇinian tradition stands unsurpassed in the greatest economy of words in describing linguistic features.

The Paṇini Office, Allahabad brought out an edition of the work with the English translation of the text and a free rendering of Kāśīkavṛtti by the late S.C. Vasu towards the close of the last century. As the edition has long been out of print and its want was being felt by scholars in India and abroad, the Ministry of Education have sponsored the reprinting of the book under their "Scheme of reprinting of important out-of-print Sanskrit works".

I hope, the reprint will be widely welcomed in the scholarly world. The efforts of Messrs. Motilal Banarsidass in bringing out this work deserve commendation.

Ministry of Education
NEW DELHI.

R. P. NAIK

PREFACE

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundations of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest philosophies and religions of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of this language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature of this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that depth and fulness with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To properly understand Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *viz.*, the Vedas, the Brâhmanas, the Upanishads &c, it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pânini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study with every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashtâdhyâyî of Pânini has fulfilled the same purpose in India. No one who has studied this book can refrain from praising it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the west. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar:—"The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pânini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-reading gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translation of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pânini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary, called the Kâsikâ. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of Kâsikâ, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where

[2]

necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the *Kāśikā* in the original.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *aṣṭa Adhyāyas*, i. e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *pādas* or chapters. It has thus been found suitable to publish the work in 32 parts without causing any inconvenience to the reader. The complete work will cover about 2,000 pages Royal Octavo. The task of translating, printing and publishing such an enormous work will entail great labour and expense. We are, therefore, forced to appeal to the generous public for their patronage so that this undertaking may be brought to a successful termination.

The rates of its subscription are as follow :—

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Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, C. s., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Pānini Office }
Allahabad. }

THE PUBLISHER.

THE
ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

ओ३न् परमात्मने नमः

Salutation to the Supreme Spirit.

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् ॥

Now an explanation of words.

The term अथ "now" in the sūtra indicates a commencement, and points out that a dissertation is to be offered on the science of words, viz. Grammar and Philology. The term अनुशासन means explanation of any system. This is an अधिकार sūtra, and introduces the subject.

An aphorism or sūtra is of six kinds, संज्ञा or 'a definition,' परिभाषा or the 'key to interpretation,' विधि or 'the statement of a general rule,' नियम or 'a restrictive rule,' अधिकार or 'a head or governing rule, which exerts a directing or governing influence over other rules,' and अतिदेश or 'extended application by analogy.'

The Pratyāhāra Sūtras.

अइउण् । ऋलृक् । एओङ् । ऐऔच् । हयवरट् । लण् । जमङणनम् ।
कभज् । घढधष् । जवगङ्दश् । खफलठथचटतच् । कपय् । शषसर् । हल् ॥

The above fourteen aphorisms contain the arrangement of Sanskrit alphabets for grammatical purposes. The anusvāra and the visarga, the jihvā-mulīya and the upadh māniya are not contained in the above list. The final अ in the consonants ह, य &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. The final pure consonants in the several aphorisms as ण्, क्, ङ् &c., are non-efficient or इत्. The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and is formed by taking any letter which is not a non-efficient letter and joining it with any non-efficient letter that follows it. This gives a name which stands for the former non-efficient letter and for all the other letters intervening between it and the non-efficient letter. Thus अच् means all the vowels, हल् means all the consonants, जश् means all soft unaspirate consonants, चर् means all hard unaspirate consonants. Though numerous pratyāhāras could be formed, practically however, there are only 42 pratyāhāras ; as given below :—

एङ् । यञ् । अण् । छर् । अद् ॥ झष् । भष् ॥ अक् । इक् । उक् ॥ अण् । इण् । यण् ॥ अम् । यम् । ङम् । अच् । इच् । एच् ॥ ऐच् । यय् । मय् । भय् । खय् ॥ यर् । झर् । खर् । चर् । शर् ॥ अश् । हर् । वर् । झश् । जश् । वश् ॥ अल् । हल् । वल् । रल् । झल् । शल् ॥

The same letter ण् is made use of as अनुबन्ध or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sūtra लण् and in the first अइउण्. There arises consequently

INTRODUCTION.

2.

the doubt, whether the pratyâhâras अन् and उन् when they are employed in Pāṇini's Grammar are formed with the न् of the former or with the उन् of the latter sūtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pāṇini intended to denote by अन् and इन् when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhâṣhâ :—

“The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must nevertheless teach something definite.”

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अन् except in Sutra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the न् of the first sūtra and that the term इन् is formed by means of the उन् of the subsequent sūtra.

—:0:—

ओ३म्

पाणिनीयव्याकरणसूत्रवृत्तिः॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER FIRST.

वृद्धिरादैच् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, आत्-ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमादैच्चां वर्णानां सामान्येन तज्जावितानामतज्जा-
वितानांच ॥

1. आ, ऐ and औ are called vṛiddhi.

This defines the word vṛiddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛiddhi letters. The sūtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, ât and aich. आत् means the long आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyâhâra aich, and the pratyâhâra ऐच् means the letters ऐ and औ.

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very form आ having two mâtrâs or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mâtrâs only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mâtrâs may be more than two. A short vowel has one mâtrâ, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mâtrâ. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ + आ = आ, as महा + आशयः = महाशयः. Here हा has two mâtrâs and not four. So also in खट्वैडकः the vowel ऐ the resultant of आ + ऐ has only two, not four, mâtrâs.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns are vṛiddhi forms of their primitive vowels. आङ्गः "bodily", from अङ्ग; 'body' ऐच्छिकः "optional", from इच्छा "option"; औपगवः "the son of Upagu", from the word उपगुः meaning "a sage called Upagu." Similarly in शालीयः "belonging to the house" the आ is radical, and is also called vṛiddhi. The word vṛiddhi occurs in sūtras like सिचिवृद्धिपरस्मैपदेष्टु (VII. 2. 1.) "Let the final इक् of the base get vṛiddhi substitute before the affix सिच् of the Parasmaipada".

अदैङ् गुणः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्-एङ्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमदैङां वर्णानां सामान्येन तज्जावितानामतज्जा-
वितानाञ्च ॥

2. अ, ए and ओ are called guṇa.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a guṇa letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—अन्ति, "he

moves"; एति "he comes", ओखाति "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots कृ, इ, and उक् have been respectively gunated into अर्, ए, and ओ before the third person singular termination ति.

The term Guna occurs in sūtras like मिर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82). "Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root मिर् "to melt."

इको गुणवृद्धी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि॥ इकः । गुण-वृद्धी, (वृद्धिः, गुणः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिगुणौ स्वसंज्ञया (वृद्ध्या गुणेन वा) सिध्यमाणाविक एव स्थाने वेदितव्यौ ॥

3. In the absence of any special rule, whenever guṇa or vriddhi is enjoined about any expression by using the terms guṇa or vriddhi, it is to be understood to come in the room of the ik vowels only (i, u, ri, and li long and short,) of that expression.

This is a paribhāṣhā sūtra, and is useful in determining the original letters, in the place of which the substitute guṇa and vriddhi letters will come. The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular rule.

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 declares:—"when a sârvadhâtuka or an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is guṇa of the base." Here the sthâni or the original expression which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "ikah" must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base." The guṇa of इ or ई is ए; of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of कृ or कृ is अर्, of लृ is अल्; and their Vriddhi is ऐ, औ, आर् and आल् respectively. Thus नी + अति = ने + अति = नयति "he leads."

Therefore, wherever in any rule in this Grammar, guṇa or vriddhi is ordained by employing the terms guṇa or vriddhi, there the word "ikah" in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of ik", is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The word 'ik' is thus understood in the following rules, and is there qualified by the term अङ्गः or 'base':—मिर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82) मृजेईद्धिः (VII. 2. 114) पुगन्तलघूपथ &c., (VII. 3. 86); ऋच्छत्यृताम् (VII. 4. 11) ऋदृशोऽङिगुणः (VII. 4. 16) स्थूलसूयुव &c., (VI. 4. 156).

In the following sūtras, the term 'ik' is understood and qualifies the word ânga or base, जुसि च (VII. 3, 83), सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः (VII. 3, 84).

These sūtras will be explained in their proper places.

The word 'ik' has been used in the sūtra to show that the long आ, एच् or the diphthongs and हल् or the consonants, are not to take guṇa or vriddhi by this

rule, as in the following examples यानम् “a carriage”, ग्लायति “he feels aversion,” उम्भिता “confined.”

Here ग्लायति is formed by adding the affix तिप्, third person singular termination, with the class a affix शप्, to the root ग्लै; as ग्लै + शप् + तिप् = ग्लै + अ + ति. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base before the sârvadhâtuka termination अ; the guṇa substitute of ऐ being ए, there would be ग्लै + अति = ग्लयति. But this is wrong, the letter ऐ, being not included in the pratyâhâra ik, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no guṇa substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long आ of यानम्. Thus या + ल्युट् (III. 3. 115) = यानम् (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been guṇa by Rule VII. 3. 84, the आ of या, would have been changed into अ, and the form would have been यनम् which is wrong. But it is not so, as आ is not an इक् vowel. So also उम्भ् + इता = उम्भिता. Here, there is no guṇa substitution in the place of the consonant भ्.

The repetition of the words guṇa and vṛiddhi in this sūtra, though by अनुवृत्ति or the supplying of a word from the previous sūtra, these words followed from the two preceding sutras) is for the purpose of indicating that, this is a restrictive rule applicable only there, where guṇa or vṛiddhi has been ordained by the employment of the words guṇa or vṛiddhi. Therefore, it is not so in the following cases:—द्यौः “sky”, पन्थाः “way” सः “he,” इमम् “this.” द्यौः is the nominative singular of the base दिव्. It is formed by rule VII. 1. 84, which declares that “in the nominative singular the letter द्यौ takes the place of दिव्.” Here the letter द्यौ is no doubt a vṛiddhi letter, but as this substitution is not enjoined by the enunciation of the term vṛiddhi, द्यौ does not take the place of the vowel इ of दिव्, but it replaces the final व्. Thus दि + द्यौ + स् = द्यौः.

Similarly rule VII. 1. 85, declares that of the word पथिन्, आ is the substitute. The आ is a vṛiddhi letter no doubt, but not being enunciated by the term vṛiddhi, it takes the place of न् of पथिन् and not of इ. Thus we have पन्थाः, the न being added by VII. 1. 87.

Similarly सः from तद्, which is formed by VII. 2. 102 “short अ is the substitute of *tyad*, &c.,” Here अ takes the place of इ. Thus we have त, which is changed again into स by VII. 2. 106.

न धातुलोप आर्द्धधातु हे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , धातु-लोपे ,
आर्द्धधातुके, (गुणवृद्धी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वेकदेशो धातुस्तस्य लोपो यस्मिन्नार्द्धधातुके तस्यार्द्धधातुकं धातुलोपं तच्च ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥

4. The Guṇa and vṛiddhi substitutions, which otherwise would have presented themselves, do not

take place, when such an ârdhadhâtuka (III. 4. 114) affix follows, which causes a portion of the root to be elided

This is an exception to sūtra 3. By that sūtra iks were to be gunated or vriddhied and by sūtra VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before all ârdhadhâtuka terminations. All primary affixes, that are applied directly to roots in Sanskrit, are divided into two broad classes, called sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka. The affixes marked with an indicatory श (called शित्), and the conjugational affixes, such as तिप्, तः &c., (called तिङ्) are sârvadhâtuka; all other affixes are called ârdhadhâtuka.

Though by the general rule, VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before ârdhadhâtuka terminations, yet it is not to be so, before those affixes which cause the लोप 'lopping off or ellipses' of a portion or a member of the original dhātu. Thus the termination ख्यामि is a first person singular termination of the future tense (लृट्) and is an ârdhadhâtuka termination; when this is added to root जि 'to excel' the इ of जि becomes gunated and we have जेज्यामि "I shall or will excel." But in those cases where there is a lopa of the member of a root form, caused by an affix, there is no gunation. Thus in लोलुवः "a great cutter," the original root is लू "to cut" which forms the Intensive verb लोलूय. In forming the noun of agency from the verb लोलूय, an ârdhadhâtuka suffix अच् III. 1. 134, is added. Thus लोलूय + अच्. At this stage, by force of sūtra II. 4. 74. which declares that "before the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) the य of the Intensive verb must be suppressed," the ya is dropped and we have लोलू + अच्. Here by the general rule VII. 3. 84, the final ऊ would have been gunated. But by virtue of the present sūtra, no guṇa takes place, because here on account of the ârdhadhâtuka affix अच्, a portion of the root, namely, य, has been elided; therefore no guṇa takes place. Thus we have लोलुवः "a great cutter."

The word धातु "root" has been used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the exception does not apply where there is an elision of an anubandha or of an affix. As in लूञ् + इता = लो + इता = लविता. Here the indicatory letter ञ् has been elided, but that does not prevent gunation. Similarly in रेङ् the affix विष् is added to the root रिष् "to injure." Thus रिष् + विष् (III. 2. 75.) = रिष् + व् (I. 3. 2. and 3.) = रिष् + ० (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix व् is elided, but nevertheless, the guṇa substitute must take place in रिष्. Thus we have रिष् + ० = रेष् (VII. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62) = रेङ् (VIII. 2. 39).

The word ârdhadhâtuka has been used to indicate that a sârvadhâtuka affix which causes the elision of a portion of a root, does not prevent guṇa or vriddhi as in रोरवीति, (Rig Veda IV. 58. 3) "he roars much." रु + यङ् = रोरुव (III. 1. 22). रोरुव + तिप् = रोरु + ति (II. 4. 74.). Here the sârvadhâtuka

affix तिप् causes the elision of च, a portion of the root. The guṇa substitution however takes place, and we have रोरो + ई + ति (VII. 3. 94) = रोर्वीति, the augment ई being added by sūtra VII. 3. 94.

The word "ikah" of the previous sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. The ik letters only are not guṇated or vriddhied before such ārdhadhātuka affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in अभ्राजि the equation is as follows:—अ + भञ्ज् + चिप् = अ + भञ् + इ (VI. 4. 33). Here the ārdhadhātuka affix चिप् has caused a portion of the root भञ्ज्, to be suppressed, viz., the letter ज् has been elided. But nevertheless the अ of भञ् is vriddhied before चिप् because अ is not included in the pratyāhāra ik; and the exception contained in the present sūtra only applies to the ik letters. So also रञ्ज् + घञ् (III. 18) = रञ्ज् + अ (VI. 4. 27.) = राजः (VII. 2. 116. and VII. 3. 52).

कृदितिच ॥५॥ पदानि ॥ गित्-कित्-डित्-च । (गुणवृद्धी, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तिनिमित्ते ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥

5. And that, which otherwise would have caused guṇa or vriddhi, does not do so, when it has an indicatory क् or इ.

Thus the past participle terminations क्त and क्तवतु are ārdhadhātuka affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused guṇa, but as their indicatory letter क is इत्, the real terminations being, त and तवत्, they do not cause guṇa. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the ik of the root is not guṇated. Thus with the root चि "to collect" we have चित् : or चितवान्, श्रू, "to hear," श्रुतः, श्रुतवान् ; भी ; "to fear" भीतः, भीतवान्.

Similarly the terminations क्यप् केलिम, कसु कानच्, क्त्वा, क्तिन्, &c., are all कित् terminations 'the indicatory letters of all being कृ,' the real affixes being य, एलिम्, वस् &c. &c. &c. Before these, the root is not guṇated. Thus we have from भृ "to bear" भृत्य, from भिद् "to pierce" भिरेलिम्

The terms कित् &c., of this sūtra are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of निमित्त or cause, that is the guṇa or vriddhi which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is कित्, गित्, डित्. Thus all ārdhadhātuka and sārvaadhātuka affixes cause guṇation of the final ik of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the Sārvaadhātuka affix शप् (अ) in the following:—

भू + शप् + तिप् = भो + अ + ति = भवति "he is." Similarly sārvaadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka affixes cause the guṇa substitution of the short penultimate ik of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus बुध् + शप् + तिप् = बोधति.

The general force of the locative case in an aphorism is to cause the operation directed, on the expression immediately preceding it (I. 1. 66.) If the force of the locative case in the present sūtra were also that as

8. EXCEPTION TO GUNA AND VRIDDHI. [Bk. I. Ch. I. §. 5.]

explained in I. 1. 66, then the interpretation would be this :—An affix having an indicative *k*, *g* or *ñ*, would not cause the *guṇa* substitution of the vowel *ik*, immediately preceding it. The case of the penultimate short *ik* will not be covered by it. Then though the rule may apply to चि + क्त = चित् : “collected” it would not apply to भिद् + क्त; there would be nothing to bar the *guṇa* substitution of the penultimate *इ* of भिद्. This however is prevented by explaining the locative as one of “occasion” and thus भिद् + क्त = भिन्नः “broken.”

Similarly from the root जि we have a word जिष्णुः ‘victorious,’ in which the affix ग्स्नु has an indicative ग्. Thus जि + ग्स्नु = जिष्णुः “victorious” (III. 2. 139), so also स्यास्नुः “durable,”

Similarly the affix, अङ् is a डित् affix, the real suffix being अ, the इ being merely indicative. Therefore when अङ् is added to a root, there is no *guṇa*tion or *vriddhi*ing. Thus we have from विद् “to ‘now’.” विद्:

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all *sârvadhâtuka* affixes that are not marked by an indicative ए, are treated as डित्. Thus the second person singular termination तस् is डित्, and we have चिनुतः “they two collect,” similarly चिन्वन्ति, “they collect,” मृज् + क्त = मृष्टः “cleansed,” मृजन्ति “they cleanse.”

The phrase “when indicated by the term *ik*” is understood in this *sûtra*. The prohibition, therefore, applies to *ik* vowels only, and not to all vowels in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root कम् “to desire” takes the affix णिङ्; of this affix the letters ण् and ङ् are indicative, the real affix is इ. The force of ण् is to cause *vriddhi* (VII. 2. 116). The indicative ङ् does not prevent such *vriddhi*, as the letter अ of कम् is not included in *ik*. Thus we have कामि + अते = कामे + अते = कामयते “he desires.”

According to the wish of the author of the *Mahâbhâshya*, the verb मृज् optionally takes *vriddhi*, before *kit* or *nit* affixes beginning with a vowel. As परिमृजन्ति or परिमाज्जन्ति “they rub.” Here in this *sûtra* there is prohibition of the *guṇa* of the short penultimate *ik* also.

The indicative इ of the verbal tense affixes *i.e.*, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्, is an exception to this rule of डित्. This is an inference deduced from III. 4. 104 which declares “when the sense is that of benediction, then the augment यासुद् of लिङ् is as if it were distinguished by an indicative क.” There would have been no necessity of making यासुद् a कित्, if लिङ् were a डित्, but the very fact of making यासुद् a कित् indicates by implication or is सापेक्ष that the final ङ of लिङ्, लङ् &c. does not make these tense affixes डित्. Thus in लङ् or Imperfect tense we have अचिनवम् “he collected” (अचिन् + लङ् = अचिनु + अम् = अचिनो + अम् = अचिनवम्.)

दीधी वेवीटाम् ॥६॥ पदानि ॥ दीधी-वेवी-इटाम्, (गुणवृद्धी न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीधीवेवीयोऽदिभ्ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥ ६ ॥

6. Theguna and vṛiddhi substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of dīdhī 'to shine,' and vevī 'to go,' and of the augment called इद्.

The roots दीधी and वेवी never take the guṇa or vṛiddhi substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix ण्वुल् generally causes vṛiddhi substitution when added to any root; and so the affix ल्युट् causes guṇa. But these affixes when applied to the verbs dīdhī and vevī, never cause vṛiddhi or guṇa substitution. As आदीधी + ण्वुल् = आदीधी + अक (VII. 1. 1) = आदीध्यकः (VI. 1. 77). So also आदीधी + ल्युट् = आदीधी + अन (VII. 1. 1) = आदीध्यनम्. Similarly from वेवी we have आवेव्यन्स् and आवेव्यकः. In the Vedas, however, these verbs take guṇa. Thus अदीधेत् (Rig Ved. X. 98. 7), and अदीधयुः (Rig Ved. V. 40. 5). These two verbs are confined generally to the Vedic literature, and the present rule therefore, seems to be an unnecessary prohibition; as they take guṇa in spite of such prohibition.

Of the augment इद् the real affix is इ. In the general tenses, it is added to certain terminations beginning with consonants of the वल् class, i.e., all consonants except ख (VII. 2. 35). Thus the future termination, first person, singular is इयामि; this when added to the root चर् "to move" requires an intermediate इ, and thus we have the form चरिष्यामि, 'I shall walk.' This इ is never guṇated or vṛiddhied, though according to the general rule, coming before an Ārdhadhātuka termination, it ought to have been guṇated.

The augment इद्, could under no circumstances have taken vṛiddhi, the prohibition therefore, is in the case of the guṇa substitute of इद्

ह्रस्वानन्तराः संयोगः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, अनन्तराः, संयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिन्नजातीयैरङ्गभिरव्यवहिताः श्लिष्टोच्चारिता हलः संयोग संज्ञा भवन्ति समुदायः संज्ञी ॥

7. Consonants unseparated by a vowel are called conjunct consonants.

This defines the word sanyoga. The sūtra consists of three words, हलः, the plural of the pratyāhāra हल्, denoting all the consonants, अनन्तरः means "without any separation or space" and संयोगः which is the word defined, and means "conjunct consonants." So that the sūtra means, conjunct consonants are those consonants between which there is no heterogeneous separating vowel and which are pronounced jointly, such as क्क in the word कुक्कुटः, "cock." The word "sanyoga" applies to the whole of the conjunct consonants jointly and not to them separately. The plural number shows that the conjunction may be of two or more consonants.

Why do we say "consonant"? If two vowels come together they will not be called "sanyoga". Thus तितउच्छ्रं "a sieve umbrella," the two vowels अ and उ have come together unseparated by any consonant; yet they are not called sanyoga, otherwise the final उ would have been rejected by VIII. 2. 23 "there is elision of the final of that pada which ends in a sanyoga letter." Why do we say "unseparated by a vowel"? If consonants separated by a vowel were also called sanyoga, then in the sentence पचति पनसम्, the syllable सम् would be called sanyoga, and by VIII. 2. 29, the initial स would be elided.

मुखनासिकावचनो ऽनुनासिकः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुख-नासिका-
वचनः, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुखसाहिता नासिका मुखनासिका, तथा य उच्चार्यते वर्णः सो ऽनुनासिकसंज्ञो भवति ।

3. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunāsika* or nasal.

This defines the word *anunāsika*. The sūtra consists of four words मुख "mouth" नासिका "nose" वचनः "utterance or pronunciation" and अनुनासिकः "nasals." Though the words मुखं + नासिका (II. 4. 2) will by the rule of composition form मुखनासिकं and not मुखनासिका, yet the latter form might be held to be an irregularity; or the phrase मुखनासिकावचनं may be regarded as a compound of मुखनासिक + आवचनं, the word *āvachana* meaning "partial utterance." That is a letter partially uttered by the nose and partially by the mouth would be called *anunāsika*. Therefore the nasals are those letters which are pronounced from two organs or places, *i.e.*, the mouth and the nose. The pure nasal is *anusvāra*, while *anunasikas* are different from this, in as much as, that in pronouncing these, the breath passes through the nose and the mouth.

The vowels are generally so nasalised. 'If, instead of emitting the vowel sound freely through the mouth, we allow the velum pendulum to drop and the air to vibrate through the cavities which connect the nose with the pharynx, we hear the nasal vowels (*anunāsika*).' Thus अं, ञं. In the Vedas, the particle आङ् is *anunāsika*. As अङ् अङ् अपः (Rig Veda. V. 48. 1), so also पङि इने गङ्गीर अङ् उम्पुत्रे (Rig Ved. VIII. 67. 11).

The consonants क, ख, ए, न and म are also *anunāsika*. Thus क is pronounced by the throat along with the nose, ख by the palate and nose, ए by the upper palate and nose; न by the teeth and nose, and म by the lip and nose.

The semi-vowels य, न and ल are also nasalised and are then called *anunāsika*. The term *anunāsika* is used in sūtra V. 1. 126 &c.

Why have we used the word "by the mouth"? This definition will not include *anusvāra* or the pure nasal, which is pronounced wholly through

the nose. Why have we used the word "by the nose"? In order to exclude the consonants क, च, ट, त, प &c. &c., which are pronounced wholly and solely through the mouth.

तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-आस्य-प्रयत्नम्, सवर्णम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्य आस्ये प्रयत्नो यस्य वर्णस्य येन वर्णेन सह स समानजातीयं प्रति सवर्णसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *ऋकारलृकारयोः सवर्णसंज्ञा वक्तव्या * ॥

9. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called savarna or homogeneous letters.

This defines the word savarna or a homogeneous letter. The sūtra consists of four words:—तुल्य "equal or similar," आस्य "mouth or place of pronunciation," प्रयत्न "effort" and सवर्णम् "words of the same class."

The आस्य or places or portions of the mouth by contact with which various sounds are formed are chiefly the following:—1. कण्ठ "throat" 2. तालु 'palate,' 3. मुर्द्धा, 'head,' 4. दन्ता: 'teeth,' 5. ओष्ठौ 'lips,' 6. नासिका 'nose.'

The प्रयत्नम् or quality or effort is of two sorts primarily, आभ्यन्तरः "internal" and बाह्यः "external." The first is again sub-divided into five parts:—

1. स्पृष्टम् or complete contact of the organs. The twenty-five letters from क to ण belong to this class. In pronouncing these there is a complete contact of the root or the tongue with the various places, such as throat, palate, dome of the palate, teeth and lip.

2. ईषत्स्पृष्टम् or slight contact. The letters य, र, ल, व belong to this class of contacts. "In pronouncing these semi-vowels the two organs, the active and passive, which are necessary for the production of all consonantal noises, are not allowed to touch each other, but only to approach."

3. विवृतं or complete opening. The vowels belong to this class.

4. ईषद् विवृतं or slight opening. The letters श, ष, स, ह belong to this class. Some however place the vowels and श &c., into one group and call them all vivṛita.

5. संवृतम् or contracted. In actual use, the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is contracted but it is considered to be open only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of grammar.

The ābhyantara prayatna is the mode of articulation preparatory to the utterance of the sound, the bāhya-prayatna is the mode of articulation at the close of the utterance of the sound.

The division of letters according to ābhyantara prayatna has been already given. By that we get, 1. the sparsa or mute letters, 2. the antastha or intermediate between sparsas and ushmans, or semi-vowel or

liquid letters, 3. the svaras or vowels or vivṛita letters, 4. the ushmans or sibilants or flatus letters.

The division of letters according to bāhya prayatna gives us first surds or aghosha letters, 2. sonants or ghosha letters. The aghosha are also called svāsa letters, the ghoshas are called nāda letters.

The second division of letters according to bāhya prayatna is into;
1. Aspirated (mahâprāṇa). 2. Unaspirated (alpaprāṇa).

The vowel अ has eighteen forms. The *acute* अ (udātta), *grave* अ (anudātta) and *circumflexed* अ (svarita). Each one of these three may be nasalised (anunāsika), or not (niranunāsika).

Then lastly everyone of these six may be short, long, or prolated. Thus:—अ, अ, अं, अँ, अँ, आ, आ, आ, आँ, आँ, अ३, अ३, अं३, अँ३, अँ३, अँ३.

Similarly the letters इ, उ and ऋ have also eighteen forms. The letter लृ has no long form; it has therefore 12 modifications. The diphthongs have no short forms, they have therefore, only 12 forms. The antastha or semi-vowels with the exception of र have two forms each *viz.*, nasalised and un-nasalised. The semi-vowels have no homogeneous letters corresponding to them. All letters of a varga or 'class' are homogeneous to each other.

Thus then the homogeneous or savarṇa letters must satisfy two conditions before they could be called savarṇa. First, their place of pronunciation or आस्य must be the same. Secondly their प्रयत्न or quality must be equal. If one condition be present and the other be absent, there can be no savarṇa-hood. Thus च and श are both palatals, their आस्य or place of pronunciation being तालु 'palate,' but still they are not savarṇa, because their प्रयत्न is different, the प्रयत्न of च being sprishṭa and that of श being vivṛita.

Similarly क and च though their प्रयत्न is the same *i.e.*, sprishṭa, yet their आस्य being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savarṇa.

There is exception to this rule in the case of ऋ and लृ, which though having different आस्य are still called savarṇa by virtue of the vārttika of Kātyāyana; "the homogeneousness of ऋ and लृ, one with another, should be stated." Thus होदृ + लृकारः = होदृकारः; here ऋ and लृ have coalesced into long ऋ by rules of sandhi, on the assumption that they are savarṇa letters.

The word savarṇa occurs in sūtras like अक्रः सवर्णे हीर्घः (VI. 1. 101).

Why do we say "the place of pronunciation"? So that there may not be homogeneous relationship between कचटत and प whose prayatna is the same but whose āsya is different. What is the harm if we make them savarṇa? Then in words like तर्हा and तर्हुम्, the प would be elided, if it be held homogeneous with त, by VIII. 4. 65, "there is optional elision of हर्, preceded by a consonant, when a homogeneous हर् follows."

Why do we say "effort"? That there may be no homogeneity between इ and the palatals, and य and श, whose organ of pronunciation is the same, but whose prayatna is different. What harm if it be so? Then in अरुश्च्यो-तति, the श would be elided before च by the rule already referred to, VIII. 4. 65.

नाज् ऋलौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अच् हलौ, (सवर्णम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यास्य प्रयत्नावपि अजृहलौ परस्परं सवर्णसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

10. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the former sūtra. There can be no homogeneity or savaṛṇa relationship between vowels and consonants, though their आस्य and प्रयत्न may be the same. Thus इ and श have the same आस्य namely तालु 'palate,' and the same प्रयत्न : namely vivṛita, but still they are not to be called savaṛṇa. Thus in इण्डहस्त, इधिशतित्त्वं &c., the letters अ and ह in the first example, and इ and श in the second not being homogeneous letters; there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have taken place.

Similarly if श and इ be held homogeneous, then विपाश + अण् (IV. 3. 53) = विपाश् + अण् (VI. 4. 148 ; here श would be elided by VI. 4. 148, but it is not so and we have वैपाश : "belonging to vipâsâ or born therein." So also in आनडुहं "ox-skin," the ह would have been omitted, if held homogeneous with अ.

ईदूदेद्द्विवचनम् प्रगृह्यम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-ऊद्-एद्
द्विवचनम् , प्रगृह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईत् ऊत् एत् इत्येवमन्त । द्विवचनं शब्दरूपं प्रगृह्य संज्ञं भवति ॥

11. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called Pragrihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." (VI. 1. 125). This sūtra gives three of these terminations, viz., the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्). Thus:—कवी इमौ "these two poets," so also वायू इति "two winds;" माले इति "these two garlands." पचेते इति "they two cook" पचेथे इति "you two cook." Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final इ of कवी and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because कवी is the nominative dual of कवि.

Why do we say ending in *i*, *u* and *e*? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As वृक्षौ + अत्र = वृक्षावत्र, "these two trees" (VI. 1. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that ई, ऊ, or ए of the dual number only are pragrihya; if these vowels terminate any other number they will not be pragrihya but will follow the general rule of sandhi, as कुमारी (1. s.) + अत्र = कुमार्यत्र, "the girl is here" (VI. 1. 77).

Vart: The prohibition of मनीव &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + इव = मनीव "like two gems." So also हम्पतीव "like a couple," जम्पतीव "like man and wife," रोवसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vârtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

अदसोमात् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदस्, मात्, (इदूदेत् प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदस् सम्बन्धी यो मकारस्तस्मात् पर ईदूदेत् प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

12. (The same letters) after the *m* of the pronoun अदस् are Pragrihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be pragrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by *m*, of whatever number they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions namely अमी and अमू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller:—"The terminations of अमी and अमू nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are pragrihya." As अमी अश्वाः "Those horses," and अमू आसते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "of the word *adas*"? The letters ई, ऊ, ए following after the *m* of any other word will not be pragrihya. As शमी + अत्र = शम्यवत्र "this sami tree."

Why do we say "after the letter *m*"? Because in the example अमुके + अत्र = अमुकेऽत्र, "those here," the ए, preceded not by *m* but by the क of अकच् (V. 3. 71) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of sūtra 11, which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

शे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शे इत्येतत् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

13. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a pragrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which

replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called शे (VII. 1. 39.) Thus अस्मेइन्द्रावृहस्पती.

Of this substitute शे, the initial श is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a pragrihya.

In the sacred literature there is only one example of this pragrihya, as given above; while in imitation of this, we have in secular writing phrases as, स्वेइति, युष्मे इति, मे इति &c.

निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातः, एकाच्, अनाङ् । (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकआसावच एकाच् निपातो य एकाच् आङ्वर्जितः स प्रगृह्यसंज्ञो भवति ॥

14. A particle I. 4. 56 consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of three words:—निपातः “particle,” एकाच् “consisting of one vowel,” अनाङ् “with the exception of आङ्.”

All such particles technically called nipāta (I. 4. 56) which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As इ इन्द्र. “Oh, Indra” उ उत्तिष्ठ “O arise.”

It follows from the above definition that those nipātas which consist of two or more letters, vowel and consonant, are not pragrihya, e. g. प्र in प्राग्नये वाचमीरय.

आङ् which is not a pragrihya, has four significations:— As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, as आ + उष्णम् = ओष्णम् “little hot, tepid” (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of “near” “nearto,” and with verbs of “motion,” “taking” &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् ‘to go,’ आगम् ‘to come,’ अ + इहि = एहि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) “from,” “ever since,” as आजन्मनः “ever since his birth,” (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), “till” “until” as आ + अध्ययनात् = आध्ययनात्, “until the reading begins.” When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as आ एवं किलासीत् “Ah! such there once was,” आ एवं मन्यसे. “Oh! do you think so.”

The word एकाच् in this aphorism has a peculiar meaning. It means “consisting of one vowel and nothing else.” In other words, the vowels themselves when used as निपात, e. g. आ, उ, इ &c. But the term एकाच् has a wider signification than that given to it in this sūtra. It means “a word or a portion of a word consisting of one vowel which can be pronounced at once”—in other words एकाच् means a “syllable.” In that sense the words प्र, नि, वि &c., will also be एकाच्, but not so here. Therefore the rule of sandhi will apply

to them, thus प्राग्नये वाचमीरय. See sūtra VI. 1. 1. where the word एकाच् means a monosyllable.

Why do we say "a nipāta?" Because if the single vowel is not a particle, but something else, an affix &c., then it will not be a pragrihya, as the final अ in चकार "he did," is the affix of third person perfect tense, and is liable to sandhi; as चकारान्.

ओत् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओत्, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

इति ॥ ओन्तो यो निपातः स प्रगृह्य संज्ञोभवति ॥

15. The final ओ of a particle is a pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of one word ओत् the final त् is a surplusage. The words "pragrihya" and "nipāta" are to be supplied from the preceding sūtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in ओ though consisting of several letters, are pragrihya. As अहो अयेहि "Halloo, go away."

सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, शाकल्यस्य, इतौ, अनार्षे, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

इति ॥ सम्बुद्धि निमित्तो य ओकारः स शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवान् इति शब्दे जनार्षे अत्रैदिके परतः ॥

16. The final ओ of the vocative singular (II. 3. 49) before the word इति according to Sākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrihya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Sākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus both forms वायावेति (formed according to the general rule of sandhi) and वायो इति (where ओ is pragrihya) are correct.

In ārsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता गा ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत्.

The mention of the name of any sage, such as that of Sākalya in this sūtra, serves generally one of the two purposes:—(1) either it makes the rule an optional one, vibhāshārtham, or (2) the mention is merely for the sake of showing respect to the particular sage, the rule would have stood as well without such mention; pujārtham, as the word Kāsyapa in sūtra I. 2. 25.

उजः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उजः, (प्रगृह्यम् शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे) ॥

इति ॥ उजः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवति इतौ शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

17. The particle उज् before इति, according to Sākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उज् meaning उ. According to the same Rishi Sākalya, उज् is a pragrihya, before इति, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति.

ऊँ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊँ, (शाकल्य०, उज्जः, प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उज्ज इतावन्नाथे ऊँ इत्ययमादेशो भवति दीर्घोऽनुनासिकः शाकल्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य पञ्चकश्च ॥

18. The particle ऊँ replaces उज्ज in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Sakalya.

Before the word इति the word उज्ज is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal ū. Thus ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or विति.

In some authorities the sūtras 17 and 18 form but one sūtra, and then it is divided by the method of *yoga-vibhāga*, the division of a single sūtra into two separate sūtras having two distinct rules.

ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईदू-ऊतौ, च, सप्तमी-अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईदूतमूदूतश्च शब्द रूपं सप्तम्यर्थे वर्तमानं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

19. The final ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihya.

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by सु (1. s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or शे, or या, or डा, or ड्या, or यान्, or आल् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is डि (इ). In forming the 7. s. of तनु "body," we have तनु + इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तनु + ऊ = तनु "in the body," as, अध्यस्यां मामकीतनु (for मामक्यां तन्वां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वां. Similarly गौरी + इ = गौरी "on the Gaurī," as सोमो गौरी अधिष्ठितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long ī and ū are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.

It is only long ī and ū which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) दा (â) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि + डि = अग्नि + डा = अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, प्रियः सूर्ये प्रियो अग्ना भवाति य इन्द्राय सुतसोमो दशशत् (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihya. Therefore अग्ना + इति = अग्नेति.

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति + रा (3rd s.) = मति + इ (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मती 'with wisdom'. Here ī is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus मती + इति = मताति.

The word **अर्थ** is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound of **वाप्याम्** "in the well" and **अश्व** "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get **वापी + अश्व**. Here, no doubt, the word **वापी** is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long **ई** of **vāpī** has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, **वाप्यश्वः** "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final **ई** or **ऊ** of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (*pūrva-pada*); for words like **वापी** &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like **गौरी**, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

दाधाध्वदाप् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दा , धा , धु , अदाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरूपान्तरादौ धातवो धारूपौ च द्वौ, शब्दैषौ वर्जयित्वा घुसंज्ञका भवन्ति ॥

20. The verbs having the form of **dā** 'to give' and **dha** 'to place,' are called **ghu**.

This defines the word **ghu**. Four verbs have the form of **दा**, or assume it by the application of VI. 1. 45, and two, of **धा**; they are called **घु**. The **ghu** verbs have certain peculiarities of conjugation to be described hereafter.

The **घु** verbs are the following:—**दुदाप्** "to give," as **प्रणिददाति**; **दाप्** "to give," as, **प्रणिदाता**; **दो** "to cut," as, **प्रणिदधति**; **देह्** "to pity" as, **प्रणिदधते**, **दुधाप्** "to place" as, **प्रणिदधाति**, **धेद्** to "feed" as, **प्रणिदधति**

In the above examples, because of the verbs being **घु**, the **n** of **प्रणि** is changed into **ण** by VIII. 4. 17.

Similarly **दाप्** "to cut" and **देह्** "to clean" not being called **घु**, rules VII. 4. 46 and 47 do not apply to them. Thus **दा + क्त = दत्तं** 'what is cut,' as, **दातं वहिः**. So also **अवदातं** "washed" as, **अवदातं मुखं** "a bright face." But with **दा** "to give," &c. **दा + क्त = दत् + त** (VII. 4. 46) = **दत्तः** "given;" so also we have **प्र + दा + क्त = प्रदत्तम्** (VII. 4. 47). The word **घु** occurs in *sûtra* VI. 4. 66, &c. The word **dāp** includes also **daip** by the *paribhâshâ* given under III. 4. 19, **दै** changed into **आ** by VI. 1. 45.

आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अंत-वत्, एकस्मिन् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ आराविव अन्तइव एकस्मिन्नपि कार्यं भवति ।

21. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

This is an *atideśa* *sûtra* and consists of four words, **आदि** "beginning," **अन्त** "end," **वत्** "like," **एकस्मिन्** "in one;" the literal translation being "beginning is end-like in one." The affix **वत्** has the force of the locative, and the

meaning is "on the beginning," and "on the end," i.e., let an operation be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final. Thus by III. 1. 3. an affix has udātta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tavya has accent on the first अ, and we have कृत्तव्यम्. But when an affix consists of a single vowel, it is itself the beginning and the end, and, as such, will have the accent. As in औपगवम् aupagavam the last अ has the accent, which अ represents the affix अण्

Similarly, by VII. 3. 102, the final of a base ending in short अ is lengthened before a case-affix beginning with a consonant of यञ् class. Thus राम+भ्याम्=रामाभ्याम्. This rule will apply when the word consists of one letter only, and that letter is a short अ. Thus अ+भ्याम्=आभ्याम् "by those two." Here it must not be objected that the solitary अ is initial, and cannot be final.

Why do we say "in one"? If a word consists of more than one letter, then the beginning is not like the end. Thus in the word सभा the initial short अ is not like the final long आ; otherwise सभा would get the name of वृद्धम् (I. 1. 73), and the secondary derivative from सभासन्नयन would be formed by the affix ह्र (IV. 2. 114). But this is not so, the affix अण् is employed instead, and the form is सभासन्नयनः.

तरप्तमपौ घः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरप्-तमपौ, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तरप् तमप् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ घ सज्ञौ भवतः ॥

22. The affixes tarap and tamap are called घ.

This sūtra defines घ affixes. They are two, तर and तम, the प् in them being इत्. The special use of these affixes will be described later on. These affixes are useful in forming the comparative and the superlative degrees respectively of adjectives, adverbs, &c. The base undergoes certain changes before these terminations, which will be treated of in its proper place.

Thus the words कुमारितरा and कुमारितमा are formed by adding the affixes तर and तम to the word कुमारी 'a girl,' whose long ई is shortened before these affixes by sūtra 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.

बहुगणवतुडति संख्या ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-गण-वतु-डति ,

संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुगणवतुडति इत्येते संख्यासंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अर्द्धपूर्वपदश्च पूरणप्रत्ययान्तः संख्यासंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्, समासकन् विध्यर्थम् ॥

23. The words bahu 'many,' gana 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and dati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhya).

This sūtra defines the word saṅkhyā, or numeral.

These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like बहु 'many,' and गण 'class,' and those that have the affixes वत् and अति after them, belong to this class. The letters उ and ड of वतु and डति are इत्, or indicatory, the actual affixes being वत् and अति.

The word saṅkhyā means "numerals;" and this class contains, among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding वतु are generally compound pronouns, e. g. तावत् "so much," यावत् "as much," एतावत् "so much," similarly words formed by the affix डति, e. g. कति "how many," तति "so many," यति "as many."

Thus बहु + कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17) = बहुकृत्वः "many times" the affix कृत्वसुच् being added only to saṅkhyā words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also बहु + धा (V. 3. 42) = बहुधा "in many ways." Here also the affix धा is added by virtue of बहु being a saṅkhyā. Similarly बहुकः (V. 1. 22) "purchased for a big sum," बहुशः (V. 4. 43) "manifold." So also गणकृत्वः, गणधा, गणकः, गणशः; so also तावत्कृत्वः, तावद्धा, तावच्छः; कतिकृत्वः, कतिधा, कतिकः, कतिशः.

When the words बहु and गण mean "abundance" and "multitude" they are not saṅkhyā. It is only when they are expressive of numbers, that they get the designation of saṅkhyā. The necessity of defining saṅkhyā arose in order to exclude such words as, भूरि "numerous," &c., which though they express numbers, are not to be treated as "numerals," technically so called.

Vart:—The word अर्द्ध "half" when standing as a first term in a compound number which takes an affix giving the sense of an ordinal, gets the designation of saṅkhyā, for the purposes of the application of the rules of samāsa and of the affix कन्. The ordinal affixes or pūraṇa pratyayas are like ड् (V. 2. 48), म् (V. 2. 49), थक् (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus एकादशः "eleventh," पंचमः "fifth," चतुर्थः "fourth," &c. Similarly we have अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पः "purchased for 4½ baskets" (a dvigu). Here अर्द्ध + पंचमा (an ordinal) = अर्द्धपंचम, a bahuvrīhi compound meaning 4½, viz., that in which half is the fifth term. अर्द्धपंचमैः शूर्पैः क्रीतः = अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पैः the taddhita affixes ठञ् and अञ् required by V. 1. 19 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking अर्द्धपंचमम् as a saṅkhyā, and then applying sūtra II. 1. 51. The samāsa here is in the sense of taddhita, and this compounding is only possible by rules (II. 1. 50 and 51), when अर्द्धपंचमम् gets the appellation of saṅkhyā. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes अञ् and ठञ् (V. 1. 26). The word शूर्प takes both these affixes in the sense of "being

bought with." Thus शौर्विकम् and शौर्विम् both mean "bought with a measure called śûrpa." In the above compound of अर्द्धपञ्चमशूर्पः the sense is that of the above-named taddhita; but the affixes have been elided by V. 1. 28 after dvigu compounds. So also we have अर्द्धपञ्चमकः by applying the affix कन्. For these two purposes, namely samâsa and the application of कन्, compounds of ardha, like ardha-pañchama are treated as saṅkhyâ.

अणान्ता षट् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष-ण्-अन्ता, षट्, (संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारान्ता नकारान्ता च या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

24. The Sankhyâs having ष or न as their final are called shat.

This sūtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivision of the larger group saṅkhyâ. Those saṅkhyâs which end in ष् or न् are called षट्. The word saṅkhyâ is understood in this sūtra, because the word अणान्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies saṅkhyâ which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namely पञ्चन् 'five,' षष् 'six,' सप्तन्, 'seven,' अष्टन् 'eight,' नवन् 'nine,' दशन् 'ten.'

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22). Thus षट् तिष्ठन्ति, पञ्च गच्छन्ति ॥

The word अन्त in the sūtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupadeśika i.e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्राणि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

इति च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इति, च, (संख्या, षट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यन्ता या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

25. And the saṅkhyâs ending with the affix *dati* are called shat.

This sūtra enlarges the scope of the definition of षट् by including in it, words formed by इति. By sūtra 22, words in इति are already saṅkhyâ; by this they are also षट्. Therefore we have कति पठन्ति, 'how many are reading,' कति पश्य 'see how many.' Here कति has lost its plural termination by VII. 1. 22.

क्तवत् निष्ठा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त-क्तवत्, निष्ठा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तश्च क्तवत्तुश्च क्तवत्तुश्च प्रत्ययौ निष्ठसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Nishthâ.

This defines the nishṭha affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are त, तवत्, the क and उ being indicatory. They being कित् are liable to all the rules applicable to कित् affixes, such as rule I. 1. 5. Thus we have, कृतः, कृतवान्, भुक्तः, भुक्तवान्.

The force of the indicatory उ in ktavatu is, by IV. 1. 6, to indicate that in forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicatory vowel of ūk pratyahāra (उ, ङ, ल), the affix डीप् (ई) must be added. Thus कृतवत् (masc.), कृतवती (fem.). The word nishṭhā occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 14.

सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-आदीनि,
सर्वनामानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्द आदिष्वेषां तानीमानि सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

27. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called sarvanāma or pronouns.

This defines sarvanāma or pronominals. To know what are the other words comprised in the phrase 'and the rest' we must refer to Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha where a list of all groups referred to in the sūtras, is given. Thus we know from it, that the following are sarvanāma:—

सर्व 'all,' द्विष्व 'all,' उभ 'two,' उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix उत्तर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix उत्तम as कतम 'which of many,' अन्य 'other,' अन्यतर 'either,' इतर 'other,' त्वत् 'other,' त्व 'other,' नेम 'half,' सम 'all,' सिम 'whole,' त्वत् 'he, she, it,' तत् 'he, she, it,' यत् 'who,' एतत् 'this,' इदम् 'it,' अदम् 'that,' एक 'one,' द्वि 'two,' युष्मत् 'you,' अस्मत् 'I,' भवतु 'you,' किम् 'what.' So also पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' पर 'subsequent,' अवर 'west or posterior,' दक्षिण 'south or right,' उत्तर 'north or inferior subsequent,' अपर 'other or inferior,' अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also स्व when it does not mean a 'kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanām.

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanāma words. Thus सर्व though ending in अ, is not declined like नर which also ends in अ, the plural of सर्व being सर्वे, that of नर being नराः. Similarly the dative singular नराय, सर्वस्मै; the abl. sing. नरात्, सर्वस्मात्; the loc. sing. नरे, सर्वस्मिन्; the Gen. pl. नराणाम्, सर्वेषाम् &c.

The compounds (with certain exceptions) ending in these words are also sarvanāmas. The word उभ 'both' is always used in the dual number as उभौ, उभाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3. 71) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal

as उभक्तौ. Another object gained by its being so called, is the application of II. 3. 27, by which a pronominal may take the case-affix of the 3rd case or the 6th case in denoting cause.

There are two सर्व in the above list, namely सर्वन् and सर्व, having the same meaning, and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udātta, and of the other anudātta. Some give one सर्वन् only and not the other, and say that both have anudātta accent. The word सम is a sarvanāma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर i. e. like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10, where he uses the regular genitive plural समानाम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the genitive plural would have been समेषाम्.

The above words sarva &c. are not to be treated as pronouns when they are used as appellatives. For example, if सर्व be the name of a person then it will be declined like ordinary nouns, as सर्वाय देहि 'give to Sarva (a person)'. Here the dative singular is regularly formed. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanāma, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि 'give to (him who is) above all.' Here in the compound अतिसर्व 'Above-all' or 'Supreme Being,' the word सर्व loses its independent character and defines and determines the sense of another word. Fuller explanation of the word upasarjana will be given later on in I. 2. 43. This term सर्वनाम is an अन्वर्थसंज्ञा that is a term the application of which accords with its meaning.

विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा,
दिक्-समासे, बहुव्रीहौ, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिशां समासो दिक्समासो दिगुपस्थिते समासे बहुव्रीहौ विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनाम
संज्ञानि भवन्ति ।'

28. The above words are optionally sarvanāma when they occur in a bahuvrīhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26.)

This is an exception to sūtra 29 which follows. As a general rule (see sūtra 29), in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words sarva &c. are declined like ordinary nouns. The present sūtra declares an option to this, in special cases relating to compounds signifying direction. Thus the bahuvrīhi compound of direction उत्तरपूर्वा 'north-east' may form its dative case as a pronominal, e.g. उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or it may form its dative like ordinary words ending in अ, i. e. उत्तरपूर्वायै. So दक्षिणपूर्वस्यै or दक्षिणपूर्वायै.

Why do we say "when signifying a direction"? The next sūtra will enjoin that in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words are not treated as pronominals. Therefore, if in the present sūtra, we had not used the word दिक्, it would have been impossible to know where there was option and where prohibition. By employing the word "direction," it is thus determined, that in a samāsa, relating to direction (II. 2. 26), there is allowed option, while there is prohibition in all other kinds of bahuvrīhi compounds.

Why do we say "in compound"? So that the option may be in that bahuvrīhi which is purely samāsa, and in no other bahuvrīhi. There is no option allowed in that bahuvrīhi where there is a semblance of bahuvrīhi but not exact bahuvrīhi.

The quasi-bahuvrīhi, or analogical bahuvrīhi compounds, or to use the Sanskrit phrase, bahuvrīhi-vadbhāva, is taught in sūtra VIII. 1. 9. where words in repetition are treated like bahuvrīhi. Thus एकं + एकं = एकैकम् 'one and one, each one.' Bahuvrīhi compounds are possessive compounds, but in the above example, no idea of possession enters. However the compound here is treated like a bahuvrīhi, for the purposes of the elision of the case-affix of the first member, and the whole compound gets the designation of prātipadika. In compounds like this, therefore, which are bahuvrīhi-vat, but not exactly bahuvrīhi, the present rule and the succeeding sūtra do not apply. Thus एकैकस्मै देहि 'give to each one,' इक्षिणइक्षिणस्यै देहि ॥

Why do we say "in the bahuvrīhi"? So that there may be no option in the dvandva compound. Thus इक्षिणोत्तरपूर्वाणाम् 'of the south, north and east.' The prohibition in the case of dvandva by rule 31 is absolute and invariable.

न बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, बहुव्रीहौ, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे) ॥

इति ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

29. The words sarva &c., are not sarvanāma when occurring in a bahuvrīhi compound.

As a general rule (see sūtra 72), when any definition, rule, operation &c. is made applicable to a particular word, the same would also apply to any other word which ends in that word. Thus the plural of man being 'men' in English, the plural of blackman will be blackmen. So the definition of sarvanāma given to sarva &c., separately, will also apply to the words ending in sarva &c.

This sūtra introduces thus an exception to sūtra 27. In bahuvrīhi or possessive compounds, the nature of which compounds will be described

later on, the above mentioned words are not pronominals, and must follow the ordinary rule of declension. Thus the compound **प्रियविश्व** meaning 'beloved of all' is a bahuvrîhi compound of **प्रिय** 'beloved,' and **विश्व** 'all,' (which is a sarvanâma). The declension of this compound will follow the general rule. Thus, in the dative singular, we have **प्रियविश्वाय**, though the dative singular of **विश्व** by itself is **विश्वस्मै**, like other pronominals. So also **प्रियोभयाय** "to him who is beloved of both." So also **द्वयन्याय**, **त्रयन्याय** &c.

Similarly in bahuvrîhi compounds, these words not being treated as pronominals, they do not take also the special affix **अकच्**, but the general affix **कन्**. As, **त्वत्कपिटको**, **मत्कपिटको** (V. 3. 70)

Though the word bahuvrîhi was present in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from the last aphorism, the object of using the word bahuvrîhi again in this sūtra, is this:—that the prohibition may apply to those expressions also which are no longer bahuvrîhi, but whose original components were once bahuvrîhi. Thus the words **वस्त्रान्तरा** and **वसनान्तरा** are bahuvrîhi compounds; but when these two words are further compounded into a dvandva compound, the present rule still applies. As, **वस्त्रान्तरावसनान्तरा** :

तृतीयासमासे ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-समासे, (सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि, न,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

30. In Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanâma.

This is another exception to the definition of sarvanâma. There is a class of compounds in Sanskrit called tatpurusha compounds, in which the last word governs the preceding one. The word governed may be in any one of the six cases: when it is in the third or instrumental case, the compound is called tritîyâ tatpurusha. When, therefore, there is such a samâsa, the words mentioned in sūtra 26 are not to be declined like pronominals. Thus the word **मासपूर्व** is a compound of **मास** and **पूर्व** = **मासेनपूर्व** meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word mâsa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e.g. its dative will be **मासपूर्वाय**, though the dative of **पूर्व**, when standing by itself, is **पूर्वस्मै**; so also **संवत्सरपूर्वाय** !

The tritîya-samâsa of the present sūtra has reference to the special tritîyâ-samâsa ordained by the particular sūtra II. 1. 31. namely, "that which ends with the 3rd case affix, is compounded with the words pûrva, sadṛśa, sama, &c." and has not reference to the tritîyâ-samâsa in general, such as one ordained by II. 1. 32, "that which ends with the 3rd case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded diversely with what ends in a

kṛit affix." Therefore, in phrases स्वयका कृतं 'done by thee,' मयका कृतं 'done by me,' these words are treated as pronominals, though in the instrumental case followed by a word ending in a kṛit-affix. In other words, reading this sūtra with II. 1. 31, we find that pūrva is the only sarvanāma which is so compounded, and to which only the present sūtra would seem to apply.

The word समास may appear to have been mentioned redundantly, as it has already been mentioned in the previous sūtra, the primary object of the sūtra authors being to shorten the rules by the keeping out of every unnecessary word. But here, the word समास has been repeated, to show that even in phrases like मासेन पूर्वाय, though not a compound, but used in construction with an instrumental case, the word पूर्व is not a sarvanāma, that is to say, the prohibition extends even to phrases, which bear the sense of the instrumental compound, though not exhibited in the form of the instrumental compound.

द्वन्द्वे च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, च. (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे, न) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे च समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

31. And in Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva &c., are not sarvanāma.

This sūtra mentions another exception. In collective compounds the above words are not sarvanāma. Dvandva is a compound in which two words are simply joined together, the compound taking the terminations of the dual or plural according to the number of compounded words, or the terminations of the singular, being treated as a collective term. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्ण 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others'. The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the genitive plural we have:—वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् and not इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वापराणाम् 'of the priors and the posteriors.'

The word च 'and' in the sūtra indicates that it closes the list of exceptions or prohibitions that began with sūtra. 29.

विभाषा जसि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, जसि, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनाम, द्वन्द्वे समासे, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे जसि विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

32. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanāma when the nominative plural termination jas follows.

This is a proviso to sūtra 31, and declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural, as we shall find later on, and which in the pronominals is replaced by शी), the dvandva

compounds may be treated either as sarvanâmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णाश्रमेतर may be either वर्णाश्रमेतराः or एतरे, that is, the word may take either जस् or शी.

This sūtra governs the four succeeding sūtras. The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71). There the sūtra 31 is absolute. Thus, कतरः + कतमकः = कतरकतमकाः in the plural. This affix अक (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

प्रथमचरमतयाल्पाहुकतिपयनेमाश्च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथम-
चरम-तय-अल्प-अहु-कतिपय-नेमाः, च (विभाषाजसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथम चरम तय अल्प अहु कतिपय नेम इत्येतेजसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञा
भवन्ति ॥

33. And also the words prathama 'first'; charama 'last,' words ending with the affix taya (V. 2. 42); alpa 'few' ardha 'half' katipaya 'some,' and nema 'half' are optionally sarvanâma, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरमे or चरमाः, अल्प or अल्पाः, अहु or अर्द्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, द्वितये or द्वितयाः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix जस् follows" are understood in this sūtra. The governing force of the word "dvandva" does not extend to this, and stops at this. By the word तय in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix तय. The rest are prâtipadikas or crude bases. The word नेम has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called prâpta-vibhâsâ, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like नर, the rest of its declension is like sarva, while in the case of prathama &c. the nom. pl. may be like sarva, but the rest of their declension must be like that of nara. The word ubhaya, has been formed by the addition of the affix तय, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sūtra its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.

पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ३४ ॥
पदानि ॥ पूर्व-पर-अवर-दक्षिण-उत्तर-अपर-अधराणि, व्यवस्थायाम्, असंज्ञा-
याम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वदीनि विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥

34. The words pûrva 'prior,' para 'after,' avara 'posterior,' dakshina 'south,' utara 'north.' अपरा 'other,' and adhara 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanâma before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of sarvanâmas. They are always sarvanâmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, *i. e.*, when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than the one which has been determined or fixed for them, they are not sarvanâmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञां). Thus, when the word रक्षिण means 'clever,' it is not a sarvanâma, as, रक्षिणा इमे गायकाः 'these clever minstrels,' similarly in उत्तराः कुरुवः 'the northern Kurus,' the word उत्तर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a proper noun.

When these seven words are sarvanâma, they are declined like sarva, except in the nominative plural, when they may be declined either as sarvanâmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a prâptavibhâsâ.

That there is a 'specification' (niyama), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (avadhi), with reference to which something is to be described by the word itself, is what we mean when we say "that a relation in time or place (avasthâ) is implied." For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (dakshina), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the Himâlayâ with reference to which Benares may be described as a "place to the southward." Again we in the north may thus speak of the people to the south of the Vindhya mountains, as being southern, not with reference to the inhabitants of Ceylon, but with reference (as every one here understands by tacit implication) to us ourselves, who live to the north the Vindhya range. Thus, (पूर्वे or पूर्वाः, अवरे or अवराः, परे or पराः) रक्षिणे or रक्षिणाः ; उत्तरे or उत्तराः ; अपरे or अपराः ; अधरे or अधराः.

स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, अज्ञाति-धन-
आख्यायाम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमित्येतच्छब्दरूपं जसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति न चेज् ज्ञाति धनयोः
संज्ञारूपेण वर्तते ॥

35. The word sva 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property is optionally sarvanâma before the affix jas.

The word स्व when it does not mean a ज्ञाति 'kinsman' or धन 'property' or 'wealth' is always a sarvanâma, in every number and case, as it has been

enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वे पुत्राः or स्वाः पुत्राः 'one's own sons,' स्वे गावः or स्वा गावः 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' स्वाः alone is the nom. pl. As, स्वा ज्ञातयो 'these kinsmen' प्रभूताः स्वाः 'much riches'

अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरम्-बहि-

र्योग-उपसंव्यानयोः (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरनित्येतच्छब्दरूपं विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति बहिर्योग उपसंव्याने गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अपुरीति च वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *विभाषा प्रकरणे तीयस्य वा डित्सु सर्वनामसंज्ञेत्युपसंव्यानम्* ॥

36. The word antara being always a sarvanâma, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix jas.

The word अन्तर when it means बहिर्योग, viz., 'outer' is always sarvanâma, so also, when it means उपसंव्यान or 'a lower garment.' Thus, अन्तरे गृहाः or अन्तरा गृहाः 'outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.' So अन्तरे or अन्तराः शाटकाः 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanâma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanâma, e. g., ग्रामयोरन्तरे वसति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is अन्तरे. With this sūtra ends the section on sarvanâmas, which began with sūtra 26.

Vart:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

Vart:—The words formed by the affix तीय such as, द्वितीय and तृतीय, are optionally declined as sarvanâma before the case-affixes having an indicative ड (डित्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, द्वितीयस्मै or द्वितीयाय, तृतीयाय or तृतीयस्मै.

स्वरादि निपातमव्ययम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वर-आदि, निपातम्,

अव्ययम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि निपाताश्चाव्ययसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

37. The words svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I. 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. The words स्वर &c. must be found out from the Gaṇapâṭha; they are the following:—

स्वर 'heaven,' अन्तर 'midst,' प्रातर 'in the morning,' पुनर् 'again,' सनुतर 'in concealment,' उच्चैस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' ऋधक्

'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' ऋते 'except, without,' वृगपत् 'at the same time, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly.' पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' श्वस् 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईषत् 'slightly, a little,' शश्वत् 'ever,' जोषम् 'gladly,' तुष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् 'outside,' अविस् 'below, without, outside. समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा 'in vain,' नक्तम् 'at night, by night,' नञ् 'negative particle, not,' हेतौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्वा 'truly, really' हे ह 'exclamation,' अद्वा 'evidently, truly,' सामि 'half,' वत वत 'enclitic like, as Brâhmanavat, priestly,' सनत् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरस् 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तरा, अन्तरेण 'except, without' ड्योक, योक 'long,' कम् 'expletive particle,' शम् 'ease,' सना 'perpetually,' सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously,' स्वास्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अन्नम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' औषट्, वौषट् (interjection) 'oblation of butter,' अन्यत् 'again, moreover, otherwise.' अस्ति 'being present,' उपांशु 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon,' विहायसा 'aloft in the air,' बोषा 'at night or in the evening,' मृषा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' मुधा 'in vain,' पुरा 'formerly,' मिथो or मिथस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' मुहुस् 'again, repeatedly' उवाहकम् or उवाहिका 'at the same time,' आर्यहन्तम् 'violently' अभीक्ष्णम् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिरुक् 'without,' धिक् 'fie!' अथ 'thus,' प्रताम् 'with fatigue,' प्रशान् 'alike,' प्रतान् 'widely,' मा, माङ् 'do not.'

So, also the words formed by the affixes ktvâ tosun, kasun, by the kṛit affixes ending in म् or ए, ऐ, औ or औ, and the avyayîbhâva compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिन् (V. 3. 7) and ending with पाशप् (V. 3. 47), by the affixes beginning with शस् (V. 4. 42) and ending with समासांतः (V. 4. 68), by the affixes कृत्वसुच्, सुच्, आच् and थाल् by the affixes having the sense of the affix च्वि, or by the affixes अम् or आम्, तसि or वसि, न or नाञ् are also indeclinables.

The words called nipâta will be given under sūtras, I. 4, 56 to 61. Thus a word which changes not (न न्येति), remaining alike in the three genders and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an अव्यय or indeclinables.

तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितः, च, असर्व-विभक्तिः (अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितान्तः शब्दोऽसर्वविभक्तिरव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

38. And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76.) which are not declined in all the cases are also indeclinables.

This expands the definition of avyaya. There are three words in the sūtra taddhitaḥ, cha and asarva-vibhaktiḥ. Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानवः, sārva-vibhaktis are those words which take all case-terminations, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb यतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there.' Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यतः, यत्र, तदा, यदा, सर्वदा, सदा &c.

कृन्मेजन्तः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्, स-एज्-अन्तः (अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृद्यो मकारान्न एजन्तश्च तदन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञं भवति ॥

39. The words formed by those kṛit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93) which end with म् or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ are also indeclinables.

All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called kṛit, the latter, taddhita.

Words formed by kṛit affixes which end in म् or ए, ओ, ऐ, or औ (connoted by the pratyahara एच्) are avyayas. Thus the affix तुम् (technically तुमुन्) and अम् (technically एमुन्, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in म्. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus दातुम् 'to give,' and स्मारम् 'remembering' are avyayas. So also words like जीवसे 'to live,' पिवध्वे 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ए, &c.

Thus, in the following examples, the words within quotation are avyayas 'स्वादुंकारं,' 'सेपन्नंकारं,' 'लवणंकारं,' भुङ्क्ते, 'he eats first having made it relishing' (III. 4. 26). "वक्षे" रायः (वच् + से III. 4. 9=वक्षे); ता 'वामेषे,' यथामुर्वाम् गव्युतिमेषां (इ + से=एषे. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). अस्मे शतं शरदो 'जीवसे' वा अस्मे वीराञ्छ्रवत इन्द्र शिभिन् (Rig Veda III. 36. 10). आपः पूर्णीत भेषजं वरुणं तन्वे मम । ज्योक् च सूर्य्यं 'दृशे,' (Rig Veda I. 25. 21, दृश् + केन् III. 4. 11 दृशे).

The word अन्त is used in this sūtra for the same purpose, as it was employed in sūtra 24, showing that these terminations must be 'aupadeśika,' and not derivative. Therefore the following words are not avyayas:—आधये (d. s.), आधेः (g. s.) चिकीर्षवे । चिकीर्षोः । कुम्भकारेभ्यः । नगरकारेभ्यः ॥

क्लातोसुन्कसुनः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्ला, तोसुन्-कसुनः, (अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ला तोसुन् कसुन् इत्येवमन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञमभवति ॥

40. The words ending with ktva, tosun (III. 4. 16) and kasun are indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतोः 'having risen,' विसृपः 'having spread.' Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables :—पुरासूर्य 'स्योदेतो' राधेयः । पुरावत्साना 'मपाकृत्तोः' । पुराङ्कूरस्य 'विसृपो' विरप्सिन्तु दादाय पृथ्वीं जीवदानुम् ॥ (Yajur Veda. I. 28) य ऋते चिदभिभिषः पुरा जर्देभ्य 'आददः' । (Rig Ved. VIIIa. I. 12).

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः-च (अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसमासोऽव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

41. (The compound called) Avyayîbhâva (II. 1. 5) is also indeclinable.

The Avyayibhava or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter. Thus अधिहरि 'upon Hari,' अनुरूप 'after the form *i., e.,* accordingly.'

The word च in the sūtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sūtras.

What is the object gained by making the avyayîbhâva compounds avyayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables, *viz.,* we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, *i.e.,* sūtra II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words upâgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word śalavâh, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्नि प्रत्यग्नि शलाभाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्वर), *i.e.,* sūtras VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, उपाग्नि मुखः, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent : (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga : into स्, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपयःकारः, उपपयःकामः, as compared with अयस्कारः. Here, the compound उपपयः being treated as avyaya sūtra VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of : into स्.

The four sūtras 38, 39, 40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the svaradigaṇa. see sūtra 37. These sūtras properly, therefore, belong to the gaṇapāṭha ; their repetition here in the Ashtādhyāyî indicates that these rules are अनित्य or not of universal application, *viz.,* all rules relating to avyayas in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69. declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an avyaya is not a rule of universal application, for we see

indeclinables like उदेतोः governed by the genitive case as, सूर्यस्योदेतोः ; or क्रूरस्य विसृपः .

शि सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतत्सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञम्भवति ॥

42. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called sarvanâmasthâna.

This defines the word sarvanâmasthâna. The affix शि is the nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes जस् and शस् used in every other gender. The श् of शि is servile, and the actual termination is इ ; the peculiarity of the affix शि is that it lengthens the penultimate vowel (VI. 4. 8) and adds a न् (VII. I. 72). Thus the plural of फल 'fruit' is फलानि 'fruits.' So also कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, and कुण्डानि पश्य. Here, there is no difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also मधूनि, त्रपूणि, जतूनि. The word sarvanâmasthâna occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 8.

सुडनपुंसकस्य ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, अनपुंसकस्य, (सर्वनामस्थानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सुडिषि पञ्च वचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि भवन्ति नपुंसकादन्यत्र ॥

43. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyâhâra sut. (i. e., the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanâmasthâna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

This defines further the word sarvanâmasthâna. The case-terminations in Sanskrit are 21 as arranged below :—

		Singular	Dual	Plural.
Nominative	प्रथमा	सु (स्)	औ	जस् (अस्)
Accusative	द्वितीया	अम्	औद्	शस् (अस्)
Instrumental	तृतीया	टा (आ)	भ्याम्	भिस्
Dative	चतुर्थी	डे (ए)	”	भ्यस्
Ablative	पंचमी	डसि (अस्)	”	”
Genitive	षष्ठी	डस् (अस्)	ओस्	आम्
Locative	सप्तमी	डि (इ)	”	सुप् (सु)

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the ज् of जस्, the श् of शस्, the ट् of औद् &c. are indicative. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyâhâra सुप् formed by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly the first five terminations (सु, औ, जस्, अम् and औद्) are represented by सुट् and are called sarvanâmasthâna in the masculine and feminine genders. In the declension of nouns, it will be seen, that some nouns have two bases, one before these sarvanâmasthâna and the other before the rest.

Thus the word राजन् 'king' has the base राजान् before the सुद् vibhaktis, while in the remaining cases, the base is राज् and राज as :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	राजा	राजानौ	राजानः
Accusative	राजानम्	राजानौ	राजः
Instrumental	राज्ञा	राजभ्यां	राजभिः

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

न वेति विभाषा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न. वा, इति, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेति प्रतिषेधो वेति विकल्पस्तयोः प्रतिषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषेति संज्ञा भवति ॥

44. "May or may not" is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा. We had already had occasion to use this word in sūtras 28 and 32. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâshâ:— prâpta-vibhâshâ, aprâpta-vibhâshâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two.

Thus the root श्वि 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा श्वे (V. 1. 30), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasâraṇa, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुशाव or शिश्वाय.

इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इक्, यणः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इग्यो यणः स्थाने भूतो भावी वा तस्य संप्रसारणमित्येषा संज्ञा भवति ॥

45. The ik vowels which replace the semi-vowels yaṇ are called samprasâraṇa.

This defines the word samprasâraṇa. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyâhâra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ, and their corresponding semi-vowels are य्, व्, र्, and ल् included in the pratyâhâra yaṇ. The word samprasâraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वप् 'to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishṭhâ affix क्त (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + त. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasâraṇa of the व of स्वप् before the कित् affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः 'slept.' Similarly from वृद्-उदितः, यज्-इष्टम्, व्यध्-विद्धः, ग्रह्-गृहीतम्-ग्रह्-पृष्टम्. The term samprasâraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. 1. 13; VI. 4. 131.

आद्यन्तौ ट्कितौ ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अन्तौ, ट्-क्-इतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिद्विवृति अन्तः किद्विवृति षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य ॥

46. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory इ or क्, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters इ and क्. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is इ that augment is to be placed before the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a कित् augment is to be added after the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 35) which says "ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with a consonant except ख, have इट्". The question may arise where is this इट् to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ârdhadhâtuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory इ shows, that it is to be placed before the ârdhadhâtuka affix. Thus the future termination स्यति, is an ârdhadhâtuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment इट्. Thus भू + इट् + स्यति = भविष्यति, 'he will be.' Similarly कृत्वा 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sūtra VII 3. 40. the root भी takes the augment बुक् in forming the causative. This having an indicatory क् is to be added after the word भी, as, भी + बुक् + ऐच् + त = भीषयते 'he frightens.'

मिद्वोऽन्त्यात्परः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, अच्, अन्त्यात्, परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच्चां सन्निविष्टानामन्त्याद्वः परो विद्वति ॥

47. The augment that has an indicatory म् comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final position of that which it augments.

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory म्. The augments having an indicatory म्, technically called मिन् augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called नम्, in which इ and म् are इत्, and the actual augment is न्. When, therefore it is said "let नम् be added to the word," the letter न् is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पयस् 'milk' is formed in the following way:—पयस् + नम् + इ (VII. 1. 72 = पयास्ति (VI. 4. 8). Here न् is added between य and स् i. e. after the अ of य, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly मुच् + श + ति (III. 1. 77) = मुच् + नुम् + श + ति (VI. 1. 59) = मुञ्चति. Similarly विरुणद्धि.

The word अच् is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhârâna or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1. 49 and III. 1. 2, by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

There is, however, an exception, in the case of the root मञ्ज्, in

which the augment नुम् is added not after the last vowel अ of म, but between स and ज्. The result of adding the augment नुम् between स and ज् is, that sūtra VIII. 2. 29. applies, and the स is elided. Thus मस्ज् + ता = मस्ज् + नुम् + ता (VII. 1. 60) = मस्जन् + ता = मज्जन् + ता (VII. 2. 29) = मज्जन्ता "He will immerse". So also मग्नः 'immersed,' मग्नवान्, मज्जन्तुम्.

एच इग्रस्वादेशे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, इक्, ह्रस्व-आदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचो ह्रस्वादेशे कर्तव्यइगेव ह्रस्वो भवति नान्यः ॥

48, Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

This sūtra points out the ह्रस्व substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares:—"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form provided it end in a vowel." Therefore in compounding अति + ऐ, the ऐ must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरि 'extravagant' so नौ, अतिनु 'disembarked or landed,' गो, उपगु 'near a cow.' All avyayibhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्'? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्. Thus the short of आ is अ. As, अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वा, अति + माना = अतिमानः ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted?' Because when द्रुत or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As देवदत्त O Devadatta ! देवदत्त !

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, स्थाने-योगा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इह शब्दे या षष्ठी अनियतयोगा श्रूयते सा स्थानेयोगैव भवति नान्ययोगा स्थानेयोगनिमित्तभूते सति सा प्रतिपत्तव्या ॥

49. The force of the genitive case in a sūtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini. The genitive case or śāshṭhi denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation, possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism

lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sūtra 3, the word इक् is in the genitive case; the literal translation being :—"of ik there is guṇa and vṛiddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sūtra means 'in the place of इक्.' Similarly in the sūtra immediately preceding this, viz. 48, we have the word एच् in the genitive case and the sūtra means 'of एच्.' Here also "of" means "in the place of."

Thus in sūtra हन्तेर्ज (VI. 4. 36) 'of hanti, there is ज' the word हन्ते, is the genitive of हन्ति; this genitive is used generally and its force is that of "in the place of." Therefore, ज displaces the verb हन in लोट or imperative mood, and we have जहि 'kill thou.'

This sūtra is also thus translated by Dr. Kielhorn :—Only that which is enunciated in a rule, i. e. that which is read in a rule or rather that which in the real language is like that which is read in a rule in a genitive case, or that which forms part of that which is enunciated in a genitive case, assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word स्थान 'place' i. e., is that in the place of which some thing else is substituted, but some thing suggested by the former does not assume that relation.

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence दर्भाणां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthâne, means 'prasange' i. e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sūtras अस्तेभूः (II. 4. 52), or ब्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53), the words 'asti,' and 'brû' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस् or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् instead respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of अस्; so also, वक्ता, वक्तुम् and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of ब्रू.

The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrīhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikarāṇa bahuvrīhi, see II. 2. 248 35), and it qualifies the word shashṭhī. The compound means स्थाने योगोऽस्या, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthâna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound; on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठेकालः &c.

स्थानेऽन्तरतमः ॥ ५० ॥ यदानि ॥ स्थाने-अन्तरतमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थाने प्राप्यमाणानामन्तरतम आदेशो भवति सदृशतमः ॥

50. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

This sūtra also lays down another rule of paribhāṣha. To explain this we must take an example. The guṇa of इ, उ, ऋ, and लृ, is अ, ए, ओ. There is nothing to specify what letter is the guṇa of what. It might be said that ओ is the guṇa of इ because the definitions as laid down up to so far, do not say anywhere that ओ is not the guṇa of इ. So that when in a word like चि we are told 'let there be the guṇa of इ' we do not know what specific guṇa letter is to be substituted, whether it is अ, ए or ओ. To clear up this doubt, this sūtra declares that the likeliest of its significates is to be substituted. Now the nearest in place to इ is ए, both having their place of pronunciation, the palate. Similarly ओ is the guṇa of उ, because both are labials.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness :—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i. e.* palate, throat &c.); (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to be used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *viz.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

(1). Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, "when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus— $\text{इण्ड} + \text{अयं} = \text{इण्डायं}$; here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are guttural.

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. 1. 63 :—"The words पद्, दत्, नस् &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes ङस् (acc.-pl.) &c., follow." Here, we know the substitutes, but we do not know of what they are the substitutes. We apply the maxim of अर्थतः "that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the meaning of the original, *i. e.*, a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express." Thus we find that पद् is the substitute of पार, दत् of दन्त, नस् of नासिका, &c., which convey the same meaning and contain almost the same letters. Another example of this is afforded by VI. 3. 34, by which feminine words in a compound are changed into masculine. Thus वातण्डी (fem) + युवति = वातण्डययुवति

(3). An example of prosodial substitution (प्रमाणतः) is afforded by rule VIII. 2. 80, "उ is the substitute of what comes after the इ of अइस् not ending in स् and in the room of इ there is उ." Thus अम + स्तै = अम् + अस्मै = अमुष्मै; अम + भ्याम् = अमा + भ्याम् (VII. 3. 102) = अम् + ऊभ्याम् = अमूभ्याम्. Here, short उ replaces the short अ, and the long ऊ replaces the long आ.

(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for च् and ज् when an affix having an indicatory घ् follows." Applying the rule of गुणतः we find that क् which is an alpaprâṇa and aghosha letter replaces च् having the same quality; while ज् which is ghosha, and alpaprâṇa is replaced by the letter ग् possessing similar quality. Thus पच् + घञ् (III. 3. 18) = पाकः; त्यज् + घञ् = त्यागः; रज्ज् + घञ् = रगः ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of the word sthâna was understood in this sūtra from the last, the repetition of this word indicates the existence of the following paribhâṣâ :—

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of इ and उ out of the three guṇa letters अ, ए and ओ, we find that अ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.*, अ and इ and उ have all one mâtrâ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and ओ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, चेता, स्तोता.

Why do we use the word "likest" in the superlative degree? Where there are many sort of proximities, the likest must be taken. Thus वाक् + हसति = वाग्धसति. Here, by VIII. 4. 62, "after a letter of ह्रस्व class, ह् is changed into a letter homogeneous with the preceding," ह् must be changed into a letter of the class क्. Out of the five letters of this class, ख् and ह् are both aspirates, but ख् is hard, and ह् is soft; so ग् and ह् are both soft, but ग् is unaspirate, and ह् is aspirate, therefore these must be rejected; the only letter which has the nearest approach to ह्, is घ्, which is both soft and aspirate. Similarly in त्रिदुब्धसति, the ह् has been changed into भ्.

उरण् रपरः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, अण्, र-परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उः (ऋकारस्य) स्थानेऽण् प्रसज्यमान एव रपरो वेदितव्यः ॥

51. When a letter of अण् pratyâhâra comes as a substitute for ऋ it is always followed by a र.

This sūtra consists of three words *viz.*, उः which is the genitive singular of ऋ and means literally 'of ऋ' or 'in the place of ऋ'; the second word is अण्, a pratyâhâra denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This sūtra is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of ऋ. Thus there

are only three guṇa vowels अ, ए and ओ. Of these what is the proper guṇa for कृ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the guṇa of कृ; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the guṇa of कृ, the actual substitute is अर्. Thus कृ + ता = कर्त्ता; similarly हर्ता.

So also when कृ is replaced by इ as by sūtra VII. 100, this substitute इ must be followed by a र्. As कृ + अति = कि + र् + अति = किरति 'he scatters;' similarly गिरति 'he swallows.'

So also when कृ is replaced by उ, as by sūtra IV. 1. 115 this उ must be followed by a र्. As द्वि + मातृ + अण् = द्विमातुरः 'son of two mothers'

This र् is to be added only when कृ is replaced by अ, इ or उ (अण्) vowels, and not when it is replaced by any other letter.

Thus by IV. 1. 97, "the कृ of the word सुधातृ is replaced by अकृ (technically अकङ्) when the affix इञ् is added." Thus, सुधातृ + इञ् = सुधातृ + अकृ + इ = सौधाताकिः, 'a descendant of Sudhâtri' Here the substitute of कृ, that is to say, the syllable अकृ is not followed by र्.

The र् in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyâhâra formed by the letter र् and अ of लण्; and thus it includes the letters र् and लृ. In that case the sūtra would mean that अण् substitutes of कृ and लृ are always followed by र् and लृ respectively. Thus guṇa of रि = ar, of लि = al.

अलोन्त्यस्य ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यस्य, (आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य य उच्यते आदेशः सोन्त्यस्यालः स्थाने वेदितव्यः ॥

52. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sūtra VII. 2. 102, it is declared त्यदादीनामः "in the place of त्यद् &c., there is अ." It does not mean that the whole word त्यद्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sūtra, that the last letter of त्यद्, namely द् is to be replaced by अ.

So also in sūtra I. 2. 50 इङ्गोण्याः the short इ replaces only the final letter of गोणी and not the whole word, as पञ्चगोणिः 'purchased for five gopis.' पञ्चगोणिः

डिच्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ड्-इत्, च, (आदेशः, अलः, अन्त्यस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डिच्च य आदेशः सोऽनेकालपि अलोन्त्यस्य भवति ॥

53. And the substitute which has an indicatory ड (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sūtra is an exception by anticipation to sūtra 55. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of माह and पितृ there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—‘In the place of words ending in ऋ there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.’ Now the substitute आनङ् is a डिन् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *viz*, the ऋ of माह is only changed into आ and not the whole word; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also होतापोतारौ.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute तातङ् (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicatory ङ, yet replaces the whole expressions तु and हि and not only their finals. As जीवतात् ‘may he live, or may you live’; instead of जीवतु ‘may he live,’ or जीव ‘live thou.’

आदेः परस्य ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेः, परस्य, (अलः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य कार्यं शिष्यमाणमादेरलः प्रत्येतव्यम् ॥

54. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97) by which it is declared: “In the place of अप् used after the words द्वि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्गे there is ई.” This rule may be stated in other words as:—‘In the place of अप् there is ई when अप् follows द्वि or अन्तर्.’ Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अप् but only one. By sūtra 52 that letter would have been the last letter of अप्, but this sūtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अप् and we have द्वि + अप् = द्वीपं (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74) ‘an island,’ अन्तरीपं ‘promontory.’ So also in the sūtra ईरासः (VII. 2. 83) ‘long ई is the substitute of अन when the latter comes after the root आस्.’ Thus आस् + अन = आस् + ईन = आसीनः. Here also the ई replaces the initial अ of अन.

How can we find when an operation is to be performed on a subsequent word? When the previous word is exhibited in the 5th or ablative case. see sūtra 67.

अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेक-अल्, शित्, सर्वस्य,

(आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकाल् य आदेशः शित् सर्वस्य षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य स्थाने भवति ॥

55. A substitute consisting of more than one letter, and a substitute having an indicatory श् take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sūtra is an exception to sūtra 52 by which it was declared that an âdeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sūtra on the contrary enjoins that an âdeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an âdeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श् as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sūtra ब्रुवो वच् (II. 4. 53) which means 'in the place of ब्रू let there be वच्.' Here the âdeśa वच् consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word ब्रू and not only the last letter ऊ. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb ब्रू is replaced by वच्. Thus the future tense of ब्रू is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

So also there is a sūtra (V. 3. 3.) by which it is declared:—"In the place of इद्म् there is इश्." Here the âdeśa इ is an âdeśa having the श् for its indicatory letter, and though it consists of only one letter, it replaces the whole word इद्म्, and not only its last letter म्.

Of course, it must be understood that the phrase 'consisting of more than one letter' applies to the *actual* substitute, and not to the substitute with its indicatory letters, the latter being for the purposes of counting regarded as mere surplusages and not to be taken into account. To see whether an affix is अनेकाल् or not, the indicatory letters must not be counted; and the affix must be stripped of all its इत् letters.

स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानि-वत्, आदेशः,

अनल्विधौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानिवदादेशो भवति स्थान्याश्रयेषु कार्येष्वनलाश्रयेषु स्थान्यलाश्रयाणि कार्याणि वर्जयित्वा ॥

56. A substitute (âdeśa) is like the former occupant (sthāni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the operation of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

This is an explanatory sūtra, or this may be considered also as an atideśa sūtra, in as much as it declares that the operations to be performed

on or by the original, may be similarly performed on or by the substitute, but with certain restrictions. The words of this sūtra require some detailed exposition. Sthâni is the word or the portion of a word which is replaced. Âdeśa is the expression which replaces something. Al-vidhi is a compound of 'al' meaning alphabet or letters in general, and 'vidhi' rule i. e. any rule applicable to letters.

There is an exception, however, to this rule in the case of rules, the occasion for the operation of which, is furnished by the letters of the original term. That is to say for the purposes of orthographic rules, an âdeśa is not like the sthâni. A rule which is applicable to the *letters* of the sthâni, need not be applicable to the letters of the âdeśa.

Thus the gerund of verbs is generally formed by adding the affix **त्वा** e. g. **ग्रह् + त्वा**. Now VII. 2. 35. prescribes the insertion of an intermediate **इ** before ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with any consonant except **य**. This rule is clearly an al-vidhi, because the occasion for its application is conditional on the letters of the affix. The affix **त्वा** begins with **त्** and is an ârdhadhâtuka affix and fulfils all the conditions of the rule. Therefore, we have **ग्रह् + इ + त्वा = ग्रहीत्वा** (VI. 1. 16; VII. 2. 37).

Now in compound verbs the affix **त्वा** is replaced by **य** (tech. ल्यप्). Thus **संगृह् + य**. This âdeśa **य** which takes the place of **त्वा** has all the functions of **त्वा** viz. it has the power of making gerunds; it makes the word an indeclinable (see rule 41 *ante*), as the affix **त्वा** does. But the affix **त्वा** takes an intermediate **इ**; should, therefore, the âdeśa **य** take also the **इ** or not? Now the augment **इ** which **त्वा** takes is by virtue of VII. 2. 35, because it begins with a consonant of **वल्** pratyâhâra; while **य** is the only consonant which is not included in this pratyâhâra. Therefore, for the purposes of taking **इ** by rule VII. 2. 35. the âdeśa **य** is not like **त्वा**; since that rule is one which has its scope when there are certain initial letters; or an al-vidhi. Therefore, we have **संगृह्य**.

Substitutes replace either a धातु 'root,' or an अङ्ग 'base,' or a कृत affix 'primary affix,' or a taddhita affix 'secondary affix,' or an avyaya 'indeclinable,' or a सुप् affix 'case affix,' or a तिङ् affix 'conjugational affix,' or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhātu becomes like a dhātu. Thus sūtras II. 4. 52 and 53 declare:—'भू is the substitute of the root अस्र्, and वच् of the root भ्रू when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows.' Here the substitutes भू and वच् are treated as dhātu, and as such get the affixes लब्ध &c. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्; वक्ता, वक्तुम्, वक्तव्यम्.

The substitute of an anga becomes like an anga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—'क is the substitute of the base क्रिम् when a case-affix follows.'

Here, क gets the designation 'base' and so rules applicable to base, are applied to क also. Thus in केन, काभ्यान्, कैः &c., we have इन, the lengthening of the vowel, and ऐस् substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a kṛit affix becomes like a kṛit affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:—'ल्यप्' is the substitute of the kṛit affix क्त्वा when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not नञ्. Here, ल्यप् is also called a kṛit affix, and as such, sūtra VI. 1. 71 applies, and तुक् is added. As प्रकृ + ल्यप् = प्रकृ + त् + य = प्रकृत्य; similarly प्रहृत्य &c.

The substitute of a taddhita affix is like a taddhita. Thus VII. 3. 50 declares:—'इक्' is the substitute of the affix ठ' as दधि + ठक् (IV. 2. 18) = दधिकन्, here, इक् being treated as a taddhita, sūtra I. 2. 56 applies and the word formed by it, gets the name of prātipadika, and is so declined.

The substitute of an avyaya is like an avyaya. As, प्रस्तुत्य; प्रहृत्य. The affix क्त्वा makes avyayas (I. 1. 40), its substitute ल्यप् will also make the word an avyaya, and as such sūtra II. 4. 82 applies, and the case-affixes are elided after these words.

The substitute of sup-affixes becomes like sup. Thus VII. 1. 13 declares:—'य' is the substitute of the sup-affix हे after an inflective base ending in short अ. Here, य is treated as a sup-affix, and therefore sūtra VII. 3. 102 applies, and there is lengthening of the vowel, as, वृभाय; वृभाय.

The substitute of ति becomes like ति. Thus III. 4. 101 declares:—'तान्, तन्, त and अन्' are substituted for तस्, यस्, य, and निप् when tense-affixes having indicatory ड् follow. Here the substitutes तान् &c., also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, अकुरुतन्, अकुरुत &c.

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares:—'वस्' is the substitute of बुष्मान्, बुष्मन्-यन्, बुष्माकन्, and नस् of अस्मान्, अस्मन्-यन् and अस्माकन्. Here, वस् and नस् are treated as pada, and the final स् is changed into visarga, as वः, नः.

Why have we used the word वस् in the sūtra? Without it the aphorism would have been स्यान्वादेशोऽन्तर्विधौ, and this being a chapter treating of definitions, the meaning would have been, 'an ādeśa is called sthāni.' This certainly is not intended, for had it been so, then all operations would be performed by or on the substitute, but none by the original. But this is not so. Thus rule I. 3. 28, says 'the root हन् preceded by आ is ātmanepadī.' वध the substitute of हन् will be ātmanepadī, as आवाधे; but हन् also will be so in its proper sphere, as, चाहत.

The word ādeśa is used in the sūtra to indicate, that the rule applies even to partial substitutions: as changing the इ of ति into उ (III. 4. 86) in the imperative e. g. पचतु.

The word al-vidhi is used in order to indicate that the substitutes of हिङ्,

पथिन्, स्यद् &c., such as the change of व् into औ (VII. 1. 84), न् into आ (VII. 1. 85), इ into अ (VII. 2. 102), are not to be treated like the original : as औः, पन्थाः, सः. Had these substitutes been treated like the original, rule VI. 1. 68 would apply, and the case-affix सु would have been elided.

अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, परस्मिन्, पूर्व-विधौ, (स्थानिवत् आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वविधौ कर्त्तव्ये स्थानिवद्भवति ॥

57. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sūtra consists of three words:—अचः genitive of the pratyâhâra अच् meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an âdeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words âdeśa and sthânivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sūtra. The second word is 'parasmin' loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pûrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pûrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sūtra thus comes to mean that an âdeśa which replaces a vowel, becomes sthânivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an âdeśa.

Thus there is an affix called सिच् the actual affix being इ; the other letters ण् and च् being इत्. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicatory ण् is to cause the vriddhi of the penultimate अ; (sūtra VII. 2. 116) as पच + इ = पाचि. Now in forming the denominative verb from the word पदु, we have to add the affix सिच्. Thus पदु + इ; but before nich, the उ of पदु is substituted by a 'lopa' or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel उ of पदु and becomes sthânivat by force of the present sūtra. The result of becoming sthânivat is that though the अ of पद् is really a penultimate and ought to be vriddhied before 'nich' it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the अ to be regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form पटि the present tense third person singular of which is पटयति. The equation being पद् + ० + इ, the zero preventing the अ of पद् from becoming penultimate. So also in the word अवधीत्, the aorist (लुङ्) of वध. Thus अ + वध + ईत् = अ + वध् + ० + ईत्. Here, the अ of वध is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is elision of the short अ of that which ends in short अ;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7.) which declares 'vriddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu अ preceded by a consonant when सिच् (aorist) follows.' However in the present case the zero is consi-

dered as sthânavat, and prevents the application of sūtra VII. 2. 7; otherwise we get the form अवाधीत् which is inadmissible.

Similarly बहुखट्वा + कप् = बहुखट्वाकः। Here, the short अ is the substitute of the long आ of खट्वा by VII. 4. 15; because of the subsequent (parasmin) affix 'kap'. However, the word बहुखट्वा will not be considered as a word ending in a short vowel, for the purposes of the application of rule VI. 2. 174, (the udâtta accent falls on the last vowel but one of a word that ends in a short vowel and is the last member of a bahuvrîhi compound followed by the affix kap). On the contrary the short अ is regarded as sthânavat to long आ. Thus बहुखट्वाकः.

It is needless to say that this rule applies only to vowel âdeśa, therefore, where an âdeśa replaces a consonant, the previous sūtra 56 has its scope and prevents its being sthânavat. Thus there is a kṛit affix called ल्यप्, the real suffix being य, the ल् and प् being diacritical letters. Before this य the verb आगम् (to come) loses its म्, and lopa or blank takes the place of म्. Here then lopa or blank is an âdeśa and म् a consonant is sthâni.

Now there is a rule which says (VI. 1. 71), that before kṛit affixes having an indicatory प्, the letter त is added after verbs ending in light vowels. Now in आगम्, when म् is omitted, the अ of ग becomes final; and therefore a त् is required before य (which is a पित् affix). Thus we have आगत्य.

But had lopa or blank become sthânavat to म् then the अ of ग would have remained penultimate as it was when it was आगम्; and no त् would have been required. But it is not so.

Similarly in forming the word प्रश्नः. Thus प्रच्छ् + नङ् (III. 3. 90) प्रश् + नङ् (VI. 4. 19). Here, श् is substituted for छ्; this will not be sthânavat to छ्; though this substitute is caused by something that follows (parasmin). Were it to be sthânavat, there would come the augment तुक् (त्) by VI. 1. 73.

Similarly अक्राष्टाम्, the aorist of कृष्. Thus अ + कृष् + सिच् + ताम् = अ + कृष् + ० + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26). Here the स् is elided on account of what follows, but still the lopa substitute here is not sthânavat for the purposes of VIII. 2. 41. Had it been sthânavat, स् of कृष् would be changed into क्.

Moreover this rule applies where a vowel is changed on account of something which follows (parasmin). Therefore, where the change has not been occasioned by anything subsequent, the âdeśa (though of a vowel) is not sthânavat. Thus the words युवजानिः and बहुटीजानिः.

The word युवजानि is a bahuvrîhi compound of युवति and जाया, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the आ of या is replaced by नि (tech. निङ्) by sūtra V. 4. 134. This नि will not be sthânavat to आ, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as sthânavat, the य् could not be elided by VI. 1. 66 ('there is elision of य

and य when any consonant except ह् or य् follows'). Thus, युवजाया + नि = युवजाय् + ० + नि (V. 4. 134) = युवजानि: (VI. 1. 66).

Similarly the word वैयाघ्रपद्यः, 'a descendant of व्याघ्रपाद्' also illustrates this rule. व्याघ्रपाद् is a bahuvrīhi compound of व्याघ्र and पाद्, meaning 'whose foot is like that of a tiger.' Now the final अ of 'pâda' is elided in such compounds by V. 4. 138. This lopa substitution is not caused by anything that follows, therefore, this lopâdeśa will not be sthānivat for the purposes of the application of sūtra VI. 4. 130 ('पद्' is the substitute of the word पाद् when part of an inflective base ending in the word पाद् and entitled to the name of Bha. I. 4. 18'). Therefore, व्याघ्रपाद् + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = वैयाघ्रपद्यः. Had the lopa been like the original, there could not have been the substitution of 'pad' for 'pâd.'

Similarly the word आसीद्ये, 1st per. sing. atm. present tense of the root दीधी 'to shine.' Thus आसीधी + इद् = आसीधी + ए (III. 4. 79). This change of इ into ए is not caused by anything that follows, hence ए is not sthānivat to इ, for the purposes of the application of rule VII. 4. 53 ('the finals of dīdhī and vevī are elided when an affix beginning with य् or इ follows'). Had ए been sthānivat, the final ई would have been elided.

Similarly an âdeśa though of a vowel, and even though occasioned by a subsequent something, would not be sthānivat, if there is not the application of a rule to something that precedes the âdeśa (pûrva-vidhi). If the rule is to be applied to something subsequent to the âdeśa; it will be applied to the exact âdeśa without considering what was the letter which the âdeśa had replaced. It is only when a rule is to be applied to a prior object, that it becomes important to consider whether the âdeśa is sthānivat or not. Thus the vocative case of गो is हे गौः। The vocative is formed from the nominative case (II. 3. 49). The nominative of गो is formed by changing ओ into औ and adding the case termination स्. Here the âdeśa औ, replaces ओ, on account of the subsequent termination स्. Now there is a rule applicable to vocative cases which declares that the final स् is dropped after short vowels and ए and ओ (VI. 1. 69).

Now is the औ of गौ to be regarded as sthānivat to ओ, which it replaces; for the purposes of this rule of elision of finals? If so, the consequence would be that the final स् would have to be dropped in the vocative. But it is not so. Because the rule VI. 1. 69, which ordains the dropping of स् after short vowels and ए and ओ applies to a letter, which is not *anterior* to the âdeśa औ, but to one which follows it, and consequently there being no pûrva-vidhi here, the final स् is retained and we have the vocative गौः.

Similarly the word बाम्रवीयाः, 'the pupils of Bâhravya.' The word बाम्रव्य is derived from बभ्रु in this wise. बभ्रु + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = बाम्रव्य

+ यञ् (VI. 4. 146 and VII. 2. 117) = बाभ्रञ् + यञ् (VI. 1. 79) = बाभ्रव्यः. From this is formed बाभ्रवीय in this wise:—बाभ्रव्य + छ (IV. 2. 114) = बाभ्रव्य + ईय (VII. 1. 2) = बाभ्रव्य + ईय (VI. 4. 148) = बाभ्रञ् + ईय (VI. 4. 150). Here, had the substitute अञ् which replaced the ओ of बाभ्रो, been sthânavat to ओ, rule VI. 4. 150 ('there is elision of the य of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant, when long ई follows'), could not have applied. But this substitute अञ् is not sthânavat for the purposes of rule VI. 4. 150, inasmuch as that rule does not apply to any letter that *precedes* the substitute अञ्, but to the very letters of the substitute itself.

Similarly the word नैधेयः, which is evolved from the root धा, in this wise नि + धा + कि (III. 3. 92) = नि + धा + इ (I. 3. 8) = नि + धू + ० + इ (VI. 4. 64) = निधि. Let us then form a secondary derivative from the word निधि applying ढक् (IV. 1. 122), the whole of which affix is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2). Thus निधि + एय = निध् + एय (VI. 4. 148) = नैधेय (VII. 2. 118). Here, the lopa substituted for the आ of धा by VI. 4. 64 is not sthânavat for the purposes of the application of IV. 1. 122 by which the affix ढक् is added. Rule V. 1. 122 says, 'dhak is added to a word ending in इ, provided it be a word containing *two* vowels.' Now निधि ends in इ and contains two vowels; but if the lopa were sthânavat to the elided आ, then it would be a word of *three* syllables. That is however not so; because the rule enjoining the affix ढक् is not applicable to anything *preceding* the lopâdeśa, but is enjoined with regard to something after this substitution.

न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णानुस्वारदीर्घजश्चिधिषु ॥५८॥
पदानि ॥ न, पदान्त- द्विर्वचन- वरे- यलोप- स्वर- सवर्ण- अनुस्वार- दीर्घ- जश्- चर्-
विधिषु, (स्थानिचत्)

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेणातिप्रसक्तः स्थानिचत्वाव एतेषु विधिषु प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

58. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvâra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jaś and char letters.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the previous sūtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthânavat under certain conditions. This sūtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthânavat under the following circumstances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.' Thus the अ of अस् is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have अस्ति 'he is,' स्तः 'they two are,' सन्ति 'they are.' Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the अ of स्तः and सन्ति is

replaced by an âdeśa called लोप्, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word स्तः there is this âdeśa existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible âdeśa will be sthânavat, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i. e. the affixes तः and अन्ति being ङित् (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of अ by the last sūtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence कौ स्तः 'who two are' the final औ of कौ and the invisible अ of स्तः ought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into आव (VI. 1. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sūtra, by which the change of औ into आव् is a पदान्त विधि or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have कौ स्तः. So also in तानि सन्ति, rule VI. 1. 77 is not applied.

2. द्विवचनविधि: 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of इधि + अत्र we have इधयत्र. Here इ is changed into य्. If this य् were sthânavat to इ, then the rule by which ध् could be doubled before य् would be inapplicable. But य् is not equivalent to इ, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of ध् and get the form इधयत्र. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthânî.

3. वरेविधि: 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्.' The affix वरच् is a kṛit affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from ईश् 'to rule' we have ईश्वर: 'ruler.' So from the intensive verb यायाय we have यायावर: 'a vagrant.' It is formed in this wise यायाय + वर (III. 2. 176) = यायाय् + ० + वर (VI. 4. 48). Here the अ of य has been dropped and replaced by lopa, on account of its being followed by the ârdhahâtuka affix वरच्. The next step is to drop the य् by rule VI. 1. 66 which declares that the letters व् and य् are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except य् i. e., beginning with consonants of वल् pratyâhâra. Thus याया + ० + वर. Now there is a rule (VI. 4. 64) which declares that the final long आ of a base is dropped before ârdhahâtuka affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the âdeśa 'lopa,' which replaced the vowel अ, be considered as sthânavat, and वर be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the आ of याया requires to be dropped. But this sūtra prevents this and we have the form यायावर; as. अप्सु यायावरः प्रवपेत पिण्डान् ॥

4. यलोपविधि: 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.' Thus there is a verb कण्डूय 'to scratch'. In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix ति (tech. क्तिच्) is added. Thus कण्डूय + ति = कण्डूय् + ० + ति, the अ of य being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now there is a rule (VI. 1. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of य् before consonantal affixes. Now if the lopa-substitute be considered as sthânavat to अ, then the affix ति is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of य्, would not apply. The present sūtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form कण्डूति: 'scratching.'

5. स्वरविधि: 'a rule relating to accent.' There is a sūtra (VI. 1. 193) which says that when a word is formed by an affix that has an indicatory ह्र , the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udātta accent. Now ञुल् is an affix that has an indicatory ह्र , the real affix being अक (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desiderative verb चिकीर्ष 'desirous of doing' we have:— $\text{चिकीर्ष} + \text{अक} = \text{चिकीर्ष} + \circ + \text{अक}$, the अ being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then the accent must fall on this latent अ but it is not so. The accent falls on the ई of की ; and we have चिकीर्षकः ; so also त्रिहर्षकः ॥

6. सवर्णविधि: 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters. To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb शिष् in the imperative mood. The affix हि is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb शिष् belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhâdi. This class of verbs take the vikaraṇa अम् (III. 1. 78) the ञ् and म् being indicatory the real affix is न . This न is inserted between the radical vowel and the final consonant (I. 1. 47). Therefore we have the following equation:— $\text{शिष्} + \text{इन्म्} + \text{हि} = \text{शि} + \text{न} + \text{प्} + \text{हि} = \text{शि} + \text{न्} + \circ + \text{प्} + \text{हि}$. The अ of न is dropped by VI. 4. 111, which declares that the अ of इन्म् is dropped before those sârvadhâtuka terminations which are कित् or ङित् . By I. 2. 4 all sârvadhâtuka terminations which have not got an indicatory प् are considered as ङित् . The affix हि therefore is a ङित् sârvadhâtuka affix, and by rule III. 4. 87, हि is to be regarded as अपित् , not having an indicatory प् . The next stage is:— $\text{शि} + \text{न्} + \circ + \text{प्} + \text{धि}$; the हि being changed into धि by rule (VI. 4. 101) which says that 'हि is changed into धि, when it follows a root which ends in a consonant of झञ् pratyâhâra.' here प् and ध् are changed by general rules of sandhi into ङ् and ड् and we have $\text{शि} + \text{न्} + \circ + \text{ङ्} + \text{डि}$ (VIII. 4. 41). Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the न् is changed into anusvâra when followed by a consonant of झञ् pratyâhâra.' Therefore we have:— $\text{शि} + \circ + \circ + \text{ङ्} + \text{डि}$. This is the form to which the present rule is applicable. Thus, there is a rule (VIII. 4. 58) which says that an anusvâra followed by a letter of यञ् pratyâhâra i.e., any consonant except ह्र , श् प् and स् is changed into a letter homogeneous or savaṇṇa to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthānivat to the अ which it replaces, the anusvâra cannot be changed into प् as homogeneous to ङ् . But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form $\text{शि} + \text{प्} + \text{ङ्} + \text{डि} = \text{शिङ्गिड्}$ or शिङ्गिडि ; so also विण्दि .

7. अनुस्वारविधि: 'a rule relating to anusvâra.' The above example will serve the purpose here:— $\text{शि} + \text{न्} + \circ + \text{ङ्} + \text{डि}$. This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24), requires the न् to be changed into anusvâra.

Now if zero be considered as sthânavat, then न् is not followed by a letter of झल् pratyâhâra, and cannot be changed into anusvâra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthânavat, and we change the न् into anusvâra. Other examples are शि + न् + ० + ष् + अन्ति = शिषन्ति; so also पिबन्ति ॥

8. दीर्घविधि: 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.' Let us form the Inst. sing. of the noun प्रतिदिवन्. The termination of the Inst. sing. is ऌ or आ. Therefore, we have प्रतिदिवन् + आ = प्रतिदिव् + ० + न् + आ. Here the अ has been elided by rule VI. 4. 134, which teaches that words ending in अन् lose their अ before terminations technically called Bha. The termination of Inst. sing. is a Bha termination by force of rule I. 4. 18. The next rule that now comes into operation, is VIII. 2. 77, which requires the lengthening of the short penultimate vowels, of the इक् pratyâhâra, of words that end in र् or व् and are followed by a consonant. Here दिव् is a root that ends in व्; and if the zero be considered as sthânavat, then this व् is not followed by a consonant, but by a latent vowel, and so the short इ of दिव् will not be lengthened. This rule, however, provides for such lengthening, and therefore we have:—प्रतिदिव् + ० + न् + आ = प्रतिदीव्ना ॥

9. जश्विधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyâhâra जश्, in the place of hard consonants' In this case also the âdeśa that takes the place of a vowel is not sthânavat.

Let us add the affix क्तिन् to the root अद् 'to eat,' compounded with the word स or समान. In Vedic literature अद् is replaced by घस्, (II. 4. 39); so we have, स + घस् + क्तिन् = स + घस् + ति = स + घ् + ० + स् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = स + घ् + ० + ० + ति (VIII. 2. 26) = स + घ् + ० + ० + धि (VIII. 2. 40).

It is at this stage, that rule VIII. 4. 53 requires the घ् to be changed into ग्. This is a जश् rule, and teaches that in the place of letters of झल् class, the letters of जश् class are substituted, if followed by letters of झल् class. If the zero which was obtained by dropping the अ of घ, be considered as sthânavat, then the घ् is not followed by a consonant of झल् class, and cannot be changed into ग्. But it is not so. Therefore सघ् + ० + ० + धि = सग्धि: (Yaj. Ved. XVIII. 9). The various rules, by which first अ is omitted, and then स् is dropped, have been referred to in brackets, and will be explained in their proper places.

Similarly the word बब्रधाम्, which is the Imperative (lot) 2nd per. dual of the root भस्, and is thus evolved. This root belongs to the Juhutyâdi class, and therefore, there is reduplication. Thus भस् + ताम् = भस् + भस् + ताम् = भ + भस् + ताम् = ब + भस् + ताम् = ब + भ् + ० + स् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + धाम् (VIII. 2. 40) = ब + ब्र + ० + ० + धाम् = बब्रधाम् ॥ Here the change of भ् into ब्र् is by the application of VIII. 4. 33, which is a jaś rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthânavat.

10. चरविधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर् pratyâhâra instead of other consonants.' In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthânavat.

Let us form the 2nd pers. sing. perfect of the verb अद् 'to eat.' अद् is replaced by घस् (II. 4. 40) and अतुस् is the termination of the second person singular of लिट् or perfect tense. घस् + अतुस् = घस् + घस् + अतुस् (VI. 1. 8) = घ + घस् + अतुस् (VII. 4. 60) = ज + घस् + अतुस् (VIII. 4. 54) = ज + घ् + ० + स् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98) = जघ् + ० + सतुस्.

At this stage comes the चर् rule in operation, which says that the letters of झल् pratyâhâra are replaced by those of चर् pratyâhâra, when followed by letters of खर् pratyâhâra. Here घ् is a letter of झल् class, and if zero is not sthânavat, it is followed by स् which is a letter of खर् class, and therefore घ् is required to be changed into क् of चर् class. By the present rule, zero is not sthânavat and thus we have :—जक् + सतुस् = जक्तुः (VIII. 3. 60).

Similarly अत्तन् the 3rd per. plural aorist of घस् is thus formed :—अ + घस् + त्ति + अन् = अ + घस् + अन् (II. 4. 80) = अ + घ् + ० + स् + अन् (VI. 4. 98). Here had the lopa been sthânavat, rule VIII. 4. 55 could not have applied. But it being a char rule, the lopa is not sthânavat. Therefore we have, अत्तन्.

When lopa is the substitute of a vowel, it is not sthânavat, for the purposes of the application of the rules of accent, rules relating to the doubling of letters, and the rules relating to the elision of ya. In other places, with the exception of the above three; the lopa substitute of a vowel is, and must be treated as sthânavat. Thus बहुखट्वकः, किर्योः, गिर्योः, वाय्वोः. In these cases the lopa-âdeśa being sthânavat, the rules relating to accent, lengthening and the elision of ya, do not apply.

द्विर्वचनेऽचि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विर्वचने, अचि, (स्थानिवत्, आदेशः, अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि अजादेशः स्थानिवद्भवति द्विर्वचन एव कर्त्तव्ये ॥

59. Before an affix having an initial vowel, which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel even in form, only for the purposes of reduplication and no further.

This sūtra has been explained in different ways by the authors of the Kasika and of the Siddhânta Kaumudî. According to the latter, the sūtra means :—'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows, that is a cause of reduplication, a substitute shall not take the place of a preceding vowel, [whilst the reduplication is yet to be made : but the reduplication having been made

the substitution may then take place.' The explanation given by Kasika is more in harmony with the Great Commentary. For all practical purposes, the two explanations lead to the same conclusion. According to Kasika, the vowel-substitute is sthânavat, in the sense, that it is exactly of the same form as the original, and retains this form only for a fixed time *viz.*, so long as the reduplication is being made; but as soon as the reduplication has been made, the substitute takes its proper form. This rule has its scope in the rules relating (a) to the elision of long आ, (b) to the elision of the penultimate, (c) to the elision of the affix लिच्, (d) to the substitution of semi-vowels for vowels, and lastly (e) to the substitution of अय्, अव्, आय् and आव् for ए, ओ ऐ and औ respectively by the rules of sandhi.

(a). Elision of आ. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root पा 'to drink.' The termination of 2nd person perfect is अतुस्. This is, therefore, a termination beginning with a vowel, and it causes the reduplication of the root. The conditions of the present sūtra all exist in this. Thus we have पा + अतुस् = प् + ◦ + अतुस् (VI. 4. 64). Here the आ is elided by VI. 4. 64. which teaches that 'the आ of the root is elided before ârdha-dhātuka affixes beginning with a vowel and which are कित् or डित् and before इद्.' The affix अतुस् is such an affix (I. 2. 5, III. 4. 115).

Now comes the rule about reduplication which is contained in sūtra VI. 1. 8, and teaches that a root consisting of a single vowel is reduplicated before the terminations of the perfect. Here, by the elision of आ, the only visible root left to us is प् which is a consonant without any vowel. The rule of reduplication, therefore, would not have applied to it, because there is no vowel in it, but for the present sūtra, which solves the difficulty. Here the vowel-substitute zero must be considered sthânavat i. e. as if it were the very आ itself. Thus we have पा + प् + ◦ + अतुस् = पपतुस् (VII. 4. 59). The long आ of the reduplicative syllable has been shortened by VII. 4. 59. So also पपुः।

(b). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of हन् 'to kill.' हन् + अतुस् = ह् + ◦ + न् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98).

Here also the preliminary conditions are all fulfilled, the affix begins with a vowel and it causes the reduplication of the root. The penultimate अ of हन् is replaced by the substitute lopa by VI. 4. 98, which teaches that the roots गम् 'to go' हन् 'to kill' and a few others lose their penultimate before affixes beginning with a vowel and which are also कित् or डित्. We know अतुस् to be such an affix. For the reasons already given, we can not reduplicate the consonants हन् as they have no vowel. However, this reduplication is effected by virtue of the present rule, and we have:—ह + ह् + अतुस् = जहत्तुः (VII. 4. 62, VII. 3. 55). The first ह् is changed into ज् by VII. 4. 62 and the second ह् into घ् by VII. 3. 55.

(c). The elision of the affix णिच् . Let us form the Aorist (luṅ) of the causative form of अद् . The causative is formed by adding the affix णिच् to the root; and the aorist takes the augment अ . Thus we have:— $\text{अ} + \text{अद्} + \text{णिच्} + \text{त्} = \text{आद्} + \text{इ} + \text{त्} = \text{आद्} + \text{इ} + \text{चङ्} + \text{त्}$. The affix चङ् (III. 1. 48) is added in forming the aorist of causatives. The letters च् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix being अ . Now by VI. 4. 51, the affix णिच् is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix that does not take the intermediate इ . Now चङ् is such an affix. Therefore we have $\text{आद्} + \text{०} + \text{अत्}$.

At this stage, comes into operation another rule (VI. 1. 11), which declares that 'the root is reduplicated before the affix चङ् .' The चङ् is, thus, an affix which causes reduplication; it is an affix which also begins with a vowel. Therefore, it satisfies the conditions of this sūtra. Therefore, the zero which was a substitute in place of the vowel इ , becomes sthânavat to इ ; as if it were the very इ itself. Thus we have the reduplicative syllable टि , by rule VI. 1. 2, which says that a verb beginning with a vowel reduplicates its second syllable. But as soon as the reduplication is over, the âdeśa takes up its original form of zero. Thus $\text{आटिद्} + \text{०} + \text{अत्} = \text{आटिट्त्}$.

(d). The fourth class of cases, where this sūtra has scope, is the substitution of यच् for vowels. Thus let us form the perfect 2nd person singular of कु 'to do':— $\text{कु} + \text{अनुस्} = \text{क्क्} + \text{अनुस्}$, the semi-vowel क् taking the place of क् by the general rule of sandhi VI. 1. 77. Now we have already learned that अनुस् is an affix which causes reduplication and it begins with a vowel. Now क् is a substitute which comes in the place of a vowel (*i. e.*, क्), it will therefore be sthânavat by this sūtra. Had it not been sthânavat, the consonants क् could not be reduplicated, as they have no vowel. The substitute क् being taken equal to क् , we reduplicate क् ; in reduplication the क् is changed into च् by VII. 4. 62, and क् into अ by VII. 4. 66. Thus we have:— चक्कुः ; similarly चक्कुः ।

(e). The fifth case is the substitution of अय् &c. Let us form 1st person singular of the perfect of नी 'to lead': $\text{नी} + \text{एल्} = \text{नै} + \text{अ} = \text{नाय्} + \text{अ}$. The इ is vriddhied before the termination अ of the perfect (VII. 2. 115), and then changed into आय् by the general rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 78). Now the अ of the perfect causes reduplication, and it is an affix which begins with a vowel. It satisfies the conditions of this sūtra. Therefore the आय् which was a substitute for ऐ , being a vowel substitute, becomes sthânavat to ऐ in form. In reduplicating the word नाय् , we reduplicate as if it were still नै . Thus we have the form निनाय and not ननाय . Similarly निनक् , लुलव , and लुलव .

Why have we used the word "dvirvachane" in the sūtra? Without it, the aphorism would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel

is like the original vowel." Let us form जग्ले the 3rd per. sing, perfect tense (लिट्) of the root ग्लै "to be exhausted," in the atmanepada. The affix of 3rd per. sing. atm. of लिट्, is एश् (III. 4, 81). Thus ग्लै + एश् = ग्ला + एश् (VI. 1. 45). Now here ऐ is changed into आ, on account of the affix एश्; this affix causes reduplication, but still आ is not to be considered as sthânavat to ऐ. For if आ be considered so, then in the next stage ग्ला + एश् = गल् + ० + एश् (VI. 4. 64) the lopa will be regarded as sthânavat to ऐ and the reduplicative syllable will be जि and not ज; the form being जिग्ले and not जग्ले. But आ is not sthânavat to ऐ, because *for the purposes of reduplication*, the change of ऐ into आ is immaterial; it is the second and further change of आ into zero which is *directly* connected with reduplication, (for if zero be not considered sthânavat, there can be no reduplication); and therefore, this substitute zero should be regarded as sthânavat to आ.

Why do we say "which causes reduplication?" Without these words the sūtra would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." In that case we could not get the form द्युषति, 3rd per. sing, desiderative present tense of दिव् 'to shine, to play.' This form is thus evolved:—दिव् + सन् (III. 1. 7) = दि + ऊ + सन् (VI. 4. 19) = द्यु + ऊ + सन् (VI. 1. 77). Here, the change of इ into य् is caused by ऊ (tech. ऊङ्), which begins with a vowel; is this य् to be regarded as sthânavat to इ? No, because ऊ does not *cause* reduplication, it is सन् which causes reduplication. Therefore the equation is:—द्यु + सन् = द्युषति (VI. 1. 9) = द्युषति. If य् could be regarded like इ, then the form would have been दिवूषति.

Why do we say "beginning with a vowel"? Otherwise the sūtra would have run thus:—"Before an affix which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel, is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." The affix यङ् of the Intensive verbs causes reduplication (VI. 1. 9); but as it does not begin with a vowel, the substitute will not be sthânavat. Let us form जेघ्रीयते the 3rd per. sing. Intensive of the root घ्रा 'to smell.' Thus घ्रा + यङ् = घ्री + यङ् (VII. 4. 31) = जेघ्रीयते (VII. 4. 82). Here, आ is changed into ई on account of यङ्; but ई is not sthânavat to आ; had it been so, the form would have been जघ्रीयते. Similarly देधीयते.

अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदर्शनम्, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदर्शनमश्रवणमनुधारणमनुपलब्धिभारवो वर्णविनाश इत्यनर्थान्तरमेतैः शब्दै-
र्योऽर्थोऽभिधीयते तस्य लोप इतीयं संज्ञा भवति ॥

60. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision. When a letter or word-form becomes latent,

is neither heard, nor pronounced, nor written, it becomes lopa or is said to be elided. Lopa is the term for the disappearance of anything previously apparent.

In Sanskrit Grammar, this "lopa" is considered as a substitute or âdesa, and as such this grammatical zero has all the rights and liabilities of the thing which it replaces. This blank or lopa is in several places treated as having a real existence and rules are made applicable to it, in the same way as to any ordinary substitute that has an apparent form. The Grammarians do not content themselves with one sort of blank, but have invented several others; there are many kinds of them, such as lopa blank, slu blank, lup blank, and luk blank, which like different sorts of zeroes of a Mathematician, have different functions.

The word lopa occurs in sūtras VI. 1. 66 and VI. 4. 118 &c. The lopa substitute is a sense substitute, and not a form substitute. Thus when we say 'let the substitute lopa take the place of such and such a letter or word,' we do not mean that the letters ल्, ओ, प् and अ should be substituted there, but the sense of the thing, namely 'disappearance.'

प्रत्ययस्य लुक्-श्लु-लुपः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि॥ प्रत्ययस्य, लुक्-श्लु-लुपः,
(अदर्शनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययादर्शनस्य लुक् श्लु लुप् इत्येताः संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, slu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term luk, that disappearance gets the appellation of luk, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms slu or lup, the disappearance gets the name of slu or lup.

Thus in अह् + शप् + लुक् + ति = अस्ति 'he eats.' Here the vikaraṇa शप् has been elided by using the word luk (II. 4. 72). Similarly in जुहोति 'he invokes,' the vikaraṇa शप् is elided by the word slu (II. 4. 75), so in वरणाः 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called varaṇa.' Here the Taddhita affix indicating vicinity has been elided by the word lup. (IV. 2. 82),

Why do we use the words "of the affix"? Without these words, the sūtra would have run thus:—"The disappearance is called luk, slu or lup." So that the disappearance of a base would also be caused by the use of these terms. Thus in II. 4. 70, there would have been 'luk' of the bases āgastya, and kauṇḍīnya; which however is not intended. In that sūtra, the 'luk' of the affixes is only intended. So also in sūtra IV. 3. 168 there would have been the substitution of 'luk' for the bases of the words.

प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि॥ प्रत्यय-लोपे, प्रत्यय-लक्षणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययलोपे कृते प्रत्ययलक्षणम् प्रत्ययहेतुकं कार्यं भवति ॥

62. When elision of an affix has taken place (lopa), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependant upon it, take place as if it were present.

This sūtra declares that when an affix disappears by lopa-elision its potency does not disappear. Thus the term 'pada' is defined to be that which ends in a case-affix or a conjugational-affix. But after certain bases, these affixes vanish; still those bases become 'pada' in spite of the vanishing of the whole affix. How can an operation directed by an affix take place, when the affix itself vanishes, is a doubt which may naturally arise. This sūtra answers the question. Though an affix may be elided by lopa, yet an operation of which such an affix was the cause, must take place. Thus अभिचिन् is a pada though the case-termination has been elided. Similarly the word अधोक् 'he milked;' which is the Imperfect (लङ्) of दुह्, and is thus formed. अरोह् + तिप् = अरोह् + त् (III. 4. 100) = अरोह् + ० (VI. 1. 68) = अरोह् + (VIII. 2. 32) (here ह् is changed into घ् by taking the word 'aduh' as a 'pada') अघोघ् + ० (VIII. 2. 37) = अघोघ् (VIII. 2. 39) = अधोक्.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यय in this aphorism again, when its anuvṛitti was understood in this sūtra from the last? This repetition indicates that the present rule applies where the *whole* of the affix is elided, and not when a *portion* of an affix is elided. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to forms like आग्नीय and सङ्गमीय. These forms are the 1st person sing. लिङ् Atmanepada of हन् and गम्. Thus आहन् + इद् = आहन् + अ (III. 4. 106) = आहन् + सीयुद् + अ (III. 4. 102) = आहन् + ईय् + अ. Here, स् a portion of the affix सीयुद् is elided by VII. 2. 79; now there will be no प्रत्ययलक्षण of this partial elision of an affix. Had it been so, the final nasal न् of आहन् would have been elided by VI. 4. 37: but that is not so: and we have आग्नीय (VII. 3. 54 and VI. 4. 98).

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised. The word प्रत्ययलक्षण, therefore, means the effect by which an affix could be recognised. The orthographical changes, like the following, are not however pratyaya-lakṣaṇa. In forming the genitive singular of रै 'wealth,' we have रै + अस् = रायः; here, the change of ऐ into आय् by the rules of sandhi, though caused by the affix अस्; is not such an effect, which the affix causes, *by virtue of being an affix*, but it is an effect caused by the accidental fact, that the affix begins with a vowel, and thus gives scope to the euphonic rule VI. 1. 78. Therefore, when in forming the genitive compound of रायः + कुलं, we elide the case-affix अस्, we get the form रैकुलम्. Here the elided affix will not cause the peculiar orthographic change mentioned above, which is dependent upon its letters, and not upon the affix as such.

न लुमताङ्गस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुमता, अङ्गस्य, (प्रत्यय-लक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुमता शब्देन लुमे प्रत्यये यदङ्गं तस्य प्रत्ययलक्षणं कार्यं न भवति ॥

63. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लृ, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sūtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लृक्, श्लृ, or लृप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix by force of the words लृप् &c.; and by the word लोप. In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not.

The word अङ्ग in this sūtra requires some explanation. "A root, followed by a suffix (pratyaya), is raised to the dignity of a base (prâtipadika), and finally becomes a real word (pada) when it is finished by receiving a case-termination (vibhakti). Every base, with regard to the suffix which is attached to it, is called Anga, body."

Thus the word गर्गः is the plural of the word गार्ग्यः. The word गार्ग्यः is formed by adding the affix यञ् to गर्ग (IV. 1. 105); the force of the indicatory यञ् being to cause the vṛiddhi of the first vowel of the word (VII. 2. 117). But in forming the plural of गार्ग्यः, rule II. 4. 64 presents itself, which declares that there is लृक् of the affix यञ् when the word takes the plural. Here the affix यञ् is elided by the word लृक्, which means not only the elision of the य of गार्ग्य but also the shortening of आ into अ, that is, the affix being elided, it vanishes altogether, leaving no trace behind, in the shape of the vṛiddhi of the first vowel, which the affix was competent to cause.

Similarly मृष्टः is the 3rd per. dual present tense of मृज् 'to clean.' It belongs to Adâdi class in which the vikaraṇa शप् is elided by 'luk' (II. 4. 72); and hence there is no vṛiddhi substitution, which would have taken place by VII. 2. 114, (the ik of the base मृज् is vṛiddhi before verbal affixes).

Similarly जुहुतः 'they two sacrifice'; here the vikaraṇa शप् has been elided by using the word 'ślu' (II. 4. 75, let ślu be substituted in the room of śap after the verbs hu &c). The effect of this elision is, that there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base, which शप् was competent to cause.

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing लृ, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus कृ + णिच् + यक् + ते = कारि + यक् + ते = कार् + यक् + ते = कार्यते. Here the elision of the affix णिच् is by 'lopa,' (VI. 4. 51) and hence though the affix vanishes, its effect remains. Why do we say 'in respect of an Anga or inflective base?' Observe पञ्च 'five,' सप्त 'seven,' पयः 'milk,' साम 'sâma veda.' Here in the word. pañcha, the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22

(after the words called *shat*, the जस् and शस् are elided by 'luk'). Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base; such as lengthening, as in *râjan*, 'a king,' 1. p. *râjānaḥ* 'kings.' But though it is inoperative as regards the *anga*, the elided affix is not altogether inactive. It retains the virtue of raising the base to the dignity of a *pada*. Thus:—पञ्चन् + जस् = पञ्चन् + ०, (luk VII. 1. 22). The word *pañchan* is now a *pada*, and as such, it drops its final न्.

अचोऽन्त्यादि टि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अन्त्यादि, टि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचां संनिविष्टानां योऽन्त्योच् तदादि शब्दरूपं टिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

64. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called टि.

This sūtra defines टि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निचित् the portion इत् is टि; so also in सामसुत् the portion उत्. The word टि occurs in sūtra III. 4. 79.

The word अचः in the sūtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of *nirdhāraṇa* or specification; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्वं उपधा ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वः, उपधा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वादीवर्णं समुदायेऽन्त्यादलः पूर्वोयो वर्णः सोऽन्तेवोपधा संज्ञो भवति ॥

65. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

This defines उपधा or penultimate. Thus in the words पत्, भिद्, बुध्, वृत् the letters अ, इ, उ, and ऋ are उपधा.

The word 'upadhâ' occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 116.

तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन्, इति, निर्दिष्टे, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थनिर्देशो पूर्वस्यैव कार्यं भवति नोत्तरस्य ॥

66. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sūtras, the operation directed, is to be understood as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be per-

formed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77) the word अचि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ, ॠ followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into य्, व्, र्, ल्, (यण्). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of इक् there is यण् in अच्.’ The force of ‘in’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus इधि + उदकम् = इधुदकम् ; so मध्वदम्, पचत्वोरुनम् ॥

The word nirdishṭa (meaning ‘exhibited’) has been used in the sūtra to indicate immediateness. Thus in अमिचित्, the इ of अमि is not directly followed by the इ of चित्, there being the letter च् intervening, therefore, rule VI. 1. 77, does not apply here : and we have no sandhi.

तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, इति, उत्तरस्य,
(निर्दिष्टे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मादिति पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देश उत्तरस्यैव कार्यं भवति न पूर्वस्य ॥

67. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sūtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61 declares that ‘after उच्, of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus उच् + स्थानम्. Here the word उच्: is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter थ् must be substituted in the place of sthâna, and by I. 1. 54 ante, this dental takes the place of स्; we have उच् + स्थानम् = उत्थ्-थानम्. Similarly in sūtra तिङ् इतिङ्: (VIII. 2. 18, ‘a word ending in a conjugational affix, when following after a word ending in a non-conjugational affix, becomes anudâtta.’) Here the word ‘atiñah’ is exhibited in the ablative case, therefore, the operation directed by this aphorism, namely, the substitution of anudâtta accent, must take place in the word that follows. Thus औदुनं पंचति ; but not so in पचत्वोरुनमिति ॥

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, रूपम्,
शब्दस्य, अशब्दसंज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दे स्वमेव रूपं शब्दस्य ग्राह्यं बोध्यप्रत्याययं भवति न वाक्योऽर्थः शब्दसंज्ञां वर्जयित्वा ॥

वाक्तिकम् ॥ * सिक्तद्विशेषाणां वृत्ताद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * पितृपर्यायवचनस्य च स्वाद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * जितृपर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * क्षित्तद्विशेषाणाञ्च मत्स्याद्यर्थम् * ॥

68. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्वं which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word रूप denotes 'the individual form of a word.' The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्वं and रूप, viz., its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न्, इ and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पाककः, ज्वलनः &c.

In this science, therefore, the very word-form is to be taken, and understood and operated upon, and not external sense: with the exception of words which are definitions, in the latter case the things defined are to be taken.

This sūtra is begun in order to remove the difficulty which might otherwise arise from a consideration that a word connotes a certain meaning, and as no grammatical operation is possible in a concrete object, we must take the words having the same meaning. As when a person is called to bring a 'cow,' he brings the animal cow, and not the letters c, o, w. It may therefore be said, that as no grammatical operation is possible in a material thing, we may take all the names synonymous with the word and operate upon them; this sūtra removes that doubt.

Thus the sūtra अग्नेर्दक् (IV. 2. 33) declares:—"that the affix 'ḍhak' comes after the word 'agni'." Thus अग्नि + दक् = आग्नेयम् "belonging to agni," as in the following sentence आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत्. Here the word अग्नि indicates the individual word-form अग्नि and not its synonyms. Similarly sūtra IV. 2. 19 declares:—"let there be optionally दक् after उदश्वित्." As औदश्वित्कम् (VII. 3. 50 and 51) or औदश्वितम्. The rule applies to the word-form 'udaśvita' meaning 'curd-milk' and not to तक्र, अरिष्ट, कालशेष, इण्डाहत and मथित, which are synonyms.

There is an important exception to this rule, and that is in favour of terms which are technical terms of Grammar and have been so defined.

Thus राधाध्वराप् (I. 1. 20) and तरसमपौ घः (I. 1. 22). Here the words 'घु' and 'घ' denote the words connoted by those terms and not to their word-form. There are, however, some sūtras in Pāṇini which are ap-

parently exceptions to this rule. These exceptions have been arranged under four heads, technically called सिन्, पिन्, जिन्, and मिन्. When there is a rule about a word, it may mean that very word-form, or words representing species falling under that word, or words which are synonymous with it. Thus rule II. 4. 12 declares, :—"वृक्ष 'tree' मृग 'deer,' दण्ड 'grass,' &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva." Here the word वृक्ष stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, वृक्ष. Thus we have dvandva-compound of वृक्ष + न्यमोध, as वृक्षन्यमोधम् or वृक्षन्यमोधाः । Such sūtras are called सिन्.

Then in sūtra III. 4. 40, we have an example of पिन्. That sūtra means "the word पुष 'to feed' takes the affix एमुल् (अम्) when compounded with the word स्व." Here the word 'स्व' means both the word-form स्व, as well as the synonyms of स्व and the species of स्व. Thus स्व and धन 'wealth' are synonyms ; while स्व 'wealth' and गो 'cow' are genus and species. Thus स्व + पुष् + एमुल् = स्वपोषम्. Similarly रैपोषम्, धनपोषम्, गोपोषम्, अश्वपोषम्. Such sūtras are called पिन्.

Then in sūtra II. 4. 23, we have an example of जिन्. "A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word सभा 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word rājā, or by a word denoting a non-human being." Here the synonyms only of the word 'rājā' are taken, and neither the word-form 'rājā,' nor the special instances falling under it. Thus इन 'king' + सभा = इनसभम् 'king's assembly,' ईश्वर + सभा = ईश्वरसभम् 'king's assembly.' But not राजसभम्, but राजसभा. Nor can we take particular kings, such as चन्द्रगुप्त or पुष्पमित्र. In their case we must have पुष्पमित्रसभा, चन्द्रगुप्तसभा.

Then in sūtra IV. 4. 35, we have an example of मिन्. The sūtra means "the words पक्षि 'bird' मत्स्य 'fish' मृग 'deer,' take the affix ठक् when the meaning is the killer thereof." Here the words पक्षि &c. denote both the word-forms पक्षि &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पक्षि + ठक् = पाक्षिकः 'a bird-killer,' मात्स्यिकः, 'a fish-catcher.' शकुनि + ठक् = शाकुनिकः 'a vulture-killer.' But we cannot take the synonyms of 'पक्षि,' &c. except in the case of 'मत्स्य,' when we may take the word 'मीन.' As मात्स्यिकः and मैनिकः 'a fish killer.'

अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, उदित्, सवर्णस्य, च, अप्रत्ययः (स्वरूपं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अण् गृह्यमाण उदिच्च सवर्णानां ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य प्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

69. The letters of the Pratyāhāra अण् i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as to their

homogeneous letters, except when **they** are used as pratyâvâs or affixes.

The pratyâhâra अण् in thus sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अण् pratyâhâra refers to the second ण् of जण्. The letters included in अण्, and the letters having an indicatory उ, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कृ refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, दु, तु, and पु, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra. Thus sūtra आद्गुणः (VI. 1. 87), 'when a vowel comes after अ, guṇa is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर + ईशः = नरेशः; but महा + ईशः = महेशः। So also in sūtra अस्य च्वौ (VII. 4. 32), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50) follows.' Here long आ is also included; thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णीकरोति, and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वीकरोति. So also in sūtra यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148). 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168, says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words āśansa and bhiksha, there is उ.' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one.

तपरस्तत्कालस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ त-परः, तत्-कालस्य, (स्व रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तपरो वर्णस्तत्कालस्यात्मनातुल्यकालस्य गुणान्तरयुक्तस्य सवर्णस्य ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

70. The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time.

By the previous sūtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ; and इ, ई; &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the letter. Thus अत् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly उत् means short उ only and not long or protracted ऊ. We had to refer to this sūtra, in our very first sūtra, in explaining the term आत्.

The sūtra consists of two words तपरः and तत्कालस्य. Taparah means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kāla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त्, refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत् will include the udâtta, anudâtta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted forms.

This sūtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अण् of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than अण् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an अण् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 अतोभिस ऐस्. 'After words ending in अत् (i. e. short अ), ऐस् takes the place of भिस्.' Thus वृक्षैः. But in खट्वा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्वाभिः.

आदिरन्त्येन सहेता ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, अन्त्येन, सह,
इता, (स्व रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरन्त्येनेत्संज्ञकेन सह गृह्यमाणस्तन्मध्यपतितानां वर्णानां ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

71. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting pratyâhâras. Thus the pratyâhâra अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क्.

Why do we say with the 'final' indicative letter? Because a pratyâhâra like सुद् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final द् of औद् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial द् of ङ and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyâhâra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत्.

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, विधिः, तद्-अन्तस्य,
(स्व रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन विशेषणेन विधिर्विधीयते सतस्तस्यास्मान्तस्य समुदायस्य ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * समास प्रत्ययविधौ तदन्तविधेः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ *

वार्तिकम् ॥ * उगिद्ववर्णग्रहणवर्जम् ॥ *

परिभाषा ॥ * यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावल्ग्रहणे ॥ *

72. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words :—येन 'by what (attribute),' विधिः 'rule,' तदन्तस्य 'having that (attribute) at its end.'

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97) declaring "let there be the affix यत् after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means and includes "after the roots ending in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + यत् = चैयम्. Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words ending in vowels; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sūtra एरच् (III. 3. 56) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ. Thus इ + अच् = अयः, चि + अच् = चयः ॥

Vart:—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्टं + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'involved in pain.' The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that ends in śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्टं + परमश्रितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99 declares "that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्." Thus नड + फक् = नाडायनः। But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूत्रनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूत्रनड will be called सूत्रनाडि and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following :—

Vart:—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes

that have an indicatory उक् (उ, ऋ, लृ), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory उ, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kṛitavat will apply also to the word which ends in kṛitavat. Thus the feminine of kṛitavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of sukṛitavat will be sukṛitavatī. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 अत इञ् says "after अ there is the affix इञ्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दक्ष + इञ् = दक्षि 'the son of Daksha.'

Vart :—When a term, which denotes a letter, is exhibited in a rule in the form of the locative case and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it.

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 77, achi śnu dhātu bhruvām yvor iyañ uvañau, means "iyañ and uvañ are the substitutes of what ends with the pratyaya śnu and what ends in a verbal root in इ or उ, whether long or short, and of the inflective base bhrū, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows." Here the word 'achi' is exhibited in the seventh case, which literally means 'when a vowel follows;' but by virtue of the present vârtika it means, 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows,' as. भियः, भुवः ॥

वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद् वृद्धम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, यस्य,

अचाम्, आदिः, तद्, वृद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचामध्ये यस्य वृद्धिसंज्ञक आदिभूतस्तच्छब्दरूपं वृद्धसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *गोत्रान्तादसमस्तवत्प्रत्ययो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *वा नामधेयस्य वृद्ध संज्ञा वक्तव्यः ॥ *

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *जिह्वाकात्यहरितंकात्य वर्जम् ॥ *

73. That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vṛiddhi, is called vṛiddham.

This defines the word वृद्धम्. The sūtra consists of five words :— वृद्धिः 'the vṛiddhi vowel;' यस्य 'whose,' अचाम् 'among the vowels,' आदिः 'is first;' तद् 'that;' वृद्धम् 'is called vṛiddham.'

If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vṛiddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vṛiddham. Thus the words माला, शाला &c., have the first vowel आ a vṛiddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vṛiddham.

The word *vṛiddham* has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words certain *taddhita* affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114) by which the affix छ is added to *vṛiddham*. Thus माला + छ = मालीयः॥

Why do we say "the first?" Because a word like सभासंनयनः, which is not a *vṛiddha* word, will not admit of the affix छ. Its corresponding derivative will be सभासंनयनः ॥

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a *vṛiddham*. Thus देवदत्त + छ = देवदत्तीया, or we may have देवदत्ता.

Vart:—A compound ending in a *Gotra* word, is regarded for the purposes of the addition of this affix, as if it was not compounded. Thus रौढि is a *Gotra* word and also *vṛiddham*. Its compound घृतरौढि will be regarded as a *vṛiddham* too, for the addition of the affix. As घृतरौढि + छ = घृतरौढीयाः 'the students of Ghṛitarauḍhi.' So also ओदनपाणिनीयाः, ब्रह्माग्नीयाः, वृद्धकाश्यपीयाः &c.

Vart:—Exception must be made in the case of जिह्वाकात्य and हरितकात्य। They do not take छ. Thus जैह्वाकाता and हरितकाताः.

त्यदादीनि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि वृद्धसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

74. The words *tyad* &c., are also called *vṛiddham*.

The *त्यद्* &c. have been given in the list of *sarvanâmas*. See *sûtra* 27. These words are also called *vṛiddham*. Thus तद् + छ = तदीयम्, एतदीयम्, नदीयम् इदीयम्, अदीयम्, स्वादीयानेः, मादीयानिः &c.

एङ् प्राचां देशे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्, प्राचाम्, देशे, (यस्या-
चामादिः, वृद्धम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यस्याचामादिस्तत्प्राग्देशाभिधाने वृद्ध संज्ञं भवति ॥

75. A word that has the letters ए and ओ as the first among its vowels, gets also the designation of *vṛiddham*, when it is the name of Eastern countries.

As गोनर्दे is a country of the east, it is a *vṛiddham* word and we have गोनर्दे + छ = गोनर्दीयः; similarly एणीपचनीयम्, भोजकरीयः.

The word prāk in the sūtra has been differently interpreted. The Grammarian Kuṇin takes the word prāk as an epithet qualifying the word âchârya, 'professor' understood. In that case the sūtra will be thus translated:—'In the opinion of the Eastern (or ancient) professors, a word that has the letters *e* and *o* as the first among its vowels, and is the name of a country, is called vṛiddham.' Under this interpretation, this will be an optional rule only, giving the opinion of eastern or ancient grammarians.

Others however take the word prāk as qualifying the word deśa and the meaning then is as given in the text.

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and ओ' ? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called vṛiddham: and as such will not take the affix छ; as आहिच्छत्रः, कान्यकुब्जः.

Why do we say of 'Eastern country'? Because this rule does not apply to a word like देवदत्तः which is the name of a town in the Punjab, which is not an eastern country. Its secondary derivative will be दैवदत्तः, born in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'country'? The rule will not apply to rivers &c. Thus from गोमति we have गौमता: 'fish born in the river Gomati.'



ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

गाङ् कुटादिभ्योऽञ् णिङित् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ्-कुट-आदिभ्यः, अङ्णिङित् ङि, त् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङ्-कुटादिभ्यः परेऽङ्णिङितः प्रत्यया ङितो भवन्ति, ङिङ्ङवन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * व्यचेः कुटादित्वमनसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. All affixes after the verb gān 'to study' and the verb kut 'to be crooked,' and the rest, are as if they had an indicator इ (nit), except those affixes which have an indicator ञ् (ñit) or ण् (ṇit).

This is an atides'a sūtra, and makes certain affixes, though not having an indicator इ, to produce the same effect as if they were really ङित्.

The root गाङ् is substituted for the verb इङ् in certain tenses, in which the verb इङ् is defective (II, 4. 49). The कुटादि verbs are roots belonging to the Tudādi class of verbs, and they are forty roots beginning with कुट् 'to be crooked' and ending with कुङ् 'to groan.'

After these roots all affixes are treated as if they were marked with a इ with the exception of those affixes which are ञित् or णित्.

Thus from गाङ् we have in the aorist the form अध्यगीट्; which is thus evolved. अधि + अङ् + इङ् + सिच् + त = अध्य + गा + स् + त (II. 4. 50.) = अध्य + गी + स्त (VI. 4. 66) = अध्यगीट् 'he studied,' अध्यगीषतां 'they two studied'; अध्यगीषत 'they studied.' Here by VI. 4. 66, the आ is changed into ई before the affix सिच्, which is regarded as ङित्.

Similarly, after the verbs कुट् &c., all affixes are treated as ङित्, with the exceptions already mentioned.

Thus कुट् + तृच् (III. 1. 133) = कुट् + इट् + तृच् (VII. 2. 35) = कुटित्, nominative singular कुटिता 'who acts crookedly.' Here the affix तृच् being, regarded as ङित् does not cause the guṇa substitution of the उ of कुट्, by I. 1. 15.

Similarly with the affixes तुष्टृन् and तव्यम्, we have कुटितुम् and कुटितव्यम्. So on with all the forty roots of kuṭādi class: e.g. उत्पुडिता, उत्पुडितुम्, उत्पुडितव्यम्.

But the affixes marked with **ञ्** or **ण्** will not be so treated. Thus **णिच्** by which causatives are formed, is such an affix; e.g. उत्कुद् + णिच् + षप् + तिप् = उत्कोद् + इ + अ + ति = उत्कोट्यति. Here there is *guṇa* of the उ of कुद्. So also before the affix **णल्** of the perfect tense, we have उच्चुकोट्, and before the affix **ण्वल्** we have उत्कोटकः ।

Vārtika:—The root **व्यच्** 'to deceive,' is also treated like *kuṭādi* verbs, except before the affix **अस्**. As **विचिन्ता** 'he shall deceive,' **विचितुम्** 'for the purpose of deceiving' **विचितव्यम्** &c. Here there is *samprāsāraṇa* before the *ñit* terminations ता, तुम् and तव्यम् and the य of व्यच् is changed into इ by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix **अस्** is not *ñit* and consequently there is no *samprāsāraṇa* before it. Thus उरुव्यचाः 'an imp.'

विज इट् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि विजः, इट्, (डित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओविजी भयचलनयोः अस्मात्पर इडादिः प्रत्ययो डिङ्गवति ॥

2. An affix that begins with the augment **इद्** (VII. 2. 35) is *ñit* after the root *viḥj.*, 'to fear, to move.'

The root **विज्** does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate इ, because those terminations are treated like **डित्** affixes. The root **विज्** belongs to the *Tudādi* class. Thus **उद्भिजिता** 'he will be agitated,' **उद्भिजितुम्** 'for the purpose of being agitated,' **उद्भिजितव्यम्** 'ought to be agitated.'

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment **इद्**, are not like **डित्**, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as *guṇation* &c. As **उत् + विज् + ल्युट् = उद्देजनम्, उद्देजनीयम्** 'that which ought to be agitated.'

विभाषोर्णोः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऊर्णोः । (डित्, इट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णुञ् आच्छादने अस्मात्पर इडादिः प्रत्ययो विभाषा डिङ्गवति ॥

3. After the verb *ûrna* 'to cover,' the affix beginning with the augment **इद्** is regarded optionally like *ñit*.

Thus before the **इडादि** termination **इता** of the future, we may have either **प्रेर्णुविता** or **प्रेर्णविता** "he will cover."

The equation of the form is:—**प्र + ऊर्णु + इ + ता = प्र + ऊर्णु + इता** (VI. 4. 77) = **प्रेर्णुविता**. When the affix is not regarded as **डित्**, it produces *guṇa*, and we have the second form **प्रेर्णविता** ॥

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment **इद्**, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form: as **प्रेर्णु + ल्युट् = प्रेर्णो + अनम् = प्रेर्णवनम्, 'covering,' प्रेर्णवनीयम्** 'which ought to be covered'

सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुकम्, अप्-इत्, (ङित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुकं यदपि चङिङ्भवति ॥

4. A *Sârvadhâtuka* (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicatory ण् is like *nit*.

The terminations which are added to roots are either *Sârvadhâtuka* or *ârdhadhâtuka*. The *Sârvadhâtuka* terminations are all those that are marked with a ण् and also the tense terminations called कित्, the latter are the following :—

	sing.	dual.	pl.	
3rd Pers.	तिप्	तस्	झि	} Parasmaipada.
2nd Pers.	सिप्	यस्	थ	
1st Pers.	मिप्	वस्	मस्	
3rd Pers.	त	आताम्	भ्	} Atmanepada.
2nd Pers.	थास्	आयाम्	ध्वम्	
1st Pers.	इद्	वहि	महिङ्	

Except the terminations marked with a ण् such as ति, सि and मि. &c., all the other *Sârvadhâtuka* terminations are कित्. The शित् terminations like शन्, शानच्, &c., are also *Sârvadhâtuka* terminations. These affixes are also कित्, unless they have a ण् as indicatory, as शप्. Thus the affix तस्, being an अपित् *Sârvadhâtuka* affix, is a कित्, and before it the vowel is not gunated e. g. कुरुतः 'they two do.' The equation is :—कृ+उ+तस् (the उ is added by Rule III. 1. 79) = कर्+उ+तस् (VI. 4. 110) = कुरु+तस् = कुरुतः ॥ Similarly कुर्वन्ति 'they do.'

Here the अ of कर् is changed into उ and we have कुरु, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the अ of the verb कर् is changed into उ before those *Sârvadhâtuka* affixes which are कित् or कित्. Here तस् is a *Sârvadhâtuka* कित् affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sūtras describe the कित् terminations.

Why do we say 'a *Sârvadhâtuka* affix'? Because an *ârdhadhâtuka* affix, though not being marked with an indicatory ण् will not be a कित्. As कर्त्ता 'doer,' कर्तुम् 'to do,' कर्तव्यम् 'duty.'

Why do we say 'not having an indicatory ण्'? If a *Sârvadhâtuka* affix has an indicatory ण् it will not be *nit*. As कृ+उ+तिप् = करोति 'he does' करोषि 'thou doest,' करोमि 'I do.'

असंयोगलिट् कित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंयोगात्, लिट्, कित्, (अपित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंयोगान्ताद्भातोः परो लिट् प्रत्ययोऽपित् किङ्भवति ॥

5. The affixes of Lit (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicatory क् (kit).

With this sūtra begins the description of affixes which are regarded as कित् though not actually having a क् to mark them as such. The terminations of लिट् (Perfect) not being पित् terminations, are कित्, after verbs that have no compound consonants. The phrase अपित् (not being marked with ष्) qualifies this sūtra also, being drawn from the previous sūtra by the rule of Anuvṛitti.

Thus from भिद् 'to tear' the Reduplicated non-*pit* second person perfect is बिभिदतुः 'thou hast torn.' बिभिदुः 'They have torn.'

Similarly लिच्छिदतुः 'thou hast divided'; चिच्छिदुः 'you divided'; ईजतुः and ईजुः.

This rule will not apply if the root ends in a conjunct consonant. Thus संस् 'to fall down' forms its second person Perfect:—संसस् + अतुस् = संससतुः. Here the affix is not treated as *kit*; for had it been so treated, it would have caused the elision of the penultimate nasal (anusvāra) of संस् by Rule VI. 4. 24. Similarly from ध्वस् we have दध्वसे.

The *pit* terminations of the Perfect are not *kit*; and therefore we have बिभेद 'he has divided,' where the root is gunated before the 3rd person singular termination णल् which is a पित् termination, because it being the substitute of तिप् is regarded like तिप् by I. 1. 56.

इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्धि-भवतिभ्याम्, च, (लिट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्धिभवतीत्येताभ्यां परो लिट् प्रत्ययः कित्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अन्यग्रन्थिदम्भिस्त्वङ्गीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

6. The Lit. or Perfect Tense affixes after the roots *indhi* 'to kindle,' and *bhu* 'to become,' also are *kit*.

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित्. These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root इन्धि ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by sūtra 5; and, the root भू is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित् after भू, not excepting the पित् terminations. Thus the verbs समीधे and ईधे are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root इन्ध् as in the following examples:—समीधे दस्युहन्तमस्, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and पुत्र ईधे अयर्वणः, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित् ॥ Similarly from the root भू, we have बभूव, बभूविष ॥

Var. :—This rule should be applied also to the verbs भृग् 'to loosen, रोय 'to fasten,' दह 'to injure' and स्वंज् 'to embrace.' As भ्रेयतुः 'thou hast

loosened,' अथ+अतुस् = अथ्+अतुस्. (The न् is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last sūtra, viz. VI. 4. 24).

= अथ्+अथ्+अतुस् = अथतुः (VI. 4. 120). Similarly ग्रथतुः ; देभतुः, परिषस्वजे, परिषस्वजाते.

मृडमृदगुधकुषक्लिशवदवसः क्त्वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृड-मृद-गुध-
कुष-क्लिश-वद-वसः, क्त्वा (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मृड मृद गुध कुष क्लिश वद वस् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वाप्रत्ययः किङ्कवति ॥

7. The affix *ktvā* is *kit* after *mr̥id* 'to be gracious,' *mr̥id* 'to squeeze,' *gudh* 'to wrap up,' *kush* 'to tear,' *klīś* 'to suffer,' *vad* 'to speak' and *vas* 'to dwell.'

After these seven verbs, the gerundial *ktvā* is *kit*. It might be said, what was the necessity of this sūtra? The affix *ktvā* is clearly a *kit* affix, as it is marked with the diacritical letter क्, and it was useless to call it a *kit* affix after these verbs. The reason of this apparent repetition is this. Though *ktvā* is a *kit* affix generally; yet there is a later sūtra in this chapter (I. 2. 18) which declares that the prefix क्त्वा is not कित्, if it is preceded by the intermediate इ. Or in other words, if क्त्वा is added to those verbs, which are called सेद् verbs, viz., that take an intermediate इ, it is not then *kit*. Thus the verb शी 'to sleep' is सेद्. Therefore शी+इ+क्त्वा = शे+इ+क्त्वा = शायित्वा.

Now it happens that all the seven verbs mentioned in the sūtra are सेद् verbs, and take an intermediate इ. The क्त्वा before these verbs would have lost its *kit*ness by virtue of sūtra 18; therefore arose the necessity of this sūtra, to provide in anticipation an exception to that sūtra, in favour of these verbs, where the affix *ktvā* is *necessarily kit*. Thus we have मृडित्वा 'being gracious,' मृदित्वा 'having squeezed,' गुधित्वा 'having wrapped' कुषित्वा 'having torn,' क्लिशित्वा 'having suffered,' उदित्वा 'having spoken,' उषित्वा 'having dwelt.' The व of वद् and वस् are changed into उ by the rule of Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15).

Moreover in the case of the verbs गुध्, कुष् and क्लिश्, sūtra 26 would have made क्त्वा *optionally kit*; the present sūtra makes it *necessarily* so.

रुदविदमुषग्रहिस्वपिप्रच्छः संश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद-विद-मुष-
ग्रहि-स्वपि-प्रच्छ-संश्च, (क्त्वा कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुद विद मुष ग्रहि स्वपि प्रच्छ इत्येतेभ्यः संश्च क्त्वा च कितौ भवतः ॥

8. The affixes *ktvā* and *san* (III. 1. 7) are *kit*, after *rud* 'to weep,' *vid* 'to know,' *mush* 'to steal,' *grah* 'to seize,' *svap* 'to sleep,' and *prachchh* 'to ask.'

After the above mentioned verbs the *klvā* though taking an intermediate इ, and the affix सन् are कित्. The affix सन् is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The न् of सन् is इन्, the real affix being स. The root is reduplicated before this सन् affix. Thus रुदित्वा 'having cried,' रुद्विषति 'he wishes to cry'; विदित्वा 'having known,' विद्विषति 'he wishes to know'; गृहीत्वा (VI. 1. 16.) 'having taken,' जिघृक्षति 'he wishes to take'; मुषित्वा 'having stolen,' मुषुषति 'he wishes to steal'; सुप्त्वा (VI. 1. 15) 'having slept,' सुषुप्सति 'he wishes to sleep,' पृष्ट्वा (VI. 1. 16) 'having asked,' पिपृच्छिषति 'he wishes to ask.' The verb ग्रह् is changed into गृह्, स्वप् into सुप्, प्रच्छ् into पृच्छ before *kit* affixes by samprasâraṇa (VI. 1. 16.)

The *klvā* and *san* would have been *optionally kit* after the verbs रुद्, विद् and मुष् by virtue of Rule 26 of this chapter, but this sūtra makes them *necessarily* so, after these three verbs. In the case of the verb ग्रह्, these affixes are *kit* by virtue of this sūtra only. In the case of the verbs स्वप् and प्रच्छ् the affix क्त्वा is of course *kit*, because these two verbs are anिट्, that is, they do not take the intermediate इ; and therefore the क्त्वा being directly affixed to them, and rule 18 not applying, the indicatory *k* would make it *kit*. In reference to these verbs, therefore, the present sūtra teaches something new, only with regard to the affix सन्, by making that also *kit*. The verb प्रच्छ् takes the intermediate इ when the affix सन् follows, by virtue of sūtra VII. 2. 75.

इको भल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदान् ॥ इकः, भल् (सन्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्ताद्यातोः परो झलादिः सन् किङ्गवति ॥

9. The affix *san* beginning with a letter of the *Pratyâhâra jhal* is like *kit*, after verbs ending in *ik* vowels.

In this sūtra there is the *anuvṛitti* of सन् only and not of क्त्वा. The sūtra literally translated means:—"After *ik* the *jhal*." The *Pratyâhâra* इक् contains the four letters इ, उ, ऋ, लृ. The *Pratyâhâra* झल् contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in इक् the desiderative suffix सन् is *kit*, when it is झलादि, that is to say when the affix सन् does not take the intermediate इ. The affix सन् is an affix which begins with स् a letter of the झल् class. But if the intermediate इ is added before it, it is no longer a झलादि affix, and in that case it is not कित्. Thus जिगीषति 'he wishes to conquer,' यु 'to mix' युयुषति; so also कृ 'to do,' चिकीर्षति, हृ 'to cross' तितीर्षति, भू 'to be' बुभूषति.

If however, verbs ending in इ or उ or ऋ or लृ, take an intermediate इ, they likewise take guṇa. As:—स्मि 'to smile' takes guṇa, and makes its desiderative सिस्मयिषति.

The झलादि सन् is not *kit* after verbs ending in any other letter than the इक्. As पिपासति (from पा) 'he wishes to drink.' So from ल्या we have तिष्ठासति.

The object of making the affix सन् *kit* affix after verbs ending in *ik* vowels, is to prevent the guṇa of the vowel of the root, as in चिचीषति 'wishes to collect', तुष्टुषति 'wishes to praise.' To this it might be objected "this cannot be: for rule VI. 4. 16 (when सन् beginning with a *jhal*, i.e., not preceded by the augment इद् follows, a long vowel is the substitute of verbs ending in a vowel, and of the verbs हन् and गम्) would prevent guṇa by substituting long vowel." To this it may be replied: "if rule VI. 4. 16, enjoining long vowel, debars rule VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa, it should *a fortiori* debar rule VI. 4. 51 which requires the elision of the affix णि before Ardha-dhātuka affixes not taking the augment इद्. But evidently that is not so; for the elision of णि is not debarred by VI. 4. 16. Therefore, the present sūtra is made, so that even by giving scope to the rule of lengthening, the affix सन् be treated as कित्." Thus in चिचीषति scope is given to rule VI. 4. 16, and the vowel is lengthened. But this rule in its turn will be debarred in those cases where rule VI. 4. 51 will apply: in such cases the maxim contained in I. 4. 2 is our guide, and a subsequent rule will debar a prior rule of Pāṇini when both find their scope in a single case. Thus in forming the desiderative of the verb ज्ञप् 'to inform,' both the rules VI. 4. 16 and VI. 4. 51 present themselves, but the latter prevails. The verb ज्ञप् belongs to the churādi class of verbs, and takes the affix णिच्. Thus ज्ञप् + णिच् + सन् + तिप्; here the present sūtra comes into force, and सन् being treated as कित्, the guṇa of the इ of ज्ञप्ति is prevented. Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa being set aside, sūtra VI. 4. 51 comes into play and causes the elision of णिच् and we have ज्ञप् + स + ति = ज्ञीप्सति (VII. 4. 5 आ changed to ई) 'he wishes to inform.'

हलन्ताच्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्तात्, च, (इक्, सन्, भल्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तादिक्समीपाद्धलः परः सन् भलादिः किञ्चवति ॥

10. And after a root ending in a consonant and preceded by a vowel of the *pratyāhara ik*, the affix *san* beginning with a *jhal* consonant, is like *kit*.

Thus from भिद् 'to pierce' we have बिभित्सति 'he wishes to break,' here the root भिद् contains the *ik* vowel इ; it ends in a consonant द्; the affix स is directly added without taking an intermediate इ, and therefore it fulfils all the conditions of the sūtra; and the vowel is not gunated.

If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the *ik* class, the affix सन् is not *kit* after such a verb. As यञ् + सन् + ते = यियच्छते 'wishes to sacrifice.' Had the affix सन् been here a *kit* affix, there would have been samprasâraṇa by rule VI. 1. 16 which declares that there is samprasâraṇa of the verbs वच्, स्वप्, and यञ् &c., before *kit* affixes.

If the *san* takes the intermediate इ and is then no longer a भलादि सन् it is not *kit*; and causes guṇation *etcetera*. As वृत् + इ + सन् = विवर्तिषते 'he desires to be.' Here there is guṇa of *ri*.

Roots like दम्भ्, तृह् &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word हल् of the sūtra means *jāli* or class; thus दम्भ् + सन् + तिप् = दम्भ् + सति (VI. 4. 24, the *m* being elided by treating सन् as कित्) = धीप्सति or धिप्सति (VII. 4. 56).

लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-सिचौ, आत्मनेपदेषु

(हलन्तात् इक भल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तादिक्समीपाद्धलः परौ झलादी लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु परतः कितौ भवतः ॥

11. After roots ending in a consonant, that adjoins a vowel of *ik* pratyâhâra, the substitutes of *lin* (III. 3. 161) and *sich* (III. 1. 44) when they begin with a consonant of *jhal* pratyâhâra, are *kit*, when the âtmāne-pada affixes follow.

The sūtra consists of two words लिङ्सिचौ and आत्मनेपदेषु, literally meaning "the affixes *lin* and *sich* in the Atmanepada." The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous sūtras, to complete the sense. The *anuvṛtti* of the word सन्, that began with sūtra 8, does not extend further. As:— भिप्सीष्ट 'may he break' and भुप्सीष्ट 'may he know,' अभिन्न 'he broke', अबुद्ध 'he knew.'

Thus the root भिद् ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by इ a letter of *ik* pratyâhâra; after this root the *jhalâdi* affix सीष्ट of Benedictive in the Atmanepada is treated like कित्; therefore there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. भिद् + सीष्ट = भिप्सीष्ट. Similarly in the Aorist we have अभिन्न = अ + भिद् + सिच् + त, the स of the Aorist being elided by VIII. 2. 26. So also बुध् + सीष्ट = भुत् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 37) = भुप्सीष्ट.

If the final consonant is not preceded by an *ik* vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. यञ् + सीष्ट = यष् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 36) = यक् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 41) = यच्सीष्ट (VIII. 3. 58). Similarly its Aorist is अयष्ट. Had the affixes सीष्ट and त been *kit*, they would have caused samprasâraṇa of य by VI. 1. 16.

This rule will not apply, if the Benedictive and Aorist affixes are Parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of सृज् 'to let off,' is अ + सृज् + सीत् = अ + सृ + अ + ज् + सीत् (VI. 1. 58) = असृज् + सीत् (VI. 1. 77) = असृजसीत् (VII. 2. 1). Similarly from दृश् we have Aorist Parasmaipadi अदृक्षत्. Had the Aorist been कित्, rule VI. 1. 58 (अम् is the augment of the verbs सृज् and दृश् when an affix beginning with a *jhal* and not having an indicatory क् follows), would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb चि, we have Ben. चेष्टि, Aor. अचेष्ट. Had the affixes been कित्, there would have been no guṇa substitution of *i* into *e*.

The rule will not apply, if these affixes are not *jhalâdi*, but take the augment इद्. Thus Ben. वृत् + इषीष्ट = वरिषीष्ट, so also Aorist अवर्तिष्ट. Had they been कित्, there would have been no guṇa substitution.

This rule, of course, is confined to the Benedictive and the Aorist. Other tenses will not be affected by this rule. Thus the 1st and 2nd Future of वृष् is वृष्टा and वृक्ष्यति.

उद्घ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, च, (लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु भल कित्)

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्ताद्भातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु भलादी कितौ भवतः ॥

12. And after verbs ending in ऋ, the substitutes of *lin* and the affix *sich*, are *kit*, when they begin with *jhal*, and the Atmanepada affixes follow.

As from कृ 'to do' the benedictive is कृषीष्ट 'may he do.' So also सिच्, as अकृत 'he did.' So also इषीष्ट and अहृत.

Of course this rule would not apply if these terminations take the intermediate इ; as वृ + इषीष्ट = वरिषीष्ट 'may he choose,' (Benedictive); अ + वृ + इष्ट = अवरीष्ट or अवरीष्ट 'he chose or covered,' the इ being lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

वा गमः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, गमः, (लिङ्सिचौ, आत्मनेपदेषु भल कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्भातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु झलादी वा कितौ भवतः ॥

13. Optionally after the verb *gam*, the *lin* and *sich* beginning with *jhal* consonants, in the Atmanepada, are *kit*.

The verb गम् 'to go' is Atmanepadi after the preposition सम् by Rule I. 3. 29.

The result of its being *kit* is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with सिच्, and the Benedictive. Thus we have

the forms :—संगसीष्ट or संगसीष्ट in the Benedictive ; and समगत or समगस्त in the *sich* Aorist. These forms are thus evolved :—

सम् + गम् + सीष्ट = सम् + ग + सीष्ट (VI. 4. 37) = संगसीष्ट 'may he combine.' Here the nasal म् of गम् is elided by treating the affix सीष्ट as कित् by Rule VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have संगसीष्ट.

So in the aorist सम् + गम् + सिच् + त = सम् + अद् + गम् + त (VI. 4. 37) = समगत. The सिच् being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inflective base, there is elision of सिच्, if a *jhal* follows). So when म् of गम् is elided by VI. 4. 37, there remains only ग which is a base ending in short अ, hence, the elision of सिच्. But in the alternative we have समगस्त.

हनः सिच् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, सिच् । (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः परः सिच् किञ्चवति ॥

14. The *sich* Atmanepada affixes are *kit* after the root *han* 'to kill.'

As आहत, आहसाताम्, आहसत are the aorist of हन्. When a सिच् or second aorist is *kit* the verb loses its nasal, by Rule VI. 4. 37. After the verb हन् the सिच् is only *kit* and not the Benedictive लिङ् terminations, as was the case in the previous sūtra; hence the repetition of the word *sich* in this sūtra. The sūtras 12 and 13 were governed both by लिङ् and सिच्; from and after this sūtra, the governing power of लिङ् ceases. The governing power of the word "Atmanepada" in sūtra 11 does not however cease, and its anuvṛitti runs through the succeeding sūtras; though as regards this sūtra, its anuvṛitti is redundant, inasmuch as before the Parasmaipada terminations, the root हन् is always replaced by वध् in the aorist, there is no necessity of making the affix *sich* a *kit*. For the object served in making *sich*, *kit*, after the verb हन्, is to elide the nasal, while in the case of वध्, no such purpose can be served.

यमो गन्धने ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, गन्धने, (सिच् आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमेर्धातोर्गन्धने वर्त्तमानात्परः सिच् प्रत्ययः कित् भवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

15. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after the verb *yam*, when meaning 'to divulge.'

The word *gandhana* means 'to divulge,' 'to make known that which had been concealed.' The verb यम् has various meanings.

The result of *kit* is that the nasal is elided. The verb यम् becomes Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition आद् by rule I. 3. 28. Thus उन् + आ + यम् + त = उदायत = 'he divulged,' उदायसाताम्, उदायसत, the *sich* is elided by VIII. 2. 27 and म् by VI. 4. 37. When the verb यम् has any other meaning than 'to divulge,' then the सिच् in the Atmanepada is not *kit*; as उदायस्त पादम् 'he raised the foot.' So also उदायस्त कृपादुदकम् 'he raised water from the

well.' Though here the verb *yam* is in the transitive form and takes an object after it, yet it is Atmanepadi by Rule I. 3. 75 which declares "after the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by सम्, उत् and आङ् when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed."

विभाषोपयमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपयमने, (यमः सिच् आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमेधार्तोरुपयमने वर्त्तमानात् परः सिच् प्रत्ययो विभाषा किञ्चवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

16. The *sich* before âtmanepada affixes is *kit* optionally, when *yam* means 'to espouse.'

Thus उपायत कन्याम् or उपायंस्त कन्याम् 'he espoused the girl,' उपायत or उपायंस्त भार्याम् 'he espoused his wife.'

The word 'Upayamana' in the sūtra means 'to accept in marriage,' 'to espouse.' The verb यम् preceded by the preposition उप is Atmanepadi when it means 'to espouse' by Rule I. 3. 56.

स्थाच्चेरिच्च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था, च्चोः, इत्, च (सिजात्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेर्धातोः घुसंज्ञकानाञ्च इकारश्चान्तदेशः सिच् किञ्चवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

17. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after *sthâ* "to stand" and *ghu* (I. 1. 20) verbs, and these verbs change their आ into इ before these terminations.

The roots स्था 'to stand,' दा 'to give,' धा 'to place,' दे 'to pity,' धे 'to feed,' दो 'to cut' change their vowels into इ before the terminations of the Aorist of the Atmanepada; and those terminations are also *kit*. As उपास्थित, 'he worshipped,' उपास्थिबाताम्, उपास्थिबत; अदित 'he gave,' अधित 'he fed.'

न क्वा सेट् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्वा, सेट्, (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययः सेण् न किञ्चवति ॥

18. The affix *ktivâ* when it takes the augment इद् (*i. e.* when it is *sét*) is not *kit*.

We had had occasion to refer to this sūtra in explaining sūtra 7. The affix *ktivâ* (the actual affix being *tvâ*, the *k* being merely *it* or indicatory letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sūtra however limits its kitness to cases where it is not *sét*. If it is *sét*, *i. e.* has before it the intermediate इ it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in कृत्वा, हुत्वा, the affix स्वा is added directly to the root कृ 'to do' and हु 'to sacrifice,' without an intermediate इ and therefore the root has not been gunated, the affix here being *kit*. But in

स्वेदित्वा, देवित्वा, वसित्वा, from स्विद्, दिद् and वृत् 'to sweat,' 'to shine,' 'to be,' the affix is not *kit*, because there is an intermediate इ before त्वा and the root has been consequently gunated.

Of course this sūtra relates to क्त्वा *ktivā* only. Other affixes though having an intermediate इ will be treated as *kit*, if they have an indicatory क्. Thus the affix कित् (III. 3. 94) by which feminine nouns are formed from roots is a कित् affix. This affix when सेद्, will remain कित्, as नि+ग्रह्+इद्+कित्=नि+ग्रह्+इ+ति (VI. 1. 16)=निगृहीति: (VII 2. 37). Here there is samprasāraṇa by treating *ktivā* as *kit*. So also in उपस्थिति: and निकुचिति: there is no guṇa. After ग्रह् &c., the affix कित् takes the augment इद् by a Vārtika under sūtra VII. 2, 9 which see.

निष्ठा शीङ्स्विदिमिदिक्ष्विदिधृषः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, शीङ्-स्विद्-मिदि-क्ष्विदि-धृषः (न, सेट्, कित्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङ् स्विदि मिदि क्ष्विदि धृष् इत्येतेभ्यः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः सेण् न किञ्चवति ॥

19. The *sét* Nishthâ affixes are not *kit* after the verbs *s'î* 'to lie down,' *sviḍ* 'to sweat,' *mid* 'to melt,' *ksbviḍ* 'to be unctuous,' and *dhṛish* 'to offend.'

The Nishthâs are *kta* and *ktavalu* (see sūtra 26, Chapter I). They are obviously *kit* affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not *kit*, and the vowels take guṇa. Thus शयितः slept, शयितवान्, प्रस्वेदितः, प्रमेदितः, प्रक्ष्वेदितः; प्रस्वेदितवान्, प्रमेदितवान्, प्रक्ष्वेदितवान्, प्रधर्षितः, प्रधर्षितवान् &c. In all the above roots the Nishthâ affixes are also *sét*.

The roots स्विद् (मिष्विदा), मिद् (मिमिदा), क्षिद् (मिक्षिदा) and धृष् (मिधृषा) have all long आ as indicatory, as well as the syllable मि. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2. 16 are generally *anit*, and consequently beyond the scope of the operation of the present sūtra. As स्विन्नः, स्विन्नवान्. But when the Nishthâ affixes denote 'a state or condition, bhāva,' or 'beginning of action,' then the above four roots optionally become *sét*. (VII. 2. 17). It is in that case that the present sūtra is applicable to them.

मृषस्तितिक्षायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ मृषः, तितिक्षायाम् (निष्ठा सेट् न कित्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ मृषेर्धातोः तितिक्षायामर्थे निष्ठासेण् न किञ्चवति ॥

20. The *sét* Nishthâ is not *kit* after the verb *mrish* when meaning 'to forbear.'

Thus मर्षितः 'forborne', मर्षितवान् 'forbore.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to forbear?' When it has not this sense, the *sét* nishthâ will be कित्. As अपमृषितं वाक्यमाह 'he spoke unintelligible language.'

उदुपधाद्भावादिर्कर्मणोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-उपधात्,
भाव-आदि-कर्मणोः, अन्यतरस्याम् (निष्ठा सेण् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदुपधाद्भावाः परो भवे आदिकर्मणि च वर्तमानो निष्ठाप्रत्ययः सेडन्वतरस्यां न
किञ्चवति ॥

21. The *sét Nishthâ* is optionally not *kit*, after the verbs with a penultimate ङ if used impersonally or denoting the beginning of action.

According to some the *sét Nishthâ* suffixes are not *kit* after the verbs having a penultimate ङ if those verbs are used impersonally (bhâva) or denote the beginning of action (âdi-karman). Thus शुत् 'to shine', युतितमनेन or योतितमनेन 'it has been lighted.' Similarly प्रयोतितः or प्रयुतितः 'he first illumined.' The word penultimate or *upadhâ* has been defined in sūtra 65 ante.

If the verb has any other vowel than ङ as penultimate, then the rule does not apply. As लिखितमनेन 'written by him.' Here इ is penultimate; and therefore no option is allowed.

This rule has no application where the *Nishthâ* does not express either भाव 'condition' or 'Impersonal action'; or आदिकर्म 'beginning of action', but is used as a verbal adjective. As रुचितं कार्षापणं इदानी 'he gives a shining coin (called *kârshâpaṇa*). Here the word रुचित 'shining' is used as adjective.

The rule applies to the *Nishthâ* which takes the intermediate इ and not to others as प्रभुक्त ओदनः 'the rice that has been eaten.' Here no option is allowed.

This optional form of past participle is restricted in its scope. Those verbs which take the vikarṇa ङप् i.e., the verbs of the *Bhu* class &c., admit of this option. Thus गुह् 'to wrap up' belongs to Divādi class, and therefore, its participle has one form only as गुहितं.

पूडः क्त्वा चै ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूडः, क्त्वा, च (सेट्, कित्, न निष्ठा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूडः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः क्त्वा च सेण् न किञ्चवति ॥

22. The *sét Nishthâ* and the *sét ktvâ* are not *kit* after the verb *pûn* 'to purify.'

The word 'optionally' of the previous sūtra 21 does not govern this sūtra, because the word 'optionally' has been again used in the next sūtra 23; of which there would have been no necessity had the word 'optionally' governing force in this sūtra, for then this would have also governed the next sūtra. The *anuvṛtti* of न सेट् however is to be read in this sūtra.

By rule VII. 2. 51, after the verb पू the affixes Nishṭhā and क्त्वा *ktvā* take the intermediate इ. So that क्त्वा *ktvā* being *śeṭ* (by virtue of Rule VII. 2. 51) would have been non-kit by Rule 18; and it might be asked what is the necessity of repeating it in this sūtra, when sūtra 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning क्त्वा *ktvā* in this sūtra, it has governing force over the succeeding sūtras. As पवितः, पवितवान्

नोपधात् थफान्ताद्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उपधात्-थ-फ-अन्तात्-
वा (क्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारोपधाद्वातोस्यकारान्तात्फकारान्ताच्च परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् वा न किञ्चवति ॥

23. The *śeṭ* *ktvā* is optionally *kit*, after the verbs having a penultimate न् and ending in थ् and फ्.

The *śeṭ* *ktvā* may or may not be *kit* after the verbs ending in थ् or फ् preceded by a nasal. The result of being *kit* will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from मथ् we have मथित्वा or मन्यित्वा 'having twisted,' गुफित्वा or गुंफित्वा 'having tied round,' अथित्वा or अन्यित्वा.

The word "Nishṭhā" does not govern this sūtra, and comes to an end with the last sūtra.

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate न् though they may end in थ् or फ्. As रेफित्वा 'having reviled,' गोफित्वा 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the स्वा *tvā* being non-kit, the vowels of the root रिप् and गुप् have been guṇated.

A verb may have a penultimate न्, but if it has not final थ् or फ्, the rule does not apply. As संक् + इत्वा = संसित्वा 'having dropped,' ध्वंसित्वा 'having killed.' Had it been *kit*, the nasal would have been dropped.

वञ्चिलुञ्जत्यृतश्च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वञ्चि-लञ्ज-चि-ऋतः, च, (क्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चि लुञ्जि कृत् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् वा न किञ्चवति ॥

24. The *śeṭ* *ktvā* is optionally *kit*, after the verbs *vañch* 'to cheat' *luñch* 'to pluck' and *rit* 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the *ktvā* affix being *śeṭ*, may or may not be *kit*. As वञ्चित्वा or वञ्चित्वा 'having cheated.' So also लुञ्चित्वा or लुञ्चित्वा 'having plucked,' कृतित्वा or कृतित्वा 'having dared.'

When the verb कृत् *rit* takes the affix ईवङ् it is not governed by this sūtra. See sūtra III, 1. 20.

When the *ktvâ* is not *sét*, but *añit*, then there is no option allowed.
As वच् + क्त्वा = वक्तवा.

तृषिमृषिकृशोः काश्यपस्य ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृषि-मृषि-कृशोः,
काश्यपस्य, (क्ता सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृषि मृषि कृषि इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् काश्यपस्याचार्यस्य मते वा न
कञ्ज्वात ॥

25. The *sét ktvâ* is optionally *kit*, according to the opinion of Rishi Kâs'yapa, after the verbs *trish* 'to be thirsty,' *mrish* 'to sprinkle,' and *kris* 'to become lean.'

As तृषित्वा or तर्षित्वा 'having thirsted,' मृषित्वा or मर्षित्वा 'having sprinkled,' कृषित्वा or कर्षित्वा 'having become lean.' By sūtra 18, the *sét ktvâ* is never *kit*. This sūtra adds another exception to that general rule.

The special mention of Kâsyapa is for the sake of showing respect. The वा is already understood in this sūtra by Anuvṛitti from sūtra 23.

रलो व्युपधाद्धलादेः संश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रलः, उ-इ-उपधाद्,
हल्-आदेः, सन्, च (वासेट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारोपधादिकारोपधाच्चधातो रलन्ताद्धलादेः परः संश्च क्त्वाच सेटो वा कितो
भवतः ॥

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of *Ral pratyâhâra*, and has as its penultimate इ or ई, उ or ऊ, the *ktvâ* and *san* affixes are optionally *kit*.

The wording of this sūtra requires a little explanation. It consists of the following words :—

1. रलः *ralah*, ablative or रल् (after the consonants included in the *Pratâyâhara ral* i.e., all the consonants except य *y* and व *v*) :—Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except य *y* and व *v*.

2. व्युपधात् means "after penultimate वी." It is a compound of वी + उपधा. The वी itself is a compound of उ + इ = वि, in the dual वी. Therefore the phrase means "after (verbs) having for their penultimate either इ *i* or उ *u* long or short."

3. हलादेः means "beginning with a consonant."

All these three words qualify the word "verb" understood.

4. संश्च means "and *san*."

The sūtra means, those verbs which have a रल letter in the end, a हल् in the beginning, and an इ, ई or उ, ऊ in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes *ktvâ* and *san* as कित्.

Thus द्युन् 'to shine,' makes द्युत्तिवा or द्योत्तिवा 'having shone,' लिख् 'to write' makes लिख्तिवा or लेख्तिवा.

Similarly in *san* affix we have लिलिखिषति or लिलेखिषति 'he wishes to write', दिद्युतिषते or दिद्योतिषते 'he wishes to shine.'

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than रल्. As दिव् + क्त्वा = देवित्वा; its desiderative will be दिदेविषति. No option is allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not इ or उ. As वृत् + क्त्वा = वर्त्तिवा. Des. विवर्तिषते.

The rule also does not apply if the verb does not begin with a consonant. As एषित्वा and एषिषति. There is no option allowed here.

The rule does not apply if the क्त्वा and सन् are *anī*. As भुक्त्वा, बुभुक्षते.

In these 26 sūtras the description of affixes which are treated like डित् and कित् is comprised.

ऊकालोऽञ् ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊकालः अच्, ह्रस्व-दीर्घ-प्लुतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उ ऊ ऋ इत्येवं कालोऽञ् यथाक्रमं ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुत इत्येवं संज्ञो भवति ॥

27. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *ū* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dīrgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

The उ *u* having one mātrā or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is pluta. This sūtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their *mātrā*. The letter ऊ *ū* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः is a Dvandva compound, in the Singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17.

The word *kāla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As दधि 'curd', मधु 'honey'. Here इ and उ are short. कुमारी, गौरी, here ई is long. देवदत्ताश्च अन्वासा Devadatta! Here आ *a* is pluta or prolated.

These words are used in the following sūtras: I, 2. 47; VII. 4. 25; VIII. 2. 82.

अचश्च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः च, (ह्रस्व दीर्घ प्लुतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्व दीर्घ प्लुताः स्वसंज्ञायाश्चिष्यमाणा अचएवस्थाने वेदितव्याः ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

This is a *paribhasha* sūtra, and declares the object to which the terms short, 'long' and 'prolated' are to be applied. When in this book 'short'

'long' or 'prolated' are taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dirgha* or *pluta*, they must be understood to apply to vowels. As will be found in the sūtra 1. 2. 47.¹ "there is the substitution of *hrasva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is:—the *hrasva* is substituted for the final vowel of the crude-form. As ऐ अतिरि, नौ अतिरु, गा उपगु.

The substitution must take the place of vowel and not consonant. As सुवाग् ब्राह्मणकुलम्.

Similarly sūtra VII. 4. 25² teaches "There is the substitution of *dirgha* or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter य्, except *krit* and *Sārvadhātuka* affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the sūtra which will then be "*of an inflective base ending in a vowel*, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As चि + यङ् + त = चीयते 'it is collected'; श्रु + य + त = श्रूयते 'it is heard.' Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must take place in the room of a vowel and not of a consonant. As भिद् + य + ते = भियते 'it is divided,' छिद्यते it is pierced.'

So also in the case of *pluta* substitution. Thus rules VIII. 2. 82 and 84,³ declare that in calling from a distance, *pluta* is substituted for the णि portion of the word in the vocative. (The word णि is defined in I. 1. 64). Here also the phrase 'of the vowel' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The sūtra will then read:—"Pluta is substituted in the place of the vowel of the णि &c." Thus देवदत्त३, O Devadatta! यज्ञदत्त३ O Yajñadatta!

Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must be in the place of the vowel of the णि and not of the consonant. As अग्निचिश्त्, सोमसुश्त्. Here the syllables इत् and उत् are णि, and the vowels इ and उ have been prolated and not the consonant त्.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, *hrasva*, *dirgha*, and *pluta*. Therefore it is not so here; यौः, पन्याः, सः, युष्माम्, युभिः. See I. 1. 4,

उच्चैरुदात्तः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैः, उदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चैरुपलभ्यमानो योअच् स उदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

29. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udâtta* or acutely accented.

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called *udâtta* or *acute* accent. As अग्निः *agniḥ*, here *i* has the acute accent. The *udâtta* is not marked

(¹) ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ (²) अकृतसार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घः ॥ (³) वाक्यस्यदेः प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ दूराद्धूतेच ॥

in writing. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and secular literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udāṭṭa. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate, &c., if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udāṭṭa. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent. The word is used in sūtra III. 1. 3.¹ "The first vowel of an affix has the udāṭṭa accent." As कृ + तव्यम् = कर्तव्यम् kartavyam.

नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नीचैः, अनुदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नीचैरुपलभ्यमानो योऽच् सोऽनुदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

30. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudāṭṭa* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As अग्निः agnīḥ, here अ has the grave accent. The vowel accent known as grave or anudāṭṭa is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the anudāṭṭa is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

This word is used in sūtra III. 1. 4.² "the case terminations called सप् and those affixes that have an indicative ष् are anudāṭṭa" &c. As तव्यः, बोधानि.

In pronouncing an anudāṭṭa vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone: while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

समाहारः स्वरितः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समाहारः, स्वरितः (अचः, उदात्तः, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरसमाहारो योऽच् स स्वरितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

31. The vowel that has the combination of *Udāṭṭa* and *Anudāṭṭa* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood here also. The svarita or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185.³ "The affixes having an indicative न् have svarita accent." As कन्या kanyā, शिष्यम् śiṣyām, क्व kuḥ.

(¹) आधुदात्तश्च ॥ (²) अनुदात्तौ सुप्पितौ ॥ (³) तित्स्वरितम् ॥

This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udātta vowel with an anudātta vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

तस्यादित उदात्तमर्द्धह्रस्वम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, आदितः,
उदात्तम्, अर्द्ध-ह्रस्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य स्वरितस्य आर्द्धह्रस्वपदानि भवति ॥

32. Of it (*svarita*) the first portion is *udātta*, to the extent of a half measure, of prosodial length.

It has been defined that *svarita* accent is a combination of *udātta* and *anudātta*. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sūtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in *svarita*, the first half is acute and the other grave.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svarita*, its *mātrā* being one, half will be *udātta* and the other half *anudātta*. If a long vowel, whose *mātrās* are two, be *svarita* then $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *udātta*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ will be *anudātta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svarita*, then first half measure will be *udātta*, and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures will be *anudātta*. In short, the *udātta* portion of a *svarita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in शिक्यम् *s'ikyam*, the *a* is *svarita*, half being acute, the other half grave or monotony; in कन्या *kanyā*, the long *ā* is *svarita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ is grave; in मानवका *mānavakā*, here *a* prolated is *svarita*, its first $\frac{1}{2}$ is acute, the balance $2\frac{1}{2}$ measure is grave.

एकश्रुतिदूरात्सम्बुद्धौ ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकश्रुति, दूरात्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकश्रुति वाक्यं भवति दूरात्सम्बुद्धौ सति ॥

33. In addressing a person from a distance, the tone is called *Ekas'ruti* or monotony.

Monotony or *Ekas'ruti* is that tone which is perceived when a person is addressed; in it there is an absence of all the three tones mentioned above; and there is no definite pitch in it. It is, therefore, the ordinary recitative tone.

The word 'Sambuddhi' means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As भागच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता ३ 'O boy Devadatta! come.' There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of Devadatta is changed into *pluta* by the rule already referred to in s. 28 ante VIII, 2. 84 दूरादुत्तेय ॥

If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As भागच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त 'come, O boy Devadatta.'

यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्युङ्खसामसु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञ-कर्मणि, अज-
पन्युङ्ख-सामसु, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जपन्युङ्खसामानि वर्जयित्वा यज्ञकर्मणि मन्त्राणामैकश्रुत्यं भवति ॥

34. In sacrificial works, there is Monotony, except in *japa* (silent repetition of a formula), Nyûnkha vowels (sixteen sorts of om) and the *Sâma* vedas.

In "sacrificial works" or on occasions of sacrifice, the mantras of the Veda are recited in Ekas'ruti or monotony. But on occasions of ordinary reading, the mantras are to be recited with their proper three-fold accents.

"Japa" is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper. Nyûnkha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of "Om." Some of these are pronounced with udâtta and others with anudâtta accent. Sâmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As:— अग्निर्मूर्धादिवः ककुत्पतिः पृथिव्या
भयम् । अपाम् रेतांसि जिन्वतो३ ऋ (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).

When a mantra is recited as a *japa*, then it must be pronounced with accents :—As ममाग्ने दक्षो विहवेवस्तु (Rig Veda X. 128. 1).

When not employed on occasions of sacrifice, but are ordinarily read, the mantras must have their proper accent, and there will be no Ekas'ruti.

In the *sâma* chanting, the mantras should have their accent, there can be no Ekas'ruti there. As ए३वि३वं समन्त्रिणं वहा३. Here there is no Ekas'ruti.

उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैस्तराम्, वा,
वषट्कारः, (यज्ञकर्मणि, एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि वषट्कारः उच्चैस्तरां वा भवति एक श्रुतिर्वा ॥

35. The pronunciation of the word vashat. may optionally be by raising the voice (acutely accented), or it may be pronounced with monotony.

The phrase "yajña-karma" is understood here. Even in yajña-karmas or sacrifices the word वौषट् may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word वषट् in the sūtra signifies वौषट्. But why was not the word वौषट् used in the text? It could have been used with as much ease as वषट्. To this natural query, the only answer is, विचित्राः हि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः strange and wonderful is the structure of Pāṇini's aphorisms, Thus सोमस्याग्ने वीही३ वौ३ षट् or सोमस्याग्ने वीही३ वौ३ षट्.

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (एकश्रुतिः)

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विभाषा एक श्रुतिर्भवति पक्षान्तरे त्रैस्वर्यमेव भवति ॥

36. The Monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents.

In the Chhandas or the Vedas there is option either to use the Ekas'ruti tone or the three tones. Even on the occasion of ordinary reading, the Chhandas might be uttered either with the three accents or monotonously. Some say this is a limited option (vyavasthita-vibhāṣa).

The option allowed by this sūtra is to be adjusted in this way. In reading the Mantra portion of the Veda, every word must be pronounced with its proper accent : but in the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Veda there might be Ekas'ruti ; while some say there must be Ekas'ruti necessarily and not optionally in the recitation of the Brahmanas.

Thus :—अग्निमीले पुरोहितं or simply अग्निमीले पुरोहितं. "I praise Agni the purohita."

The word वा "optionally" of the last sūtra could easily have been read into this sūtra by the rule of *anuvṛitti* ; why then use the word विभाषा "optional" again ? To this we reply, this apparently redundant repetition is for the sake of indicating that the *anuvṛitti* of the word यज्ञकर्मणि, which was understood in the last sūtra, does not extend to this. Had we taken the *anuvṛitti* of वा, the other word also would have been attracted ; hence the separate use of the word विभाषा.

न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सुब्रह्मण्यायाम् स्वरितस्य, तु, उदात्तः, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुब्रह्मण्यायामेकश्रुतिर्भवति । यस्तु लक्षणप्राप्तः स्वरितस्तस्योदात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

37. There should be no Monotony in the recitation of the Subrahmaṇya hymns and in those hymns, the vowels, that would otherwise have taken the svarita accent, take the *udâtta* accent instead.

The subrahmaṇya hymns are portions of the Rig Veda mentioned in the s'atapatha Brāhmaṇa.

This sūtra prohibits Ekas'ruti in the case of certain prayers called s'ubrahmaṇya. By rule 34 read with 36 *ante*, prayers might be *optionally* uttered with Ekas'ruti accent. This ordains an exception to that rule. In subrahmaṇya prayers there is no ekas'ruti ; and in these hymns, a vowel which otherwise by any rule of grammar would have taken a svarita accent, takes an udâtta accent instead.

As सुब्रह्मण्योऽग्निमन्त्रागच्छ हरिवृत्त आगच्छ. Here the word सुब्रह्मण्य is formed by the addition of the affix यत् to the word सुब्रह्मण्, and this य will get *svarita*

accent by VI. 1. 185, (तिस्वरितम्) as it has an indicatory त्; by the present sūtra, this nascent *svārīta* is changed into *udāṭṭa*. In the phrase इन्द्र आगच्छ, the word Indra being in the vocative case, इ is *udāṭṭa*, the अ of *Indra* is *anudāṭṭa* VI. 1. 198¹. The *anudāṭṭa* preceded by an *udāṭṭa* is changed into *svārīta* (VIII. 4. 66)².

Thus the अ of इन्द्र must become *svārīta*, but by the present sūtra this nascent *svārīta* is changed into an *udāṭṭa*. Thus in इन्द्र, both vowels become *udāṭṭa*. In the word आगच्छ, the आ is *udāṭṭa*; the next letter which was *anudāṭṭa* becomes *svārīta*, and from *svārīta* it is changed to *udāṭṭa* by the present rule. Thus in the sentence इन्द्र आगच्छ the first four syllables are all acutely accented, the fifth syllable is only *anudāṭṭa*. So also in हरिव आगच्छ, for the reasons given above, the letters व and च्छ are *anudāṭṭa*, the rest are all acutely accented.

देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ देव-ब्रह्मणोः, अनुदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवब्रह्मणोः स्वरितस्यानु दात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

38. The word *deva* and *Brahmāṇa* in those hymns have *anudāṭṭa* accent.

By sūtra 37, it was declared, that in subrahmanya hymns, *svārīta* accent is replaced by *udāṭṭa* accent. This sūtra makes an exception in favour of the words देवा and ब्रह्मण occurring in those hymns. These words have *anudāṭṭa* accent. As देवा ब्रह्मण आगच्छत 'come ye Devās and Brahmanas.' Here the word देवा gets *udāṭṭa* accent on the first syllable by rule VI. 1. 198¹. (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): वा *vā* has originally an *anudāṭṭa* accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66² (an *anudāṭṭa* following an *udāṭṭa* is changed into *svārīta*) would have been changed into *svārīta*. This *svārīta*, by the previous sūtra required to be changed into *udāṭṭa*; but by this rule, it is replaced by *anudāṭṭa*. In other words, the original *anudāṭṭa* remains unchanged.

स्वरितासंहितायामनुदात्तानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितात्, संहितायाम्, अनुदात्तानाम्, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायाम् विषये स्वरितात्परेषामनुदात्तानामेकश्रुतिर्भवति ॥

39. The Monotony takes the place of the *anudāṭṭa* vowels which follow the *svārīta* vowels. in close proximity (*sanhitā*).

Sanhitā is the joining of two or more words in a sentence, for the purposes of reading or reciting. When words are thus glued together, then

(¹) भामिन्नितस्य च ॥

(²) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥

the *anudatta* accents become *Ekas'ruti* if they are preceded by *svarita* vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वती (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati ! this mine.

Here the word इमं has *udatta* on the last syllable: the word मे is originally *anudatta*, but by rule VIII. 4. 66¹ following an *udatta*, it is changed into *svarita*; after this *svarita* all *anudatta* like गङ्गे, &c., are replaced by *ekas'ruti*. All the vowels of the words गङ्गे, यमुने &c., had *anudatta* accent by rule VIII. 1. 19² (all vocatives get *anudatta* if standing in the middle of a sentence and not beginning a stanza.)

The word "sanhita" has been used in the sūtra to show that when there is a hiatus between the words then there is no change of *anudatta* into *ekas'ruti*. The word *sanhita* will be defined in sūtra I. 4. 109³.

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य,
सन्नतरः, (अनुदात्तानाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तपरस्य स्वरितपरस्य चानुदात्तस्य सन्नतरादेशो भवति ॥

40. The accent called *Sannatara* is substituted in the room of an *anudatta* vowel, which has an *udatta* or *svarita* vowel following it.

In the previous sūtra it was said that an *anudatta* preceded by a *svarita* becomes *Ekas'ruti*. If, however, such an *anudatta* is followed by an *udatta* or a *svarita*, it does not become *Ekas'ruti* but becomes *sannatara*, i.e. lower than *anudatta*.

The *sannatara* is therefore that accent which was originally *anudatta*, and which is preceded by a *svarita* and is followed by an *udatta* or a *svarita*.

This is one explanation of the sūtra. There is another explanation which does not take the *anuvṛitti* of *Ekas'ruti* in this sūtra. The *anudatta* is replaced by *sannatara* when such *anudatta* immediately precedes an *udatta* or a *svarita*. The *sannatara* is also called *anudatta*. As देवा मरुतः पृथिवामातरोः ॥

Here the word मातरः is *anudatta*. The word अपः has *udatta* on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171.⁴ In the phrase मातरोः (मातरः + अपः) the syllable रो is *anudatta*, because *anudatta* + *anudatta* = *anudatta*. This *anudatta* ओ, preceding the *udatta* पः, is changed into *sannatara*.

अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपृक्तः, एक-अल्, प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपृक्त इतीयं संज्ञा भवति एकाल् यः प्रत्ययस्तस्य ॥

(¹) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः (²) आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ (³) परः संनिकर्षः संहिता ॥

(⁴) उद्दिदम्पदाद्यपुत्रैरुभयः ॥

41. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

This defines *Aprikta* affixes. They are those affixes which consist of only one letter of the alphabet. Thus the affix *त्* in *असेधीत्* is a one lettered suffix and is an *Aprikta*. Similarly the affix *क्विन्* *kvīn* is an *Aprikta*, because the letters *क्*, *इ*, and *न्* are merely indicatory, the real affix is *व्*. This *व्* being a single letter, and therefore an *Aprikta*, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 67¹ (the *Aprikta* *व्* is elided). Thus *घृतस्पृक् + क्विन्* = *घृतस्पृक् + व्* = (III. 2. 58)² = *घृतस्पृक्* ॥ *अंशभज् + शिव* = *अंशभाक्* 'co-sharer.' (III. 2. 62).³ An affix which consists of more than one letter is not an *Aprikta*. As *द्वि* : 'a ladle' formed by the *Uṇādi* affix *विन्* (*बृहभ्यां विन्*).

तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, समानाधिकरणः, कर्मधारयः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणपदः कर्मधारयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

42. A Tat-purusha compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhāraya* or Appositional Determinative compound.

"Karmadhāraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (Tat-purusha). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black-beetle, sky-blue." (Max Muller).

The compounds like *नीलोत्पलं* 'the blue lotus', *परमात्मा* 'the supreme spirit' &c., are examples of *karmadhāraya* compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (*samānādhikaraṇa*), whereas in other Tat-purushas, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As, *परमराज्यम्*, is a *karmadhāraya* compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a *karmadhāraya* compound, the *udatta* accent would have fallen on the syllable *रा* by rule VI. 2. 130,⁴ (the word *राज्यम्* has *udatta* on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in *karmadhāraya*).

Similarly *पाचिका + वृन्दारिका* = *पाचकवृन्दारिका* (VI. 3. 42).⁵ the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the *karmadhāraya*.

Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound, it won't be *karmadhāraya*. As *पाचिका + भार्या* = *पाचिकाभार्या* : 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, and therefore the word *पाचिका* retains its gender sign.

(¹) घृतस्पृक्तस्य ॥ (²) स्पृशोऽनुव के क्विन् ॥ (³) भजोशिवः ॥ (⁴) अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥
(⁵) पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥

A compound may be a Tat-purusha, but if its component parts do not refer to the same thing and are not in the same case, it won't be karmadhāraya:—ब्राह्मण राज्यम् Brāhmaṇa rājyam, 'a Brahmana kingdom.' Here राज्यम् gets udatta on the first syllable by the rule already mentioned (VI. 2. 130).

प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमा-निर्दिष्टम्, समासे, उपसर्जनम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमया विभक्त्या यन्निर्दिश्यते समासशास्त्रे तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति ॥

43. In (this book, in the sūtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

This defines or rather describes the Upasarjana. In the sūtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called Upasarjanam.

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया श्रितातीत पतितगतात्यस्तग्राप्तापत्रैः) is a samasa sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word द्वितीया is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means: "An accusative (द्वितीया) is compounded with the words श्रित, अतीत, पतित, गत, अत्यस्त, प्राप्त, and आपत्र and forms Tat-purusha". Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus कष्ट + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः. Here the word कष्ट being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30. उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्, (in a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative Tat-purusha, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus शंकुलाखण्डः, यूपदारु, वृकभयम्, राजपुरुषः, अक्षशौण्डः.

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called प्रधान or principal

एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-विभक्ति, च, अपूर्व-निपाते, (उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एका विभक्तिर्यस्य तद्विभक्त्यैक विभक्ति, समासे विधीयमाने यन्नियतविभक्तिकं द्वितीये सम्बन्धिनि बहुभिर्विभक्तिभिर्युज्यमानेप्येकैविविभक्त्या युज्यते तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति, अपूर्वनिपाते, पूर्वनिपातं पूर्वनिपाताख्यमुपसर्जनकार्यं वर्जयित्वा ।

44. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case, is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i.e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa i.e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix; apūrva-nipāte, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30)¹ which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. Ex: निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बिः, निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बिना. निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बये, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बौ.

Similarly the word निर्वाराणसि ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राज्ञः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी; राज्ञः + कुमारीन् = राजकुमारीं; राज्ञः + कुमार्या = राजकुमार्या, राज्ञः + कुमार्ये = राजकुमार्ये.

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example.

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30)¹ cannot stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as कौशाम्बीनिः

अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थवत्,
अधातुः, अप्रत्ययः, प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थवच्छब्दरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं भवति धातुप्रत्ययौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

45. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (*dhātu*), or an affix (*pratyaya*) is called a *prātipadika* or crude-form.

This defines the word "prātipadika" or crude-form. The prātipadika is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (pada), from the undifferentiated ore called the dhātu or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called

(¹) उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥

a prâtipadika, as डित्थः 'a wooden elephant,' कपित्थ 'the wood-apple tree,' कण्डम् 'a bowl,' पीठम् 'a seat.:

Why do we say "significant"? Of course it must have some meaning. Thus of the word वनं, we cannot say that the portion वन् is prâtipadika; as it has no meaning, and had it been a prâtipadika, the final न् would have been dropped by Rule VIII. 2. 7¹ (the final न् of a prâtipadika is dropped).

The word must not be a verb, as the word बहन् (the third person sing. number, imperfect tense of बह्) he killed. Had it been a prâtipadika, the न् would have been dropped.

The word must not be an affix or ending in an affix:—as कुण्डे 'in the bowl.' Here the word ends in the affix इ of the locative case, and is consequently not a 'prâtipadika' or crude form, but a complete word. Had it been a prâtipadika, the ए would have been shortened into इ by rule 47 succeeding.

A nipâta or particle though not a significant form of a word, yet gets the designation of prâtipadika in the opinion of the author of the Mahâbhâshya. As अध्यागच्छति, प्रलम्बते.

कृतद्धितसमासाश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-तद्धित-समासाः , च ,
(प्रातिपदिकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतस्तद्धिताः समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

46. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compound are also called *Prâtipadika*.

This further explains the use of the word prâtipadika. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, primary suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns, secondary suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. 1. 93)², the latter *Taddhita* (IV. 1. 76).³ Thus जन *jana*, man, is derived from the root जन् *jan* by the kṛit suffix अ; but जनीन *janina*, appropriate for man, is derived from जन *jana* by the *Taddhita* affix ईन *ina*. The name prâtipadika would apply both to जन *jana* and जनीन *janina*, as nominal bases ready to receive the terminations of declension" (Max Müller).

Of the compounds, of which there are six varieties, we had occasion to refer to five already, *viz.* Tat-purusha, Karmadhâraya, Dvandva, Bahuvrîhi and Avyayîbhâva. They will be fully dealt with in their proper places.

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favour of words ending in Kṛit or *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called prâtipadika. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

(¹) बलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥

(²) कृदतिङ् ॥

(³) तद्धिताः ॥

The words formed by kṛit affixes are prātipadika, as कृ (to do) + ण्वुल् = कृ + वु = कार् + अक = कारक. The affix ण्वुल् is a kṛit affix, and it is added to the root to form agent by Rule III. 1. 133.¹ The letters ण् and ल् are indicative, the force of ण् being to cause the vṛidhi of the vowel of the root. The real affix वु is changed into अक by VII. 1. 1². the affixes यु and वु are replaced by अन and अक respectively. Thus the form कारक is a prātipadika, and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as कारकः ॥ Similarly कृ + तृच् (III. 1. 133)¹ = कर्तृ; nom. case कर्ता.

The word formed by Taddhita affixes are also prātipadika; उपगु + अण् = औपगो + अ = औपगव 'the son of the Rishi Upagu': nom. case औपगवः. Similarly कापटवः.

In fact in the chapters treating of these affixes, the derivative substantives formed by them are always shown by the Indian Grammarians in the nominative case singular number. The examples of nouns given in this book will be always declined nouns and not prātipadikas, except in peculiar cases. So also in the chapter of samāsa or compounds.

The words ending in compound are prātipadika: as राज्ञः + पुरुषः = राजपुरुष, nom. case राजपुरुषः.

ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्यः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः, नपुंसके, प्रातिपदिकस्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गेऽर्थे यत्प्रातिपदिकं वृत्तते तस्य ह्रस्वो भवति आदेशोलोन्त्यस्याचः ॥

47. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prātipadika.

In the neuter gender, the prātipadika that would have ended in a long vowel, changes it into short. Thus अति + रै = अतिरि 'extravagant', as अतिरि = कुलम् 'an extravagant family'; अति लो = अतिलु 'very hairy', अतिलु कुलं 'a very hairy family.'

There is no substitution of short vowel, if the noun is not in the neuter gender, as ग्राम + नी = ग्रामणी, nom. case ग्रामणीः 'the leader of a village or head-borough.' Similarly सेनानीः 'the leader of an army.'

A word may be in the neuter gender, but if it is not a prātipadika, the vowel is not shortened. As काण्डे तिष्ठतः 'two cantos remain.' Here the ए of काण्डे is formed by the coalescence of अ (of the prātipadika काण्ड) and इ (the dual case termination); thus काण्ड + इ = काण्डे. Now it might be urged that here one letter ए replaces two letters अ and इ. Therefore this substitute is equivalent to each of those letters separately, and consequently ए is the vowel of the prātipadika and ought to be shortened. But this is not

(¹) ण्वुल् तृ चौ ॥

(²) युवोरनाकौ ॥

to be so, because the word *prātipadika* has been especially mentioned in the text, and therefore this *ekādés'a* is not treated as the final of the form which precedes it.

गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-स्त्रियोः, उपसर्जनस्य,
(प्रातिपदिकस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनगोशब्दान्तस्य उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तस्य च प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईयसोबहुव्रीहेः प्रतिषेधावक्तव्यः ॥

48. A short vowel is the substitute of *prātipadika* which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix ; when regarded as *upasarjana*.

The word *upasarjana* has been defined in *sūtra* 43. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened when it stands last and is an *upasarjana*.

Thus चित्र + गो = चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a *Bahuvrihi* or possessive compound. So also शबलगु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those *prātipadika upasarjanas* which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः + कौशास्त्री = निष्कौशास्त्रिः. Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाणसिः.

The word *prātipadika* of the previous *sūtra* is understood in this. The word गो in the *sūtra* means the form गो and not other words synonym with it. The word स्त्री means "a word ending in a feminine affix," because it has the *svarita* accent. The word *upasarjana* qualifies both these words, i. e. when गो is an *upasarjana* and when a word having a feminine termination is an *upasarjana*.

Other examples are :—अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वः 'without a bedstead' अतिमालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an *upasarjana*, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is *upasarjana*, and not the word कुमारी which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word *formed by the addition of an affix*, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore we have अतिलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty', अतिश्रीः ॥

Vart :—In *Bahuvrihi* compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी, विद्यमानश्रेयसी ।

लुक्तद्धितलुकि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, सद्धित-लुक्, (खा,
उपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितलुकि सति स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य उपसर्जनस्य लुग्भवति ॥

49. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix of the upasarjana.

The word लुक् defined in sūtra 61, Chapter I, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्, there the feminine suffix of the prātipadika is also dropped, or becomes *luk*. Thus there are certain Taddhita suffixes by which patronymics are formed (one of them being अण्) from other nouns. Before this अण् the initial vowel of the word is vriddhied and the final is gunated. Thus सिन्धु, 'ocean', forms सिन्धु + अण् = सैन्धो + अ = सैन्धव 'born in ocean or oceanic.' But there are certain words, e. g. अविष्ठा, फल्गुणी &c., which are all feminine gender (see sūtra IV. 3. 34)¹ after which the patronymic suffix is totally elided, without leaving any trace of its action, by using the word luk. Thus अविष्ठा + (अण्लुक्) = अविष्ठः ॥ Here then the present sūtra finds its scope. The Taddhita suffix being *laked*; the original feminine termination आ also becomes *luk*. Therefore the patronymic derivative of अविष्ठा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अविष्ठः; similarly from फल्गुनी we have फल्गुनः &c.

Thus there is a feminine suffix called डीष् (actually ई) and certain words like इन्द्र &c., (IV. 1. 49)² take an additional suffix called आनुक् (actually आन्. Thus the feminine of इन्द्र will be इन्द्र + आनुक् + डीष् = इन्द्र + आन् + ई = इन्द्राणी. Now in forming Dvigu compound (Numeral Determinative compound), the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus पंचकपालः an offering (purodash) made in a dish with five compartments.' In this compound the Taddhita suffix अण् is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been कापालः ॥ Similarly when the word इन्द्राणी forms a Dvigu compound, the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. But not only that, even the original radical affixes are also dropped by force of the present sūtra. Thus पंचेन्द्रः which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses इन्द्राणी. Here the full form was पंच + इन्द्राणी + अण्. (The suffix अण् has the force of "sacred to God." Thus इन्द्र + अण् = ऐन्द्रं sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita suffix अण् is *laked* by rule contained in sūtra IV. 1. 88³ relating to Dvigu compounds: we have then remaining पंच + इन्द्राणी. In this stage, the present sūtra comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been *laked*, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarjana prātipadika are also *laked*. Therefore, the feminine suffixes आनुक् and डीष् are also dropped, and we have पंचेन्द्रः which means "cake sacred to the five Indrāṇīs (goddesses)."

(¹) अविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातिविष्य पुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुलाल्लुक् ॥ (²) इन्द्रवरुण-भवर्शवरुद्रमृडीहमारययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥ (³) द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥

The word लुक् and upasarjana of the last sūtra are understood in this. By the last sūtra, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened when it was an upasarjana; this sūtra teaches the total suppression of such an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163 declares फलेलुक् "luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or product when fruit is meant." Thus यत् is an affix which means modification. Thus गो + यत् = गव्यम् 'cow's milk or the product of cow.' This affix is suppressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thus the fruit of the tree आमलकी will be called आमलकं, i.e. first the Taddhita affix is *laked*, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of बदरी or बकुली trees are बदरं or बकुलं.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so when any other affix is *laked*. Thus गार्ग्याः + कुलं = गार्गीकुलम् 'the family of Gārgî.' Here in forming the samāsa, the case affix of the word gārgî is *laked* by II. 4. 71¹. But this suppression of the genitive termination does not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix ई of gārgî.

This rule would not also apply if there is no elision by *luk* of a Taddhita affix, as in गार्गीत्वम्.

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasarjana. As अवन्ती, कुन्ती, कुरूः.

ईद् गोण्याः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, गोण्याः, (तद्धितलुकि) ॥

इत्ति ॥ गोण्यास्तद्धितलुकि सति इकारादेशो भवति ॥

50. The short is substituted in the place of gonî, when Taddhita affix is elided by luk.

By the former sūtra when a Taddhita is elided, the long ई of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word गोणी in which, under similar circumstances the short इ replaces the long ई, as in the compound पंचगोणिः 'purchased for five gonîs.' Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of "purchased for," has been rejected after गोणी by V. 1. 28.² Therefore by previous sūtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sūtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ.

This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhāga. Thus इत् is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ. Thus purchased with five needles पंचभिः सूचीभिः क्रीतः = पंचसूचिः, दशसूचिः. This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

(¹) सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ (²) अध्यर्द्धपूर्वद्विगोलुगसंज्ञायाम् ॥

लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुपि, युक्तवत्,
व्याक्त-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः॥ लुपीति लुप्संज्ञया लुप्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थ उच्यते; तत्र लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्ति वचने भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खलतिकादिषु वचनम् ॥

51. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप्, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

This sūtra consists of four words: 1. लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्'; 2. युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same'; 3. व्यक्ति 'gender'; 4. वचनं 'number.' The form vyakti vachane is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is luped, then the derivative word *retains* the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and 'let there be a लुप्' ॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by luk rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by *lup* rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word शिरीषाः, meaning 'a village not far away from शिरीष trees', the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender; similarly the word पंचालाः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sūtra is not an approved rule; as will be mentioned by Pāṇini in sūtra 53 following and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus पंचालाः are a class of Kshatriyas. As such it is masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchālās live is also called Pañchālās; similarly कुरवः, मागधाः &c. There is a rule जनपदेलुप् (IV. 2. 81, the *lup* takes the place of an affix when signifying the proper name of a country or kingdom). Thus पंचालाः + अण् (this is one of the affixes forming country) = पंचालाः.

This rule does not apply when the affix is suppressed by the word लुक् &c. and not लुप्. Thus लवणः सूयः 'salted soup', लवणायवागुः 'salted gruel,' लवणं शाकं 'salted vegetable.' Here the affix उक् has been elided by the word *luk*, by IV. 4 24, लवणाल्लुक् (after the word lavana the affix is *laked*).

These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that शिरीषाः, s'irīshāḥ, is the name of a village and is formed by the *lup* of the affix. Now compounding it with वन we have शिरीषवनम्, 'the forest of the village Sirīshā.' Here

the word शिरीषा: means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called s'irisha, then the न of वन would have become ण optionally by Rule VIII. 4. 6. (विभाषौषधि वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ The न of the word वन is optionally changed into ण when preceded by words signifying annual herbs and trees).

Vart:—In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c., the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरीतक्य फलानि 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine.

Vart:—The words खलतिकं &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खलतिकंवनानि 'mountain forests, i.e. forests in the vicinity of mountains.' Here खलतिकं is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same viz. neuter.

विशेषणानां चाजातेः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणानाम्, च.
अजातेः, (लुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुबर्धस्ययानि विशेषणानि तेषामपि व्यक्तिचने भवतो जातिं वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup* elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) so far as the *jāti* (or kind or species) is concerned; (or when not expressing *jāti*.)

When a Taddhita is *luped*, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पंचालाः रमणीयाः बह्वन्नाः, बहुक्षीरघृताः बहुमाल्यफलाः 'the pleasant Pañchālās having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीयाः, pleasant &c., agrees in number and gender with the Pañchālāḥ; being also in masculine plural. But when such a derivative is used as a *jāti* word then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पंचालाः जनपदः, गोदौ ग्रामः. Here जनपद though qualifying Pañchālā does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by the *lup* of Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita-formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचालाः जनपदो रमणीयो बह्वन्नः, 'the country of Pañchālās is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words रमणीयः and बह्वन्नः qualify directly the word 'जनपदः' and indirectly the word Pañchālās, and therefore do not agree with the latter.

The explanation of this sūtra as given by Pāṇjali in the Mahābhāṣya is somewhat different from that of the Kāś'ikā. The phrase चाजातेः is analysed by him as च and आजातेः, the sense being "and as far as the jāti goes." The word jāti is thus explained :—

A word expressing whatever is distinguishable by its form or figure, or which begins the name of an individual is easily found applicable to others without any further teaching, (a common name) provided it is not a word used in all genders, (common noun मुख्यजाति genus); and (only for the purpose of grammar as coming under the rules relating to the abovementioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas (शाखा) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read शाखाध्येतृ (s'ākhādhyaetṛi) (गौणजाति) = जातिवाचकाः (jātivāchakāḥ) आकृति गृहणज्जातिलिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् । सकृदाख्यात निग्राह्य गोत्रं च चरणैः सह ॥

The following examples will illustrate the meaning of the above definition:—(1) तट is a jāti word because it denotes what is distinguishable by its form, i. e. by its being contiguous to a place covered with water, (2) शूद्र is such a word, because when given as the name of an individual, is applicable to other s'ūdras (common name), (3) औपगव is such a word, and (4) कठे a person belonging to the family competent to read the branch of the Vedas called kaṭha is also such a word. But देवदत्त is not such a word, because it is a proper name applicable to only one individual and शुक्र is likewise not such a word, because it, though a common name, is used in all genders.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the लुप् elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कन् (क) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus अश्वकः means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चञ्चा means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चञ्चा + कन्लुप् (लुम्मुब्ये V. 3. 98) = चञ्चा. Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चञ्चा अभिरूपः 'the delightful straw figure of man.' वध्रिकाः दर्शनीयः 'a beautiful representation of an eunuch.'

तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अशिष्यम्, संज्ञा

प्रमाणत्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदशिष्यं न वक्तव्यं कस्मात्संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

53. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives) need not be taught (or approved), because it has the authority of samjñâ (or conventional term or idiom).

The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word *हाराः* 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to females, similarly *आपः* 'water' is always feminine plural in form, so also *गृहाः वर्षाः सिकताः*. This sūtra, therefore, modifies the former sūtras and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like *Pañchālās*, *Kaurava*, &c, should not be considered as derivative words formed by the lup elision of *Taddhita*; but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries; consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of grammar.

लुब् योगाप्रख्यानात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप, योग- अप्रख्यानात्,
(अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योऽयं जनपदे लुप् वरणादिभ्यश्चेति लुबुध्यते अयं न वक्तव्यः, किं कारणं योगाप्रख्यानात् नहि पञ्चाला वरणा इति योगः सम्बन्धः प्रख्यायते नैतदुपलभामहे बृक्षयोगान्नगरे वरणा इति ॥

54. The sūtras declaring lup elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by lup elision.

In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact that the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all to make it vanish.

Thus वरणाः Varanāḥ is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from वरणाः a kind of tree, because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no trees वरणाः at all near the town Varanā. Let us therefore call words like वरणा, पञ्चाला, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 (तस्य निवासः, अदूरभवच्च) relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV. 2, 81 and 82 (जनपदेलुप्, वरणादिभ्यश्च).

योगप्रमाणे, तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ योग-
प्रमाणे, च. तद-अभावे, अदर्शनम्, स्यात्,

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चालादयः संज्ञा शब्दा न योगनिमित्ता इत्युक्तं. तच्चावश्यमेवाभ्युपगन्तव्यं योग-
प्रमाणेहि तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात्, यदि पञ्चालादि शब्दो योगस्य प्रमाणं योगस्य वाचकः स्यात् ततस्तद-
भावेऽदर्शनमप्रयोगः स्यात् ॥

55. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

This sūtra strengthens the former sūtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that, there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by *lup* elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like पञ्चालाः &c. are not derivative words, &c. but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Pañchālās be the name of the country in which the Kshatryas called Pañchālās live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchālās. But we know, as a matter of fact, these words are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called रूढि words.

प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्रधान-प्रत्यय, अर्थ-वचनम् अर्थस्य, अन्यप्रमाणत्वात् (अशिष्यं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रधानं समासे किञ्चित्पदं प्रत्ययस्तद्व्यतिथिः ताभ्यामर्थवचनमर्थान्निधानमनेन प्रका-
रेण भवतीति पूर्वाच्चाट्यैः परिभाषितम्. प्रधानोपसर्जने प्रधानार्थसङ्गृह्यतः प्रकृति प्रत्ययौ सहार्थं ब्रूत इति ।
तत् पाणिनिराच्चाट्यैः प्रत्याचष्टे अशिष्यमेतत् अर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वादिति । अन्य इति शास्त्रापेक्षया
लोकव्यपदिश्यते, शब्दैरर्थान्निधानं स्वाभाविकं न पारिभाषिकमशक्यत्वात् । लोकेत एवार्थविगतेः ॥

56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pardhâna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

This sūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; Pradhâna: 'Principal in a compound.' As in the compound राजपुरुषः 'king's man,' the word rāja is Upasarjana; and पुरुषः is pradhâna. 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. अर्थ 'meaning.' 4. वचनम् 'word or sentence.'

In the time of Pāṇini, there were some grammarians who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word; and if a derivative word, then by the suffix. Pāṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that inasmuch as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it; or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pāṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes, &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Raja-purusha. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an औपगव he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-उपसर्जने, च,
तुल्यम्, (अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालोपसर्जने चाशिष्ये कस्मादर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

57. And a rule fixing the meaning of Tense (kāla) and Upasarjana (sequence) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Here Pāṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past, &c. Pāṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sūtra.

To give another example. Thus अद्यतनः कालः or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Acharyas :—"The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana." Others say "from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day." Similarly others have explained the 'upasarjana' to mean "that which is not the principal word in a compound is called upasarjana." The sage Pāṇini has not thought it worth his while to define such word as upasarjana, inasmuch as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses; they say: "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to-morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasarjana, for they say:—"वयमत्र गृहे आमे वा उपसर्जनम् 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sūtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sūtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are also not taught by Pāṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. "A Bahuvrīhi compound connotes ownership." "In Dvanda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" "In Avyayībhāva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c.

जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥
जाति-आख्याम्, एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

नञिः ॥ जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्नर्थे बहुवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥

58. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

The words of this sūtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jāti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvṛitti of as'ishyam does not go further.

It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्नो यवः or संपन्ना यवाः; "Full grown barley" पूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयः or पूर्ववयसो ब्राह्मणाः प्रत्युत्थेयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jāti in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to Proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, यज्ञदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jāti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of Kāsyapa may also be called kās'yapa; this is a class noun; but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say 'ekasmin'? When two or more class names are compounded as ब्रीहियवौ 'the rice and barley': the rule does not apply.

Vart:—An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको ब्रीहिः संपन्नः सुभिक्षं करोति.

अस्मदो द्वयोश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदः, द्वयोः, च, (एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनं अन्यतरस्याम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मदो यो ऽर्थस्तस्यैकत्वे द्वित्वे च बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदि गुरवेकेषाम् ॥

59. The plural of the pronoun *asmad*, 'I,' is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ब्रूमः), may be spoken by one person; similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case; thus आवां ब्रूवः 'we two speak' or वयं ब्रूमः 'we speak.'

Vart:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as अहं देवदत्तो ब्रवीमि, 'I Devadatta am speaking.' अहं गार्ग्यो ब्रवीमि, 'I Gārgya am saying.' Here we cannot use the plural.

Vart:—The word गुरु 'master' may have plural form though referring to one person, when following the word युष्मद; as त्वं मे गुरुः or यूयं मे गुरवः. 'Thou art my master,' or 'you are my master.'

फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ फल्गुनी-प्रोष्ठ-पदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फल्गुन्योर्द्वयोः प्रोष्ठपदश्च द्वयोर्नक्षत्रयोर्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

60. And the dual of Phālgunī and Proshtha-padâ, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvritti of the word द्वयः from the last. Of the stars phalgunî and proshthapadâ, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिने पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual); or उदिताः पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः (plural.) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः ॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunî and proshthapadâ, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally. If phalgunî and proshthapadâ are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number : as फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

छन्दसि पुनर्वसोरेकवचनम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, पुनर्वसोः, एक-वचनम्, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयोर्द्विवचने प्राप्ते पुनर्वसोश्छन्दसि विषये एकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

61. In the Vedas, the two stars, Punarvasû, may optionally be singular (and connote a dual).

In the Vedas, the star *punarvasû* which is always *dual* in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As पुनर्वसुर्नक्षत्रं or पुनर्वसु नक्षत्रमदितिर्देवता ॥ The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in secular literature. In the latter it must be in the dual, that is, पुनर्वसु ॥ Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option. As पुनर्वसु माणविकौ.

विशाखयोश्च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशाखयोः, च (छन्दसि, अन्य-तरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषये विशाखयोरेकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

62. In the Vedas, the two stars Vis'âkhâ may optionally be in the singular number.

The word विशाखा is in the dual number as a rule. in the Vedas, it is found sometime to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus विशाखा नक्षत्रम् or विशाखे नक्षत्रमिन्द्राग्नी देवता ॥

तिष्यपुनर्वसोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्य-पुनर्वसोः, नक्षत्र-द्वन्द्वे, बहुवचनस्य, द्वि-वचनम्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्यपुनर्वसोर्नक्षत्रविषयेद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनप्रसङ्गे नित्यं द्विवचनं भवति ॥

63. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasû, the dual constantly comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasû (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसुदृश्येते 'the Tishya and Punarvasû having risen are seen (dual).'

There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasû. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number. Why do we say 'Tishya' and 'Punarvasû'? Observe विशाखानुराधा: 'the-stars Visâkhâ and Anurâdhâ.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars but are used in any other sense. As तिव्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasûs.'

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sūtra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasû. As तिव्यपुनर्वसु; पुण्यपुनर्वसु, सिद्धपुनर्वसु ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus तिव्यपुनर्वसवः is an example of Bahuvrīhi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasû."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva take the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिव्यपुनर्वसु इदमिति.

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular" for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word 'always' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sūtra and does not extend to it or any further.

सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सरूपाणाम्, एक-
शेष, एक-विभक्तौ,

वृत्ति ॥ सरूपाणां शब्दानां एकविभक्तौ परत एकशेषो भवति ॥

64. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekas'asha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped. Thus वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षौ (trees, in dual)
वृक्षः + वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षाः.

Every individual thing requires an individual word to express it; one word therefore could not express many things; to prevent the repetition of

the same word to express many objects of similar form, is the purpose of this sūtra, by which one word is only retained.

This applies only to words having the same form and not if they have different forms; as वृक्ष न्यग्रोधः the plaksha and nyagrodha trees.

The word "form" is used in the text to show that even if two words have different meanings, but the same form, the rule of Ekas'esha will apply, as अक्षः (die) + अक्ष (eye) + अक्ष (axle) = अक्षाः. Similarly पादाः and भाषाः.

The present rule only applies to the retention of *one*, and prevents the retention of two or more.

The word शेष (retention) is used to show that there is not a *substitution* (ādes'a) of one for many, but the *retention* of one out of many.

The rule will not apply if the two words are in different case-terminations, though they may have the same form. As पयः (1. s.) पयो (2. s.) जयति ब्राह्मणाभ्यां (3. d.) च कृतं ब्राह्मणाभ्यां (4. d.) च देहि.

वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धः, यूना, तत्-लक्षणः, चेद् एव, विशेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धोयूनासहवचनेशिष्यते युवानिवर्त्तते तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः ॥

65. The vṛiddha (or patronymic Gotra word becomes ekas'esha, and is retained, when compounded) with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affix) only.

The word s'esha of the previous sūtra is understood here. The word "yūnā" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vṛiddha word. The word Vṛiddha means gotra: the old ācharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra. The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and original head of the family a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words, gotra and yuvan, are defined in sūtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा) ॥ Roughly speaking a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family when a son of such person is living; and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakṣhaṇa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sūtra means 'if.' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्ग्यौ. Here the first word denotes a clan called Gargya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यञ् (IV. I. 105) ¹ the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix कृत् denoting a secondary derivative.² In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वात्स्यः + वात्स्यायनः = वात्स्यौ ॥

This Ekas'esha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same *radical* form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to :—गार्ग्यः (a Vṛiddha word + वात्स्यायनः (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

This rule of ekas'esha does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः + गार्ग्यायणः = गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्गौ । Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, *i e.* form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not applicable. Thus rule IV. I. 148³ says a "Vṛiddha word may optionally take the affix टक् to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvira." Thus भागवत्तिः + भागवत्तिकः = भागवत्तिभागवत्तिकौ. Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix टक् is not merely a yuvan affix but conveys the other sense also, the pure yuvan word being भागवत्त्यायनः.

N. B.—The system of domestic economy among the ancient Aryas was considerably different from the prevalent one. The surnames or the gotras represented the patriarchal system. Three forms of surnames are constantly met with in ancient literature. The first was most important: it was the patronymic by which the lord of the united family, the patriarch, was known. For example, Garga or Gargācharya was the recognised head of all the Gargas who may be a hundred. His eldest son and heir was called Gārgi. This is the first form of the patronymic (apatya). The grandsons or sons of Gārgi were named Gārgyas (Vṛiddham or Gotra). On the decease of the old patriarch, Gārgi began to be called Garga; and the eldest of the grandsons was called Gārgi; and those great grandsons who belonged to the family, and were designated Gārgāyanas (yuvan) were now called Gārgyas."

(¹) गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ (²) यञिञोश्च ॥ (³) वृज्जाट्कसौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥

स्त्री पुंवच्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्री, पुंवत्, च (शेषवृद्धयूना तल्ल० वि०)
वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्री वृद्धा यूना सहवचने शिष्यते तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषो भवति ॥

66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a *vṛiddha* affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a *yuvan* affix, is only retained : and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra and in the feminine gender is compounded with another word denoting a *yuvan*, the first is retained and the last is dropped ; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous *sūtra* and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that *sūtra*. Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्यायण = गार्ग्यौ. Here note that the resultant form is the same as in the former *sūtra*, namely the masculine.

Similarly दाक्षी + दाक्षाणः = दाक्षी (masculine dual of दाक्षि).

Vart.—The word *stri* in the *sūtra* means *Vṛiddhā strī*, that is the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant considered as the female head of the family. The words 'tal lakshanas' chedeva vis'eshah' of the previous *sūtra* govern this *sūtra* also, *i. e.* the distinction between the two words must be in their formative element and not in any thing else.

पुमान् स्त्रिया ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमान्, स्त्रिया (शेषः, तल्लक्षणश्चेदेवविशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रियासहवचने पुमान् शिष्यते स्त्रीनिवर्त्तते स्त्रीपुंसलक्षणश्चेदेवविशेषो भवति ॥

67. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes *ekas'esha*, and the latter is dropped.

When two words of different genders differ only in their derivative elements but not in their radical elements, that is to say, one is masculine and the other feminine because of certain affixes, the masculine only is retained and the feminine is dropped.

The governing force of the words '*vṛiddha*' and '*yuvan*,' of *sūtra* 65, does not extend to this *sūtra*, but the remaining portion of *sūtra* 65 is to be read into this *sūtra*. When a masculine word is read along with a feminine word, the feminine word is dropped and the masculine is retained, when the difference between the two words is caused only by the feminine and masculine affixes: as ब्राह्मणः + ब्राह्मणी = ब्राह्मणौ 'the Brāhmaṇa and the Brāhmaṇi'; कुक्कुटः + कुक्कुटी = कुक्कुटौ. 'the cock and hen.'

But not so in the following :— कुक्कुटः + मयूरी = कुक्कुटमयूरी 'the cock and the peahen.' Similarly गणकः + गणकी = गणकगणक्यौ. Here the 'feminine affix डीङ्, by which the word gaṇakī is formed from gaṇaka, in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV. 1. 48, पुंयोगादाख्ययाम्, meaning the "wife of" a gaṇaka and not a feminine gaṇaka; so also इन्द्रश्च इन्द्राणी चेन्द्रेन्द्राण्यौ ॥ Similarly आर्यः + आर्या = आर्यौ but आर्यः + आर्याणी = आर्यार्याण्यौ. Because the feminine affix in *aryani* conveys more than its feminine signification. See Rule IV. 1. 49.

This rule does not, of course, apply when it is not a masculine noun which is compounded, but it is a noun without any gender or neuter noun which is compounded with a feminine noun. Therefore प्राक् + प्राची = प्राक्प्राच्या. The word प्राक् is an indeclinable and is without any gender.

भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातृ-पुत्रौ, स्वसृ-
दुहितृभ्याम्, (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथासंख्यं भ्रातृपुत्रशाब्दौशिष्येते सहवचने स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥

68. The words bhrâtri, 'brother,' and putrâ, 'son,' when spoken of along with svasrī, 'sister' and duhitrī 'daughter' respectively are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in sūtra 65. Even where the radical elements of two words are different there may be an ekas'ēsha under special circumstances. Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरो (brother and sister or brothers). Similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons).

N. B.—The practical application of this sūtra is very neatly illustrated by the following example. There is a verse in Yājñavalkya smṛiti पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा which declares that on the death of a sonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, parents and bhrâtarah.

Here the word bhrâtarah; if it be taken as simply the plural of bhrâtri, it means "brothers" and excludes sisters. But if it be interpreted according to this sūtra, it means "brothers and sisters"; and thus gives sisters a right to inherit property of their brothers.

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैव चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥
नपुंसकम्, अनपुंसकेन, एकवत्, च अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (शेषः,
तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकानपुंसकमाचकृते विशेषेऽनपुंसकेन सहवचने नपुंसकाशिष्येते; एकवत् चास्य-
कं र्थं भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

59. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix, is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number

A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken or along with them, provided that the words differ in gender signs only; but radically they be the same. Thus. आनस्यो मेयुनं निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्द्धते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyamānam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'ālasya' which is in the masculine, 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidra' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter, the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekas'esna may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus. शुक्लं + शुक्लं + शुक्लं = शुक्लानि; the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadbhava.

The words तल्लक्षणेष्वेव विशेषः of sūtra 65 governs this sūtra also: thus शुक्लश्च कम्बलः, शुक्ला च वृश्तिका, शुक्लं च वस्त्र. "The white (masc.) blanket, the white (fem) wrapper, and the white (neut.) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुक्लं (neut.).

पिता मात्रा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पिता, मात्रा (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रासह वचने पितृशब्दः सिध्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

70. The word pitri, 'father', is optionally only retained when spoken of along with matri, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरो 'father and mother, or parents' or मातापितरो. The verse quoted under sūtra 68 illustrates this sūtra also. There the word 'pitarau' has been explained by all commentators as "father and mother." The word "ekavad" of the last sūtra does not govern this sūtra; though the anuvṛitti of 'optionally' is to be read into this.

श्वशुरः श्वश्रवा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वशुरः, श्वश्रवा, (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वश्रवासह वचने श्वशुरशब्दः सिध्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

71. The word s'vas'ura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with s'vas'rû, 'mother-in-law.'

Thus श्वशुरः + श्वश्रू may be either श्वशुरौ 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or श्वश्रूश्वशुरौ ॥

त्यदादीनि सर्वानन्त्यम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, सर्वैः नित्यम् (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि सर्वैः सहवचने नित्यं शिष्यन्ते त्यदाभिरन्यैश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्यदादीनां मियोयद्वत्परंतत्तच्छिष्यते ॥

72. The pronouns 'tyad &c.' when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as *ekas'esha*; (to the exclusion of others).

The list of 'tyadādi' pronouns has been given under sūtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim'; when these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality'; *i. e. whatever* may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

Varl.—When त्यदादि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapāṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः + सः = यौ; यः + कः = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I. 1, 27). So यद् will be retained and not तद्. Similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद्.

ग्राम्यपशुसंघेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम्य-पशु-संघेषु, अतरुणेषु, स्त्री, (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्राम्याणां पशूनां संघाः ग्राम्यपशुसंघाः ; एतेषु सह विवक्षायां स्त्री शिष्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकशफेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

73. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see 67). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders,

the feminine noun is preferred; provided that the words should not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'pas'u' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गाव इमाः 'these cows (and bulls);' अजा इमाः 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grāmya) animals and not to *wild* animals; and only to *beasts* (pas'u) and not men. As हरव इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female); पृषता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female); ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmaṇas (male and female); क्षत्रियाः, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these the masculine noun is retained by Rule 67.

Vart.—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अशवा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also

Why do we say "not being young"? वत्सा इमे 'these calves'; बर्करा इमे 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained by the application of Rule 67.

ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

भूवादयो धातवः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूव-आदयः , धातवः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भू इत्येवमादयः शब्दा क्रियावचना धातु संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhâtu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhâtu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows :—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9. Krî. 10. Chur.

There are about two thousand verbs, and they are conjugated in two forms, some taking the Parasmaipada terminations only, the others the Atmanepada terminations and some both. The present chapter deals mostly with rules determining the nature of the verbal root, whether it is Parasmaipadi or Atmanepadi or both. A verb expresses action. The word dhâtu is a word coined by older grammarians than Pāṇini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also, therefore, the word dhâtu means a word which expresses action.

The वा in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of भू + आदि is भ्वादि and not भूवादि; while Dr. Ballantyne considers that वा is a separate root: he translates the sūtra thus :—"Let the verbal roots bhû 'be,' va 'blow' and the like be called dhâtu."

उपदेशोऽजनुनासिक इत् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशे, अच्, अनुनासिकः, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदिश्यतेऽनेनेति उपदेशः, शास्त्रवाक्यानि सूत्रपाठः खिलपाठश्च तत्र योऽजनुनासिकः स इत्संज्ञो भवति ॥

2. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upades'a, or original enunciation.

Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in क्तिन्, विद्, विच् the anunāsikā इ is इत्. The original sūtra contains the word 'upades'a' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upades'a' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapāṭha, or gaṇapāṭha, or dhatu pāṭha, &c.

From this sūtra up to sūtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इत्. "In Pāṇini's Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini's explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal." An upades'a is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (âgama), or a verbal root (dhātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एध 'to increase,' the final अ is indicatory, the real root is एध. So also the final अ of स्पृज् is इत् ॥

If the word is not an upades'a, then the nasal vowel is not इत् ॥ As अन्न औ अपः ॥ A word may be an upades'a, and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sūtra III. 2. 74. (आतो मनिन् क्तिन् वनिपश्च) It is only the nasal vowel of an upades'a that becomes इत् and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sūtras V. 2. 16. (आहितश्च &c.).

हलन्त्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्त्यम्, (उपदेशे इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भान्वादिः सप्तदशस्य यदन्त्यं हल् तद्विस्संज्ञं भवति ॥

3. In upades'a, the final consonant of roots, &c. is इत्.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes, &c., are indicatory. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ इ उ ण्; here ण् is इत् ॥ क् ल क्; here क् is इत् ॥ ए ओङ्; here ङ् is इत् ॥ ऐ औच्; here च् is इत् ॥ It is only in upades'a, that a final consonant is इत्. Not therefore, in अग्निचित् or सोमसुत्, which are complete words.

न विभक्तौ तुस्माः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न विभक्तौ, तु-स्-माः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वैण प्राप्तयाविस्संज्ञायां विभक्तौ वर्त्तमानानां तवर्गं सकारं मकाराणां प्रतिषेध उच्यते ॥

4. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and म् are not इत् in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

This is an exception to the previous sūtra which declared all final consonants to be इत्. In case terminations, the final त्, थ्, द्, ध्, न्, स्, and ष्, are not इत्. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is जस्. Here the final स्, though a consonant is not an इत्; and is not rejected, as in ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The word तु in the sūtra means the letters of the class त् by virtue of sūtra 69 Chapter I. (see ante). The word vibhakli will be defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 104. These are terminations applied to nouns in declining them through various cases; and to verbs in conjugating them. Thus in sūtra VII. 1. 12, (दाडसिङ्सामिनात्स्याः) the vibhaktis इन्, आत् and स्य replace टा, डसि and ङस्. Here the final त् of the affix आत् is not indicative and hence not rejected, as वृक्षात्. Similarly verbal terminations तस् and थस् as पचतः, पचथः ॥ So also the final ष् as ताम् and तस् in अपचताम् and अपचतम् ॥

This exception applies only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of यत् (III. 1. 97 अचोयत्); युस् (V. 2. 123, ऊर्णाय युस्) and यम् (III. 1. 78 रुधादिभ्य यम्) are इत् and are rejected. This exception, however, does not apply to the vibhakti अत् (in V. 3. 12 किमोऽत् or III. 4. 106, इदोऽत्). In those two sūtras the final त् of the vibhakti is इत्. The reason of this is, that the present sūtra is an antiya sūtra, i. e. a rule not of general application. In sūtra V. 3. 24, (इदमस्थुः) we find, 'the word इदम् takes the vibhakti यथु in the sense of mode or manner.' As इद्+यथु=इत्थम्, 'in this manner.' Now यथु is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः), the उ is इत्, the real vibhakti is यम्. Now had the present sūtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this उ as indicative letter, which has been evidently added to save the म् of यम् from becoming an इत्. This sūtra is consequently an antiya sūtra.

आदिर्जिडुडवः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, जि-डु-डवः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जि डु डु इत्ये तेषां सगुदायानामादितो वर्त्तमानानामित्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

5. The initial ñi, tu, and du are इत् ॥

The syllables जि, डु and डु, standing at the beginning of a root are indicative; as जिमिदा 'to have affectionate pleasure.' The real root is मिद्, the जि is servile. So दुनदि 'to rejoice; be glad' the real root being नद्. So दुदाड् 'to give' the real root being दा.

The जि shows that the past participle क्त has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (जीतः क्तः). As जिफला—फुल्लः 'blown'; जिमिदा—भिन्नः 'fat'; जिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold,' जिद्विषा—द्विषन्नः 'soft,' जिदन्धी—इद्धः 'kindled.'

The डु subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix षथु to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 द्वितोऽथुच्); as दुवेष्टः—वेष्टयुः 'shaking'; दु ओदिव—द्वयथुः 'swelling.'

The डु indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the amx ञिम (III. 3. 88, द्वितः क्तः) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act

by which the substantive thing has been produced, as डुकृम्—कृत्रिमम् 'artificial' डुपचष—पक्त्रिमम् 'ripe'; डुवप्—उप्त्रिमम् 'sown.'

If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they are not indicatory; as पट्टयति, कण्डूयति, &c.

षः प्रत्ययस्य, ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षः, प्रत्ययस्य (आदि इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारः प्रत्ययस्यादिरित्संज्ञो भवति ॥

6. The initial ष of an affix is indicatory.

The initial ष of an affix gets the name of इत् and is rejected. Thus by Rule III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिनि ष्वुन्) the affix ष्वुन् is added to a verb to indicate proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The ष and न् are इत् and अक् takes the place of वु (VII. 1. 1, युवोरनाकौ). Thus नृत् + ष्वुन् = नर्त् + अक् = नर्त्तकः 'a dancer' (by profession); fem. नर्त्तकी (IV. 1. 41, षिट्ठारादिभ्यश्च 'words formed by affixes having an indicatory ष take the affix डीप् in the feminine'): so also रजकः, fem. रजकी.

The initial ष of an affix only is इत् and not every initial ष. Thus not in षोडः 'six,' or षडिकः ॥ The ष must be initial, therefore it is not इत् in the affix टिषच् in अविमह्योष्टिषच्. (Un I. 45) as अविषः 'an ocean', महिषः 'a buffalo.'

चुट् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चुट् (प्रत्ययस्य आदिः, इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्ग टवर्गौ प्रत्ययस्यादी इत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

The consonants च्, छ्, ज्, झ्, ञ्, ढ्, ण्, and ण्, are always इत् and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word 'affix' of the previous sūtra governs this also.

As the affix चफञ् chapañ in sūtra (IV. 1. 98 गोत्रे कुञ्जारादिभ्यश्चफञ्). Here च् is indicatory, as, कौञ्जायन्यः ॥ The initial छ् of an affix is always replaced by ह्य (VII. 1. 2 आयेनेयीनीयियः फट् ल्यच्छ्रुषां प्रत्ययादीनाम्). The initial ज् of an affix is इत्. As, जम् (Nom. Pl. term) ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The initial झ् of an affix is always replaced by अन्त, as भू + शप् + झि = भवन्ति ॥ (VII. 1. 3 झोऽन्तः). The initial ञ् of an affix is इत् as in ज्य which comes after the words शण्डिक &c. As शण्डिक्यः (IV. 3. 92 शण्डिकादिभ्योज्यः). The indicatory ञ् causes vṛiddhi by rules VII. 2. 115, 116 and 117 : (अचोऽणिति, अतउपधायाः, तद्धितेऽवचामादेः).

The initial ढ् of an affix is इत् as in III. 2. 16 (चरेष्टः the root चर् takes the affix ट् when compounded with a noun in the locative). As कुरुचरः 'who goes among the Kurus.' The feminines of words formed by this affix take डीप् (IV. 1. 15 टिड्ढाणम्भयसञ् &c.) As कुरुचरी, मद्रचरी. The initial ण् of an affix is always replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50 ण्येकः). The initial ण् of an office is इत्, as in III. 2. 97 (सप्तम्यां अनेडः the root जन् takes the affix ड् when in composition

with a word in the locative, as उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः. The इ indicates that the final of the word called इति should be elided when an affix having indicatory इ is added. The initial इ of an affix is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2.)

The letter ए is always an इत् when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4 85 (अन्नास्मः) the affix ए comes after the word अन्न 'food.' As अन्न + ए = अन्नः. The ण causes Vṛiddhi.

This sūtra could very well have been included in the last aphorism. Why has it then been made a separate aphorism? The reply is that the present sūtra declares an anitya rule—that is to say, a rule which is not universally true. The initial palatal or lingual of every affix is not indicatory. Thus in the affixes चुञ्चुप् and चणप् the initial च् is not indicatory but forms part of the real affix. As विद्याचुञ्चुः विद्याचणः 'famous for one's learning.' See S. V. 2. 26. तेन विन्नश्चुञ्चुप् चणपौ. Similarly the initial ट of the affix टीटच् (V. 2. 31 अवात्कुटारच्च, नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां टीटच् नाटञ्जटच्), is not *it*. As अवटीटम् 'flat nosed.'

Of course it is the initial palatal and lingual which are servile; if these letters occur in the middle of an affix, they will not be indicatory. As ट of the affix अटच् is not indicatory in sūtra V. 2. 35 (कर्मणि घटोऽटच्) कर्मठः 'dexterous.'

लशक्तद्धिते ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल-श-कु, अतद्धिते, (प्रत्ययस्य, आदिः इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितवर्जितस्य प्रत्ययस्यादितो वर्त्तमाना लकार शकार ऋवर्गा इत्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

8. The initial l and s', and the gutturals of all affixes, except taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ल, श, क, ख, ण, ह, of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial ल in ल्युट् is इत् (III. 3 115 ल्युट्) । चि+ल्युट् = चयनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'collecting.' The initial श in शप् is इत् (III. 1. 68. कर्तरि शप्) भू + शप् + तिप् = भो + अ + ति = भवति 'he is.' The initial क् is इत् as in क्त and क्तवतु (I. 1. 26), as भुक्तः 'eating' भुक्तवान्. The initial ख् is इत् as in खच् (III. 2. 38 प्रियवशे वदः खच् the word वद takes the affix *khach* when compounded with प्रिय and वश्) प्रियवदः 'speaking kindly', वशंवदः 'submissive.' The initial ण् is इत् as in the affix ग्लु (III 2. 139 ग्लजिस्थश्च ग्लु), ग्लस्तुः 'languid', जिष्णुः 'victorious', स्थास्तुः 'unmoveable.' The initial घ् is इत् as in घुरच् (III. 2. 161 भञ्जभासभिदो घुरच्) भञ्ज + घुरच् = भङ्गुरम् 'brittle.' The initial ह् is इत्, as in हसि (termination of the ablative sing.) हस् ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1. 2), as सुमनस् + हस् = सुमनस् + अस् = सुमनसः 'of a well minded.' In Taddhita affixes however, these initials ल, श and gutturals are not इत्; and are therefore not elided. Thus चूडा + लच् = चूडालः (V. 2. 96. प्राणिस्थादातो लजन्यतरस्याम्) 'crested'; लोम + श

=लोमशः (V. 2. 100 लोमादिषामादिषिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलच्) 'hairy;' वृत्त + कन् = वृत्तकः
V. 3 81-86 जातिनामः कन्) 'a small tree.'

तस्य लोपः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, (लोपः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्संज्ञकस्य लोपो भवति ॥

9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called इत्), there is elision.

This sūtra declares the function of इत् ; namely it is a mere indicatory letter, and must be rejected. It is useful only as a mnemonic and is not a part of the term.

The word tasya in the sūtra indicates that the substitution of lopa must be in the place of the *whole* term called इत्, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (see. I. 1. 52). Therefore, the whole of त्रि, दु and डु is rejected and not only their finals.

यथा सङ्ख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा—सङ्ख्यम्, अनुदेशः, समानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानां समसंख्यानां समपरिणितानामनुदेशिनामनुदेशिनां च यथा क्रमशुद्देशिभिरनुदेशिनः सम्बन्ध्यन्ते ॥

10. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Thus sūtra III. 1 134 (नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः) declares—'the affixes ल्यु, णिनि and अच् are applied to नन्दि, ग्रहि and पच् class of words.' It means the affix ल्यु is applied to the words of नन्दि class, the affix णिनि to words of ग्रहि class, and अच् to words of पच् class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not hap-hazard. Similarly in VI. 1 77 इको यणचि (if a vowel follows) in the place of इ, उ, ऋ, ए there is यण् *i. e.*, य्, र्, ल्, व् ॥ So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (तूदीशालातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड् ढक् छण् ढञ् यकः) where the four affixes dhak, chhaṇ dhañ, and yak are applied respectively to the words tūḍī, s'alātura, varmati and kūchavāra; *i. e.*, the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word, &c. As तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वार्मतेयः and कौचवार्यः ॥

Why do we say 'of equal members'? This rule will not apply if the number of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted are unequal. As in sūtra I. 4. 90, लक्षणेव्यभूताख्यानभागवीप्तासु प्रति पर्यनवः for here the words lakṣhaṇa, &c., in the first part of

the sūtra are four in number, while the words prati &c. are only three. That sūtra therefore must be read as thus. "The words प्रति, परि and अनु are karma pravachanīya, whenever they indicate either lakṣhaṇa (a mark), itihambhūtā khyāna (a statement of mere circumstance) ; bhāga (division) ; or vipsā (desire)."

स्वरितेनाधिकारः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितेन, अधिकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितो नाम स्वरविशेषो वर्णधर्मः तेन चिह्नेनाधिकारो वेदितव्यः ॥

11. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikāra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sūtras must evidently have svarita as they are governing sūtras; प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1.) धातोः (III. 1. 91), अङ्गस्य (VI. 4. 1), भस्य (VI. 4. 129).

अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्-ङ्-इतः आत्मनेपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्ततो ये धातवो ङितश्च तेभ्य एव आत्मने पदं भवति नान्येभ्यः ॥

12. After a root which has an indicative anudatta vowel (anudâttet) or an indicative ñ (ñit), the affixes are those of the Atmanepada.

The word 'atmanepada' here governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sū. 77 inclusive, and is understood in them all; and will not therefore be repeated. Thus of the verb आस the final अ is anudatta and is इत्. It is therefore an âtmanepadi verb. As अस्ति. So षूङ्—सूते, शीङ् शेते.

भावकर्मणोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-कर्मणोः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे कर्मणि चात्मनेपदम् भवति ॥

13. An atmanepada affix is the substitute of the affix ल (III. 4. 69) when it denotes the action of the verb or the object of the verb.

Sūtra III. 4. 69 declares the "letter ल (लट्, लिट् &c.) is placed after transitive verbs in denoting the object also as well as the agent; and after intransitives in marking the condition (i.e., the action itself which the verb imports) also as well as the agent." The Paras. and Atman. affixes would

have come, therefore, generally after all these verbs. The present sūtra restricts Atman. affixes to bhāva and karma verbs.

This is clear. Impersonal verbs and passive verbs as a rule are conjugated in the ātmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of भाव we have ग्लायते भवता 'you dislike' (lit. 'it is disliked by you'), सुष्यते भवता 'you sleep.' Similarly passive verbs as क्रियते कटः 'the mat is made'; ह्रियते भारः 'the load is carried.'

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices, *viz.*, active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally parasmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्मकृतरि are also ātmanepadi. Thus लूयते केदारः स्वयमेव 'the wood cuts of itself.' See sūtra 78.

कर्त्तरि कर्म व्यतिहारे ॥ १४ ॥ पदान् ॥ कर्त्तार, कर्म-व्यतिहारे ॥ (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्म व्यतिहारे तद्विशिष्ट क्रिया वचनाद्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Atmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्तृवाच्य verbs when denoting reciprocal action are ātmanepadi. As, व्यतिपचन्ते, 'they cook for each other,' व्यतिलुनते 'he performs cutting of wood which was the appropriate office of another.'

The words "reciprocity or interchange of action" of this sūtra govern and are understood in the two following sūtras also.

The word karma in the sūtra means action and not the technical 'karma' meaning 'object' and the word vyatihāra means reciprocity or interchange. When an action which was appropriate to one person is performed by another, whose duty it was not, that is called 'interchange of action.' When such interchange is not meant Paras. is used. As लुनन्ति 'they cut.' The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

न गति हिंसार्थेभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गति-हिंसा-अर्थेभ्यः ॥ (आत्मनेपदम् कर्मव्यतिहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो हिंसार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः कर्म व्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिषेधो हसारीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हरतेरप्रतिषेधः ॥

15. After verbs having the sense of 'motion,' or 'injury,' when expressing interchange of action, the Atmanepada affixes are not used.

This aphorism prohibits Atmanepada affixes in certain cases where by force of the last sūtra Atmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As व्यतिगच्छन्ति 'they go against each other,' व्यतिहिंसन्ति 'they injure each other.' व्यतिघ्नन्ति 'they fight together.'

The word 'not' of this sūtra is understood in the subsequent sūtra.

Vart.—This prohibition extends to the verbs हस् 'to laugh,' and the rest. As व्यतिहसन्ति, व्यतिजल्पन्ति, व्यतिपठन्ति ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be made of the verbs हरति 'to injure,' as संप्रहरन्ते राजानः ॥

इतरेतरान्योन्योपपदाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतर-इतर, अन्यः-अन्यः, उपपदात्, च, (कर्मव्य० आत्मने० न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरेतरोऽन्योन्य इत्येवमुपपदाद्धातोः कर्मव्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परस्परोपपदाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. And after the verbs which take the words itaretara 'each other,' and anyonya 'one another,' as upapada (or dependant qualifying words), the affixes of Atmanepada are not used, though reciprocity of action be denoted.

Thus इतरेतरस्य व्यति लुनन्ति 'they cut each other' अन्योन्यस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति 'they cut one another.'

Vart.—This rule must also be applied when the word परस्पर is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As परस्परस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति.

नेर्विशः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, विशः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परस्माद् विश आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

17. After the verb vis' 'to enter,' when preceded by the preposition ni, the Atmanepada affixes are employed.

As विशति 'he enters,' but निविशते 'he enters in.'

Even when the augment अद् of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the ātmanepada. As न्यविशत 'he entered in.'

The नि of the sūtra must be an upasarga, because that has a sense, and not any नि. On this there is this paribhashā:—अर्थवद्महणेनानर्थकस्य "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning." Thus in मधुनि विशन्ति भ्रमराः 'the beetles enter the honey flowers.'

Here the नि is a part of the word मधुनि and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmaipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परिव्यवेभ्यः क्रियः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-वि-अवेभ्यः, क्रियः,
(आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिव्यवेभ्य उत्तरात् क्रीणातेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

18. After the verb krî 'to purchase,' when preceded by pari, vi or ava, the Atmanepada affix is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb डुकीञ् 'to buy or barter,' has an indicatory ञ् and therefore, by sūtra 72 it will be Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra, therefore, refers to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root क्री 'to buy' as a general rule takes the terminations of both padas, but when it is preceded by pari, vi, or ava, it is restricted to Atmanepada terminations. As प्ररीक्रीणीति 'he buys'; विक्रीणीति 'he sells'; अवक्रीणीति 'he buys.'

The word pari, vi, and ava must be upasargas, therefore, in the following example, there is no Atmanepada termination, because the vi there 'is not a preposition but a noun, as, बहुविक्रीणाति वनम्.

विपराभ्यां जेः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपराभ्याम्, जेः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि परा पूर्वाज्जयतेर्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

19. After the verb ji 'to conquer,' preceded by vi or parâ, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This sūtra debars S. 78 by which the root जि is generally Parasmaipadi.

As विजयते 'he conquers', पराजयते 'he conquers.' The words vi and parâ must be upasargas (prepositions); for the application of this rule. In the following examples, they are used as substantives बहुविजयाति वनम्, पराजयति सेना ॥

आडो दोऽनास्य विहरणे ॥ २० ॥ पदानिः ॥ आङ्, दः, अना-
स्य-विहरणे, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वादिदातेरनास्यविहरणे वर्त्तमानावात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आस्यविहरणसमानक्रितादपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ्ग कर्मकाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

20. After the verb *dâ* 'to give,' preceded by *ân*, and when not meaning 'to open the mouth,' the Atmanepada affix is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root *दा* is generally both Parasmaipadi and Atmanepadi (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition *आ*, it is restricted to the atmanepada. As *विद्यामादन्ते* 'he acquires knowledge.' But when it means "to widen the mouth" whether actually or metaphorically, it is parasmaipadi. As *आस्यं व्यादशति*. 'He expands his own mouth.'

Vart :—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As *विपादिकां व्यादशति* 'he opens the tumour.' *कूडं व्यादशति नदी* 'the river breaks the bank.'

Vart :—When the action does not affect the agents' own body the verb is atmanepadi, as *व्यादशतेपिपीलिकाः पतंगस्य मुखम्*, 'the ants open the mouth of a locust.'

क्रीडोऽनुसंपरिभ्यश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीडः, अनु-सम्-परिभ्यः, च, (आडः, आत्मने प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीड् विहारे एतस्माद् अनुसम्परि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् आङ् पृथ्यात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समोऽकूजने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आगमेः क्षमायामात्मने पदं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शिक्षेजिज्ञासायाम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आशिषिनाथः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हस्तेर्गतताच्छील्ये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किरतेर्हर्षजीविका कुलायकरणविविधेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङ्निगुप्रच्छोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शप उपालम्भन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

21. After the verb *krīd* 'to play' preceded by *anu*, *sam* or *pari*, as well as *ân*, the Atmanepada affix is used.

The word "आङ्" is to be read into the sūtra by virtue of the conjunction च in the text. As *आक्रीडते संक्रीडते अनुक्रीडते*, or *परिक्रीडते* 'he plays.'

Vart.—When the verb *क्रीड्* compounded with *सम्* means to make a rattling or creaking noise, it does not take atmanepada terminations. As *संक्रीडन्ति शकटानि* 'the carts rattle or creak.' The word *anu*, *pari* &c., being taught along with *sam*, indicates that the upasargas *anu*, *pari*, &c., are to be taken and not the karmapravachanīya *anu* *pari*, &c. Therefore, when these prefixes are used as karmapravachanīya, they do not cause the verb *क्रीड्* to

take the *âtmanepada* terminations as *माणवकमनुक्रीडति* 'he plays in imitation of the boy.' For the definition and action of *karmapravachanîya*, see. I. 4. 83 and II. 3. 8.

Vart.—The verb *आगम्* takes the *âtmanepada* terminations when meaning 'to wait for', 'to overlook', 'to have patience', as, *आगमयस्व तावन् माणवकम् ।* 'Have patience with the boy.'

Vart. The verb *शिक्ष* takes *âtmanepada* terminations, when meaning 'to enquire':—as, *विद्यासु शिक्षते* 'he investigates sciences.'

Vart.—The verb *नाय* when meaning 'to bless,' takes *âtmanepada* terminations, as, *सर्पिषो नायते* 'he blesses with clarified butter,' *मधुनो नायते ।* Why do we say 'when meaning to bless'? Observe, *माणवकमनुनायति*, 'he begs of *Manavakâ*.'

Vart.—The verb *हरति* takes *âtmanepada* terminations when meaning 'to take after the nature of the parents.' As *पैतृकमश्वा अनुहरते* 'the horses resemble their father.' *मातृकं गावोऽनुहरन्ते* 'the cows always imitate their mother.' But when not having this meaning, we have *मातुरनुहरति* 'he resembles his mother.'

Vart.—The verb *किरति* takes *âtmanepada* terminations when meaning 'to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.' As *अपस्किरते वृषभो हृष्टः* 'the happy bull scratches with joy.' *अपस्किरते कुक्कुटो भक्षार्थी* 'the cock scratches in search of food,' *अपस्किरते श्वाऽऽश्रयार्थी* 'the dog scratches to make his abode.' When not having these senses we have *अपस्किरति कुसुमम्* 'he scatters about the flowers.' The dental *स* in *apaskirate* is added by *sûtra* VI. 1. 142. *अपाच्चतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वलिखने ॥*

Vart.—The verbs *नु* 'to cry' and *प्रच्छ* 'to ask' take the *âtmanepada* terminations when preceded by the preposition *आङ्*, as *आनुते भृगालः* 'the jackal howls,' *आपृच्छते गुरुम्* 'he questions the Guru.'

Vart.—The verb *शप्* when meaning 'to touch the body by the word' takes *âtmanepada* affixes. As *देवदत्ताय शपते* 'he promises by oath to Devadatta.' Otherwise we have *शपति* 'he curses.'

समवप्रविभ्य स्थः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-अव-प्र-विभ्यः, स्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् अव प्र वि इत्येवं पूर्वात् तिष्ठते रात्मनेपदं भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङ् स्थः प्रतिज्ञान इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. After the verb *sthâ* 'to stand,' preceded by *sam*, *ava*, *pra*, *vi*, the *Atmanepada* affix is used.

As *संतिष्ठते* 'he stays with,' *अवतिष्ठते* 'he waits patiently,' *प्रतिष्ठते* 'he sets forth,' *वितिष्ठते* 'he stands apart.'

Vart.—The verb *स्था* when preceded by *आद्* and meaning 'solemn declaration' takes *âtmanepada* terminations; as *अस्ति संस्कारमात्रमातिष्ठते* ॥ Or to take another example, *जलं विशं वा तव कारणादास्यास्ये* 'for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison.'

प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययोश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकाशन-स्थेय-आख्ययोः, च,
(*स्था*, *आत्मने०*) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकाशने स्थेयाख्यायां च तिष्ठतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

23. After the verb *sthâ* when meaning 'to indicate one's intentions to another,' or. 'to make an award as an arbitrator,' the *Atmanepada* affix is employed.

The word *prakâś'ana* means disclosing one's intentions. The word *stheyākhyā* is a compound of *stheya* 'arbitrator; and *ākhyā* 'name.'

As *तिष्ठते जायापत्ये* 'the wife expresses her wish to the husband;' *त्वयि-तिष्ठते* 'he refers to thee for settlement;' *संशय्य कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते यः*, 'who, when he is in doubt, has recourse to Karṇa as his judge or umpire.'

उदोऽनूर्ध्वकर्मणि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, अनूर्ध्व-कर्मणि,
(*स्था*, *आत्मनेपदम्*) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् पूर्वान् तिष्ठते रनूर्ध्वकर्मणि वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उद् ईहायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. After the verb *sthâ*, preceded by *ut*, when not meaning 'to get up or rise,' as from a seat, the *Atmanepada* affix is employed.

The word 'karma' in this aphorism means 'action,' and does not mean the grammatical karma or 'object.'

As *गेहे उत्तिष्ठते* 'he strives for the house' so also *कुटुम्बे उत्तिष्ठते* ॥ But *आसनादुत्तिष्ठति* 'he rises up from the seat.'

Vart.—The force of the preposition *ut* must be to express ईहा, 'effort, exertion, wish or desire, to surprise or excell.' If this be not the force of *ut*, the terminations are those of the *Parasmaipada*. As *अस्माद् ग्रामात् शतमुत्तिष्ठति* 'a hundred is yielded by this village.' The word ईहा qualifies the word 'anūrdhakarmanī,' and does not debar the latter.

उपान्मन्त्रकरणे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, मन्त्र-करणे, (*स्था*,
आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात्तिष्ठतेर्मन्त्रकरणेऽर्थवर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपादेवपूजासंगति करणमित्री करणपथिष्विति वाच्यम्

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा लिप्तायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

25. After the verb sthâ, preceded by upa, when meaning 'to adore,' the Atmanepada affix is used.

As ऐन्द्रागार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches with prayers or worships the Garhapatya fire with aindra hymns.'

If it does not mean 'praising with hymns' the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the Parasmaipada, as भर्तारमुपतिष्ठति यौवनेन 'she approaches the husband through youth.'

Vart.—The verb स्था after the preposition उप takes the terminations of the atmanepada when meaning 'worshipping a deity,' 'to approach for intercourse or uniting or joining,' 'to form friendship with,' and 'to lead to as a way.' Thus:—1st Deva puja आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he worships the Aditya.' 2. Sangati karaṇa पतिमुपतिष्ठते नारी 'the wife approaches the husband,' रथिकानुपतिष्ठते 'forms union with charioteers.' 3. Mitri karaṇa सन्तमुपतिष्ठते साधुः 'the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.' What is the difference between Sangati-karaṇa and Mitri-karaṇa? Sangati-karaṇa means drawing near and approaching together in space, as गङ्गायमुनामुपतिष्ठते 'the Ganges joins the Jumna.' While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact. 4. Patha:—अयं पन्थाः सुधनुमुपतिष्ठते 'this road leads to Srugha.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the Atmanepada is optional when the sense is 'desire of getting.' As भिक्षुको ब्राह्मणकुलमुपतिष्ठते or उपतिष्ठति 'a beggar waits at the place of a Brahmana with the desire of getting something.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च, (उपस्था आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात् तिष्ठतेरकर्मकादकर्मकक्रियावचनादान्मनेपदं भवति ॥

26. After the verb sthâ, preceded by upa, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As भोजनकाले उपतिष्ठते 'he stands ready at the time of dinner,' यावदभुक्तमुपतिष्ठत 'he is present whenever it is dinner time,' यावदोदनमुपतिष्ठते 'he is present whenever there is food, that is he comes at the time of dinner.' The word bhukta is formed by adding the affix kta to the root, and has the force of condition' here.

The phrase 'when used in the Intransitive' governs the three succeeding sūtras also.

If it is transitive; the verb upasthâ takes the parasmaipada terminations. As राजानमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches the king.'

उद्भिभ्यां तपः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्-विभ्याम्, तपः, (अकर्मकात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् विडित्येवं पूर्वान् तपतेरकर्मकक्रियावचनादान्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ्गं कर्मकाच्चेति व॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

27. After the verb *tapa* 'to shine,' when used intransitively, and preceded by *ut* or *vi*, the *Atmanepada* affix is employed.

As उत्तपते or वितपते विद्याया विद्यार्थी 'The scholar shines with knowledge.' But in transitive verbs, it is *Parasmaipadi*. As उत्तपति सुवर्णसुवर्णकारः 'the goldsmith heats the gold,' वितपति पृष्ठं सविता 'the sun heats the back.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the terminations are of the *atmanepada*, though the verb *ut-tapa* or *vi-tapa* be transitive, when the object is some limb of one's own body. As उत्तपते पाणिम् or वितपते पाणिम् or पृष्ठं 'he heats his own hand or back.' The word स्वाङ्ग means one's own body and not the *pāribhāshika* or the technical स्वाङ्ग meaning "a thing which not being liquid or gaseous and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being and though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being." (See IV. 1. 54. स्वाङ्गाद्योपसर्जनावसंयोगोपधात्). Therefore not so in the following देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य पृष्ठमुत्तपति 'Devadatta heats the back of Yajñadatta.' When the preposition is other than *ut* or *vi*, *parasmaipada* affix is employed; as, निष्टपति.

आङोयमहनः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यम-हनः, (अकर्मकात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम उपरमे, हन हिंसागत्याः । ताभ्यामकर्मकक्रिया वचनाभ्यामाङ् पूर्वाभ्यामात्मने-पदं भवति ॥

28. After the verb *yam* 'to stop,' and *han* 'to injure' when used intransitively and preceded by *ân*, the *Atmanepada* affix is employed.

The word intransitive of s. 26 is understood here also. Both these verbs are generally *parasmaipadi*. When they take the affix *आ* they become *Atmanepadi*. *Yam* belongs to *Bhvädi* class; and *han* to *Adädi* class. Thus आ+यम्+श्प्+ते=आ+यच्छ+अते (VII. 3. 77 इषुगमियमां छः 'chh is the substitute of the finals of ish, gam and yam, when an affix having an indicatory श् follows) =आयच्छते 'it spreads.' आयच्छते and आयच्छन्ते; so also आ+हन्+ते=आ+ह+ते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37) अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्पादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झालिङ्ङिति =आहते, 'he strikes.' आ=हन्+आते=आ+हन्+आते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 98 सार्वधातुकमापित् गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङि व्यनङि) =आघ्नते (VII. 3. 54), (हो हन्तेऽग्निनेषु) Pl. आघ्नते.

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as आयच्छति कूपाङ्ग-कृष्णम् 'he draws up the rope from the well,' आहन्ति वृषलं पादेन 'they kill the sinner with the foot.'

Vart.—When the object is some member of the agent's own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As आथच्छत पाणिम् 'he puts forth his own hand.' आहते शिरं 'he hurts his own head.' When the object is some limb of another's body, the terminations are of the Parasmaipada, as आहन्ति शिरः परकीयं 'they hurt others' head.'

समोगमृच्छिप्रच्छिस्वरत्यर्तिश्रुविदिभ्यः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः
गमि-ऋच्छि-प्रच्छि-स्वरति-अर्ति-श्रु-विदिभ्यः (अकर्म० आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वेभ्यो गमि ऋच्छि प्रच्छि स्वरति अर्तिश्रुविदिह्येतेभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः
आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृष्टेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. After the verbs gam 'to go,' richchh 'to become hard,' prachchh 'to ask,' svar 'to find fault,' ri 'to go,' s'rû 'to hear,' and vid 'to know,' when used intransitively and preceded by sam, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The above seven verbs when preceded by the preposition सम् and used in the intransitive, take the terminations of the Atmanepada. As संगच्छते (VII. 3. 77) 'he joins,' समृच्छते 'he becomes hard or goes,' संपृच्छते 'he asks,' संस्वरते 'he blames,' समरन्त 'they are attained.' In the case of this last verb which belongs both to Bhvâdi and Juhutyâdi classes it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As सम् + ऋ + अङ् + त्त (III. 1. 56 सर्तिशास्त्र्यर्तिभ्यश्च) = समृत्, as मा समृत् (VI. 4. 75 बहुलं चन्दस्यमाङ्योगेऽपि) सम् + ऋ + अङ् + अन्त = समरन्त (VII. 4. 16 ऋदृशौऽङिगुणः). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb विद् must have the meaning of 'to know,' and not that of 'to acquire.' संशृणुते 'he hears,' संवित्ते 'he knows.'

Vart.—The root दृश् (to see) after the preposition सम् when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as संपश्यते 'he sees.' But when transitive, it takes Parasmaipada terminations as आसम् संपश्यति 'he sees the town.'

निसमुपविभ्यो हः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-सम्-उप-विभ्यः, हः,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि रुम उप वि इत्येवं पूर्वार्द्धे ह्यतेर्ज्ञातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपसर्गादस्य लृहोर्वा वचनम् ॥

30. After the verbs hve 'to call,' preceded by ni, sam, upa, and vi, the Atmanepada is used, even, when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb ह्वे 'to call' whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepadī after the above prepositions. The condition of being Intransitive does not apply to this sūtra, and from this sūtra forward general rules of Atmanepada are treated of. As निह्वयते, संह्वयते, उपह्वयते ॥

The verb ह्वे is marked in the Dhātupāṭha with a अ and therefore by sūtra 72 of this Chapter, it will take the terminations of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. But even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the verb ह्वे takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

Varl.—The verbs अस् 'to throw' and ऊह् 'to note' take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As निरस्यति—न्ते 'he casts out,' समूहति—न्ते 'he collects.'

स्पर्द्धायामाङः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पर्द्धायाम्, आङः, (ह्वः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पर्द्धायां विषये आङ् पूर्वदि ह्वयतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

31. After the verb ह्वे, when meaning 'to challenge' and preceded by अन्, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As मल्लो मल्लमाह्वयते 'an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to conquer him)'; छात्रश्छात्रमाह्वयते 'one student emulates with another student.'

This sūtra is also for the purpose of showing that the root ह्वे takes the Atmanepada terminations even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word spardhā means to emulate, to vie, to desire, to conquer another. When the verb ह्वे has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasmaipada. As गामाह्वयति गोपालः 'the cowherd calls the cows.'

गन्धनावक्षेपणसेवनसाहसिक्यप्रतियत्नप्रकथनोपयोगेषु कृजः ॥ ३२ ॥
पदानि ॥ गन्धन-अवक्षेपण-सेवन-साहसिक्य-प्रतियत्न-प्रकथन-उपयोगेषु, कृजः,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गन्धनादिष्वर्थेषु वर्त्तमानात् करोतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

32. After the verb कृि when meaning 'to divulge,' 'to revile,' 'to serve,' 'to use violence,' 'to cause change,' 'to recite,' and 'to do an act tending to effect a desired purpose,' the Atmanepada is used even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb कृञ् by sūtra 72 would take the affixes of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This sūtra has been begun to show that this verb takes the Atmanepada terminations under certain circumstances even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word gandhana comes from the root gandh 'to injure,' of churādi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakṣhepana means 'to revile,' 'to over-come,' sevana means 'to obey and serve,' sāhasikya means 'an act of violence,' pratiyatna means, 'imparting a new quality or virtue,' prakathana means 'to narrate fully,' upayoga means 'the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.'

Thus उत्कुरुते. उशकुरुते means he informs against ; (2) श्येनो वर्तिकामुदाकुरुते 'the hawk overcomes or reviles a snail,' (3) गणिकानुपकुरुते 'he serves the prostitutes,' महामात्राननुकुरुते 'he serves the mahamatra,' (4) परदारान् प्रकुरुते 'he outrages another's wife,' (5) एधोदकम्योपस्कुरुते 'the fuel gives a new quality (boils) to the water (or he prepares the wood and water for a sacrifice).' The object of the verb कृि takes the affix of the sixth case i. e. genitive, only when the verb means pratiyatna, see S. II. 3. 53 (कृञ् प्रतियत्ने) । Therefore udakasya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment सुद् only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyatna, see VI. 1. 139. (उपात् प्रतियत्नं वैकृत वाक्याध्याहारेषु) ॥ Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute. (5) गायाः प्रकुरुते 'he recites stories,' जनापवादान् प्रकुरुते 'he recites slander,' (6) शतं प्रकुरुते 'he devotes a hundred' pieces of money, for the sake of merit. सहस्रं प्रकुरुते 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why, do we say in these senses? Witness कटं करोति 'he makes a mat. In this case the âtmanepada affix is not employed.

The verb कृि is understood in the three succeeding sūtras.

अधेः प्रसहने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, प्रसहने, (कृञ् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि पूर्वात् करोतेः प्रसहने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

33. After the verb कृि preceded by adhi, when the sense is that of 'overcoming or defeat,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra is commenced to show that कृि may take the âtmanepada affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasahana means 'to overcome, to be not defeated.' As तमधिचक्रे 'he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.'

Why do we say, 'in the sense of to overcome?' Witness अर्थमधिकरोति 'he learns the meaning' in which example the âtmanepada affix is not employed.

The necessity of making a separate sūtra of this rule, instead of including it in the last aphorism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

वेः शब्दकर्मणः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, शब्द कर्मणः, (कृञः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरुक्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले शब्दकर्मण आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

34. After the verb *kri* preceded by *vi*, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when *asuas au* is that of 'making sound,' (literally, having 'sound' for its object) the Atmanepada is employed.

The word *karma* in the sūtra indicates objective case or *kāraka*; and does not express 'action,' as in some previous sūtras such as 24 ante.

As क्रीडा विकुरुते स्वरान् 'the birds are making noise,' ध्वांशो विकुरुते स्वरान् ॥

The word *vi* governs the succeeding sūtra.

Why do we say "when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case"? Witness चित्तं विकरोति कामः 'love affects the mind.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च, (कृञः आ० प० वेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्मकादकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

35. After the verb *kri* preceded by *vi*, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As विकुर्वन्ते सैन्धवा 'the horses move gracefully,' ओदनस्य पूर्णाश्छात्रा विकुर्वन्ते the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.'

संमाननोत्सञ्चनाचार्यकरणज्ञानभृतिविगणनव्ययेषु नियः ॥ ३६ ॥
पदानि ॥ संमानन-उत्सञ्जन-आचार्यकरण-ज्ञान-भृति-विगणन-व्ययेषु, नियः,
(आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णीञ्. प्रापणे इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्त्रभिप्रायेक्रियाफलेशात्मनेपदं भवति, सम्माननादिषु विशेषणेषु सत्त्वं ॥

36. After the verb *nî* 'to lead,' when used in the sense of 'to guide so as to render the person guided worthy,' 'to lift up,' 'to make one a spiritual guide,' 'to determine the true sense,' 'to employ on wages,'

'to pay as debt,' and 'to give as in charity,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the Atmanepada is used.

This sūtra is begun in order to show that the verb नी may take the terminations of the Atmanepada, even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, in the following cases, *viz*, when it means to 'respect' &c.

Sammanana means to respect; as नयते चार्वा लोकायते 'the Chârvi gives instruction in the Lokâyata s'astra.' The word chârvi primarily means intelligence, and by secondary use it has been extended to the preceptor also; such a preceptor gives instruction, in Lokâyata Sastra, that is to say, having established the truth of the doctrines of that philosophy by argumentation, imparts them to the pupils. Those doctrines being thus established by reason, become respected (Sanmānitā) and honored.

Utsañjana, 'to throw up, or lift up,' as माणवकमुद्गनयते 'he lifts up Manavaka.'

Achārya-karaṇa 'acting as a teacher,' that is to say, to bring a boy near oneself in such a way, that being so brought near (upa-neta), he may himself become an achārya. As माणवकमुपनयते 'he initiates Manavaka (i. e., making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.)'

Jñāna means 'knowledge, a demonstrated verity.' As नयत् चार्वालोकायत् 'the Chârvi investigates the truth of the Lokâyata doctrine.'

Bhṛiti means 'wages.' As कर्मकारानुपनयते 'he employs the servants on hire or wages.'

Vigrahaṇa means the paying off as a tribute, debts &c. As मद्रा करं विनयन्ते, 'the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.'

Vyaya means 'allotment of money on works of merit &c.' As शतं विनयते 'he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.' सहस्रं विनयते 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness अजां नयाति ग्रामम् 'he carries the goat to the village.' Here there is no Atmanepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

कर्तृस्थे चाशरीरे कर्मणि ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृस्थे, च, अशरीरे, कर्मणि, (नियः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नयतेः कर्त्तादेवत्ताविलोकारवाच्यः कर्तृस्थे कर्मण्यशरीरे सति नयतेरात्मनेपदे भवति ॥

37. After the verb ni, when it governs an incorporeal object existing in the agent, as its object the Atmanepada is used.

The verb नी is Atmanepadi when governing an object which has no material body, but is an abstract noun, that is an object which has abstract but no concrete existence; and when such an object has its seat in a portion of the agent of the verb. As क्रोधं विनयते 'he subdues his own anger,' मन्त्रं विनयते 'he suppresses anger.'

The word s'arîra means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called s'arîra.

The object must reside in the agent, (kartrîstha), otherwise the verb will be parasmaipadi. As देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य क्रोधं विनयति 'Devadatta removes Yajnadatta's anger.'

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As गङ्गं विनयति 'he removes his own wort.' घातं विनयति 'he bows his neck.'

Why do we say 'in the case of an object?' Witness बुद्ध्या विनयति 'he is submissive through knowledge,' प्रज्ञया विनयति. Here the verb विनयति has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु क्रमः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्ति-सर्ग-तायनेषु, क्रमः,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु क्रमेर्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

38. After the verb kram 'to move' when used, in the senses of 'continuity,' 'energy' and 'development,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The word 'kram' governs the succeeding sūtras up to 43 and is understood in them all.

The verb kram by sūtra I. 3. 78 (after the rest, let the parasmaipada affixes be employed in marking the agent), would have taken the affixes of the parasmaipada; the present aphorism enjoins Atmanepada affixes in certain cases when the verb means to have a taste for &c.

Vṛitti 'continuity' means unobstructed, or want of interruption (*i. e.*, a taste for, or facility in, anything), sarga 'energy' means application, resolution and determination. Tāyana 'development' means increase and growth.

As (1) ऋक्षस्य क्रमते बुद्धिः—'his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures *i. e.*, he can easily comprehend the Rig.' (2). व्याकरणाध्ययनाय क्रमते 'the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.' (3). अस्मिन् शास्त्राणि क्रमन्ते 'the shastras are developed in him.'

Why in these senses only? Witness अयक्रामति he runs away.'

उपपराभ्याम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-पराभ्याम्, (वृत्तिसर्गतायनेशुकमः
आः प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपरापूर्वात् क्रमतेर्वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

39. After the verb kram, preceded by upa and para, when used in the senses of continuity, energy and development, the Atmanepada is employed.

The words vṛitti &c., of the last sūtra are understood here also. Why has this been made a separate sūtra and not included in the last? The reason is to make a restrictive rule in the cases of upasargas; that is to say, only in the cases of the upasargas upa and para, there is atmanepada affix; but not so when any other upasarga precedes the verb kram, though the sense may be of continuity &c. Thus उपक्रमते 'he commences to advance,' पराक्रमते 'he marches to attack.'

Why do we say after the upasargas 'upa and para'? Because, after any other preposition the affix will be of the parasmaipada; as संक्रमति 'he makes progress.' If the sense is not that of "continuity" &c., parasmaipada will be employed, as उपक्रमति, पराक्रमति.

आङुदग्मने ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आङुः, उद्गमन (क्रमः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वात् क्रमते रुद्गमने वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ज्योतिरुद्गमने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. After the verb kram, preceded by añ, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As आक्रमते सूर्यः 'the sun rises.' आक्रमते चन्द्रमाः 'the moon rises,' आक्रमन्त ज्योतीषि 'the stars rise.'

Varl.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in आक्रमति धूमोहर्म्यतलात्, 'the smoke rises from the surface of the terrace,' the verb क्रम is parasmaipadi. Why do we say in the sense of "to ascend"? Witness आक्रमति माणवकः कुतपम् 'the boy assails the ox.'

वेः पादविहरणे ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, पाद-विहरणे, (क्रमः आ० प० , ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात् क्रमतेः पादविहरणेश्च वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of 'placing of foot-steps.'

As वाजी विक्रमते 'the horse is pacing.' The term vikramaṇa is applied to the special movements of horse &c.

Though in the Dhātupāṭha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb कृमि and कृषु have the meanings of pāda-viharaṇa and pāda-vikshepa, that is "throwing or placing of foot," and so it might be objected that the present sūtra is a useless repetition, yet as verbs have various other meanings than what is assigned to them in the dhātupāṭha, the present sūtra is not unnecessary.

Why do we say "in the sense of throwing of foot"? In any other sense, the terminations will be those of the parasmaipada. As विक्रामति अजिनसन्धिः 'the fold of the antelope skin is ruptured.'

प्रोपाभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-उपाभ्याम्, समर्थाभ्याम्, (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येताभ्यां परस्मात् क्रमतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

42. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is employed when it is preceded by pra and upa, both conveying the same sense; viz. that of "beginning an action."

As प्रक्रमते भोक्तुम्, उपक्रमते भोक्तुम् 'he commences to eat' &c.

The prefixes pra and upa are synonyms, when they denote the commencement of an action

Why do we say, "when they are synonyms." Witness the following पूर्वेद्युः प्रक्रमति अपरेद्युर्ह्युपक्रमति 'he goes during the first part of the day and he comes back during the latter part of the day.' Here in one case the sense is "to go," in another it means "to return."

Why in the latter case of 'aparedyur upakramati' there is not Atmanepada by virtue of sūtra 39 ante, as there is the upasarga upa here? The answer is that Rule 39 is not applicable, as that rule is limited by the condition of the sense of 'continuity' &c. while in the present sūtra, that limitation is not applicable.

अनुपसर्गाद्धा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-उपसर्गात्, वा (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग वियुक्तात् क्रमतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

43. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is optionally employed, when it is not preceded by any preposition.

The root 'kram' may always be conjugated as Atmanepadi when not having any upasarga. The upasarga will be defined in I. 4. 59. The option allowed by this sūtra is an example of what is technically known as aprāpta vibhāsā viz., an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.

Examples: क्रमते or क्रामति 'he goes over.' Why do we say 'when it is without any preposition?' For no option is allowed when it takes preposition. As संक्रामति.

अपह्वे ज्ञः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि अपह्वेः, ज्ञः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरपह्वे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

44. After the verb jñā, when used in the sense of 'denying,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The root jñā which ordinarily means 'to know' and is parasmaipadi by rule 78, becomes Atmanepadi when through the virtue of any prefix it means 'to deceive:' as अपजानीते 'he deceives,' क्षतमपजानीते 'he denies the debt of a hundred rupees,' सहस्रमपजानीते 'denies a thousand.'

Why do we say when meaning "to deny?" Observe:— न त्वं किञ्चिदपि ज्ञानासि 'thou knowest not anything.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च (ज्ञः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरकर्मकादकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

45. And when used intransitively, after the verb jñā, the Atmanepada is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As सर्पिषो जानीते मधुनो जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter or honey.' (See II. 3. 51).

This Atmanepadi form of jñā is employed when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. From sūtra 76 it will be seen that when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the verb is Atmanepadi

How in the above example the verb jñā is intransitive? Because the word सर्पिषः is not the object of knowledge, but it is an instrument of sacrifice, into which one engages from complete knowledge (jñāna); and it (sarpishah) is in the genitive case by virtue of II. 3. 51 (ज्ञोऽविदर्यस्य करणे) by which the instrumental kāraka of the jñā is put in the genitive case.

Why do we say of "Intransitive"? Because in the transitive it is parasmaipadi, as स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he knows (recognizes) the son by his voice.'

संप्रतिभ्यामनाध्याने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्प्रतिभ्याम् अन्-आध्याने, (ज्ञः आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रतिभ्येवं पूर्वजानातेरनाध्याने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

46. After the verb jñā, preceded by sam, and prati, the Atmanepada is employed, when not used in the sense of "remembering with regret."

The word *jña* is understood in this *sūtra*: and the aphorism applies to that *jña* which is used in the transitive. As *ज्ञातं संजानीते* 'he looks for a hundred,' So *सहस्रं प्रतिजानीते* 'he promises a thousand.'

Why do we say when 'not meaning remembering with regret?' Because it is not *Atmanepadi*, when it conveys that meaning. Thus *मातुः संजानाति* 'he remembers with regret his mother,' *पितुः संजानाति* ॥

भासनोपसंभाषाज्ञानयत्नविमत्युपमन्त्रणेषु वदः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥
भासन-उपसंभाषा-ज्ञान-यत्न-विमति-उपमन्त्रणेषु, वदः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भासनादिषु विशेषणेषु सत्सु वदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

47. After the verb *vad*, the *Atmanepada* is employed, when used in the senses of "showing brilliance, or proficiency in," "pacifying," "knowledge," "effort," "difference of opinion," and "flattering."

By *sūtra* 78, *vad* generally takes the terminations of the *Parasmaipada*. By the present *sūtra*, it takes also the affixes of the *Atmanepada* when having certain meanings.

Bhāsana, (shining) means to illumine as *वदते चार्वी लोकायते*. The *charvi* illumines the *Lokayat shastras*, by his discourses and clear exposition.

Upasambhashā (persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate, as *कर्मकरानुपवदते* 'he conciliates or cajoles the servants.'

Jñāna (knowledge) means to know completely, as *वदते चार्वी लोकायते* 'the *charvi* knows completely to discourse upon *Lokayat shastra*.'

Yatna (endeavour) means energy, as *क्षेत्रे वदते* 'he toils in the field,' *गृहे वदते* 'he toils in the house.'

Vimati (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimitas opinion. As *क्षेत्रे विवदन्ते*, 'they disagree over the field,' *i. e.*, holding different opinions they talk diversely.

Upamantrana (enticing) means to coax in secret, as, *कुलभार्यामुपवदते* 'he entices the wife of a respectable family (*i. e.*, seduces her in secret),' *परदारानुपवदते* 'he flatters another's wife.'

Why in the above senses only? See *यत् किञ्चिद्वदति* 'he says something'.

व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यक्तवाचाम्, सम्-उच्चारणे, (वदः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणं सहोच्चारणं तत्रवत्तेमानाद्वदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

48. After the verb *vad*, the *Atmanepada* is employed when used in the sense of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः 'the Brāhmaṇas are speaking.' But in संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः 'the cocks are crowing' it is properly Parasmaipadi

The sense of the sūtra is that when men, who are only capable of articulate speech, speak all in one and the same time, then the verb vad takes the affix of the Atmanepada. When lower animals make a chorus of noise, the verb does not take the Atmanepada.

There must be samuchchāraṇa for the application of this rule; when there is no samuchchāraṇa or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply, as ब्राह्मणो वदति 'the Brāhmaṇa speaks.'

अनोरकर्मकात् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदान् ॥ अनाः, अकर्मकात्, (वदः, आ० प०) व्यक्त्वाचां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाद्दत्तेरकर्मकाद्व्यक्त्वाग्विषयादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

49. After the verb vad, preceded by anu when it is intransitively used, the Atmanepada is employed, when the sense is that of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As अनुवदते कटः कलापस्य kaṭha is echoing or imitates kalāpa. He reutters exactly what the kalāpa-reader or the teacher says. The word anu here means similarly.

Why do we say 'in the Intransitive'? Because when it is used in the transitive it takes the affixes of the Parasmaipada. As पूर्वमेव यजुरुदितमनुवदति, 'he repeats the yajurveda which he had learned before.'

The words 'uttering of articulate speech' are understood here also. Otherwise अनुवदति वीणा 'the lute resounds,' here it is Parasmaipada.

विभाषा विप्रलापे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विप्रलापे, (वदः आ० प० व्यक्त्वाचां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रलापात्मके व्यक्त्वाचां समुच्चारणे वर्त्तमानाद्दत्तेरात्मनेपदं भवति विभाषा ॥

50. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed optionally, when the sense is that of "contradicting each other."

As विप्रवदन्ते or न्ति वैद्याः (the doctors are at variance). The words vyaktavāchām (articulate utterance) and samuchchāraṇa (speaking together) are understood in this sūtra also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as, संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmaṇas are speaking together.'

The phrase 'articulate utterance' is necessary in this also. Because as विप्रवदन्ति शकुनयः 'the kites are quarrelling,' the verb is in the Parasmaipada.

The wrangling must be by talking at one and the same time, otherwise this rule will not apply. As क्रमेण वैद्या वैद्येन सह विप्रवदन्ति, 'the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.'

अवाद्ग्रः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवाद् , ग्रः , (आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाद् गिरतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

51. After the verb grî 'to swallow,' when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As अवगिरति (he swallows). The root grî to swallow preceded by the preposition ava is Atmanepadi. The verb grî taken in this sūtra means to swallow and belongs to the Tudādi class. It is not the grî 'to make sound' which belongs to the kryādi class, because there is no word formed with the latter verb by affixing the preposition ava to it. By sūtra 78 this verb grî 'to swallow' would have been Parasmaipadi; the present sūtra debaras that.

When it is not preceded by ava, it is Parasmaipadi, as गिरति 'he swallows.'

समः प्रतिज्ञाने ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , प्रतिज्ञाने , (ग्रः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सपूर्वाद् गिरतेः प्रतिज्ञाने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

52. After the verb grî preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is used, when employed in the sense of 'promising.'

As शनं संगिरते, 'he promises to pay a hundred rupees.' If it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As संगिरति मासम्, 'he swallows the mouthful.'

उद्गच्छरः सदर्मकात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्गच्छरः , चरः , सकर्मकात् ॥ (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वात्चरतेः सकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

53. After the verb char 'to walk' preceded by ut, when used transitively, the Atmanepada is employed.

As गेहमुच्चरते 'he strays away from home;' गुरुवचनमुच्चरते 'he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.'

Why do we say "when used in the transitive"? Observe वाष्पमुच्चरति 'the vapour is rising.' Here it is parasmaipadi.

समस्तृतीयायुक्तात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , तृतीया- युक्तात् , (चरः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्चरतेस्तृतीयायुक्तादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

54. After the verb *char*, preceded by *sam*, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed.

As *अश्वेन संचरते* 'he rides on the horse-back.'

The rule does not apply when it is not in composition with a word in the instrumental case. As *उभौ लोकौ संचरसि इमं चासु च देवल !* 'O Devala ! thou wanderest through both regions, this and that.' Here though the sense of the Instrumental case is implied, yet as it is not expressly stated, we use the *parasmaipada* terminations.

दाणश्च सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाणः , च , सा , चेत् , चतुर्थी-अर्थे, (समस्त० यु० चरः आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ दाणदाने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वाद् तृतीयायाश्चात्मनेपदं भवति साचेत् तृतीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अशिष्टव्यवहारे तृतीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

55. And after the verb *dâ* to give, preceded by *sam*, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed, provided this Instrumental case have the sense of the Dative case.

When is the 3rd case used with the force of the 4th case ? That is answered by the following.

Vart:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative when immoral conduct is implied. As *दास्या* or *वृषल्या* *संप्रयच्छते* 'he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute.'

The verb *dâ* to give is generally *parasmaipadi*, it becomes *âtmanepadi* under the above conditions.

Why do we say "when it has the force of the dative case"? Because when it has not the sense of the dative, *parasmaipada* terminations will be used, as *पाणिना संप्रयच्छति*, 'he gives with his hand.'

It might be asked how the *âtmanepada* terminations are employed when the preposition *sam* is not directly applied to the verb, but another preposition *pra*, intervenes between *sam* and the verb. The reply is that the word *samah* in *sûtra* 54 is not in the ablative case (which would have required its being placed immediately before the verb), but it is in the genitive case, and is used as an attribute.

उपाद्यमः स्वकरणे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् , यमः , स्वकरणे , (आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्यमः स्वकरणे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

56. After the verb *yam*, to give, preceded by *upa*, when used in the sense of "espousing," the *Atmanepada* is employed.

This is clear. As *भार्यामुपयच्छते* 'he espouses or knows his wife.' But not so when another's wife is meant; there it is *parasmaipadi*.

By rule 78, the verb *yam* would have been *parasmaipadi*, but the present *sūtra* makes an exception, when the root takes the preposition *upa* and means "to marry, to espouse, or to accept." The meaning of *sva-karana* is confined to accepting in general. This is according to *Kāsika*; according to *Mahābhāṣya*, *sva-karana* means to make one's own what was not previously his own.

Why do we say in the sense of "marrying"? When it has any other sense, *prasmaipada* affixes will be employed, as *देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य भार्यामुपयच्छति*, 'Devadatta has illicit intercourse with the wife of Yajñadatta.'

ज्ञाश्रुस्मृदृशां सनः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा-श्रु-स्मृ-दृशाम्, सनः,
(अ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञा श्रु स्मृ दृश् इत्येतेषां सन्नतानामात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

57. After the Desideratives formed by the affix *san*, of the verbs *jñā* to know, *s'ru* to hear, *smṛi* to remember, and *dṛis'* to see, the *Atmanepada* is employed.

The above four roots are *ātmanepadi* when in the Desiderative form, the suffix "san" being the *pratyaya* by which desideratives are formed.

The verb *jñā* takes the terminations of the *ātmanepada* when used in the senses indicated by the three *sūtras* 44, 45 and 46 already explained. The desiderative form of *jñā* would *ex necessitate* take *ātmanepada* affixes when used in the above senses: see Rule 62. The present *sūtra* however enlarges the scope of *ātmanepada*, by declaring all desideratives of *jñā* to be *ātmanepada*, in whatever sense they may be used.

Similarly by *sūtra* 29 ante and the *vārtika* under it, the roots *s'ru*, and *dṛis'* take the terminations of the *ātmanepada*; when preceded by *sam*, the desideratives of those would of course have taken *ātmanepada* affixes by 62, but the present *sūtra* makes it general.

The present *sūtra* however enunciates a new rule in the case of the root *smṛi*.

As *धर्मं जिज्ञासते* 'he wishes to know (*i.e.* enquires after) religion,' *गुरुं शुश्रूषते* 'he serves the teacher,' *नष्टं सुस्मर्यते* 'he wishes to remember the lost,' *नृपं दिदृक्षते* 'he wishes to see the king.'

Why do we say, when taking the affix *san*? Because the primitive verbs will take the *parasmaipada* terminations as *जानाति* 'he knows,' *शृणोति* 'he hears,' *स्मरति* 'he remembers' *पश्यति* 'he sees.'

नानोद्भिः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अनोः , झः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाङ्गानानातेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

58. After the desiderative of jñâ when preceded by anu the Atmanepada is not employed.

This is an exception to the last sūtra. The desiderative of jñâ with the prefix anu is not âtmanepadi.

This sūtra read with sūtra 45 limits the scope of parasmaipada to the transitive, desiderative verb anu-jñâ. As पुत्रमनुजिज्ञासति 'he enquires after the son.'

Why do we say when preceded by anu? Because otherwise it will take the âtmanepada terminations. As धर्मम् जिज्ञासते 'he inquires after religion.'

प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्भ्याम् , श्रुवः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वाच्छृणोतेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

59. After the desideratives of s'ru when preceded by prati and âñ the Atmanepada is not used.

The verb s'ru when taking the prefixes prati and âñ, is not âtmanepadi, though taking the desiderative "san." This is also an exception to the rule of sūtra 57. Thus प्रतिशुश्रूषति and आशुश्रूषति ॥

The word prati and âñ must be upasargas; if they are used as karmapravachaniyas (see 1. 4.—83) then the rule will not apply, as देवदत्तं प्रतिशुश्रूषते ॥

शदेः शितः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः , शितः , (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शदिर्यः शिङ्गावीशितो वा सम्बन्धी तस्मादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

60. After the verb s'ad to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicatory s' (s'it) the Atmanepada is used.

The root 'sad' when taking any affix which is marked with an indicatory श, is conjugated in the âtmanepadi. In connection with this must be read sūtra VII. 3. 78. पात्राध्मास्यान्नादाण्डशयस्तिशदसदांपिबजिबूधमतिष्ठमनयच्छुपश्यर्क्षधै शीयसीदाः by which the root शद् is replaced by शीय before the affixes having an indicatory श. Thus शद् + श + ते = शीय + अते = शीयते 'he decays or withers, शीयंते 'they two decay,' शीयन्ते 'they decay.'

Why do we say before affixes having an indicatory श? Before other affixes it is not âtmanepadi. As अशत्स्यत् 'if he decayed,' शत्स्यति 'he will decay,' शिशत्सति.

The well-known vikaranas like शप् , श &c., the affixes like शन् &c., are शिन् affixes. In other words the root s'ad is âtmanepadi in all conjugational tenses.

अ० प०) ॥ म्रियतेर्लुङ्लिङ्गोश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ म्रियते, लुङ्लिङ्गोः, च (शितः

वृत्तिः ॥ म्रियतेर्लुङ्लिङ्गोः शितश्चात्मनेपदं भवति अन्यत्र न भवति ॥

61. After the verb mri to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicatory श, as well as when it takes the affixes luṅ (aorist III 2. 110) add liṅ (Benedictive III. 3. 159) the Atmanepada is used.

This is a restrictive sūtra, the root मृद् (to die), is marked with a इ as an indicatory letter; so by sūtra 12 it would be always Atmanepadi. But the present aphorism restricts it to लुङ् luṅ (Aorist) and लिङ् liṅ (Benedictive) tenses as well as to those tenses which are शित्. It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take शित् affixes are the special tenses, i.e., the Present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, liṅ, luṅ, and s'it affixes, that the root mri takes the terminations of the atmanepada. Thus the aorist अमृत amṛita he died; Benedictive मृषीष्ट mṛishīṣhta 'may he die.' Similarly before sit affixes: thus म्रियते 'he dies,' = मृ + श + ते (VII. 4. 28 रिङ् शयग्लिङ् लु) म्रिय + अ + ते = म्रियते (VI. 4. 77. अचि इनुधातुभ्रंवां योरियङ्कुवडौ) म्रियते, म्रियन्ते The root मृ belongs to the sixth class of verbs called Tudādi which take the vikaraṇa श in the conjugational tenses (III. 1. 77).

In other tenses, viz., the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is parasmaipadi. As मरिष्यति he will die. अमरिष्यत्.

पूर्ववत्सनः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववत्, सनः, (अ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनः पूर्वो यो धातुः आत्मनेपदी तद्वत्सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

62. The verb which is Atmanepadi in its primitive form before the taking of the affix san, will also be Atmanepadi when it ends in the affix san. In other words; after a desiderative verb, Atmanepada is employed, if it would have been used after the primitive verb.

If the primary verb is parasmaipadi, its desiderative will be also parasmaipadi; if the primary verb is Atmanepadi, its desiderative will be Atmanepadi. This is the general rule. Some exceptions to it have already been mentioned in sūtras 57, 58, and 59. A root which was atmanepadi, before taking the Desiderative affix सन् san, will be atmanepadi even when it takes the affix सन् san. In other words, that by reason of which the atmanepada affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same terminations

to be applied when the verb ends in सन् san. Thus it was said in sūtra 12, that roots having an anudatta accented vowel as indicatory or a इ ण as their indicatory letter take the terminations of the âtmanepada. Thus आस्ते 'he sits down' and शेते 'he sleeps.' The verb आस् (to sit down) and शीङ् (to lie down) will remain âtmanepadi, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus असिष्यते 'he wishes to lie down.' Similarly sūtra 17 declared that the verb निविष् is âtmanepadi, as निविषते. This will be âtmanepadi also in the Desiderative form, as निविषिष्यते 'he wishes to enter.' So also by sūtra 40, आक्रमते is âtmanepadi, the Desiderative आचिक्रंसते will also be âtmanepadi.

But though by 60 and 61, शीयते and म्रियते are âtmanepadi, yet शिशस्वति 'he wishes to lie down,' मुमूर्षति 'he wishes to die,' are parasmaipadi. Because the âtmanepada affixes were ordained after the roots शद and मृङ् only under exceptional conditions and not generically, and as those conditions do not exist in the desiderative, the latter does not take âtmanepada terminations.

Of course that which in its primary state would not have taken the terminations of the âtmanepada, there being a prohibition to that effect, will not allow them in its Desiderative form. As अनुचिकीर्षति 'he wishes to imitate.' पराचिकीर्षति. Here the root कृञ् by rule 79 has been especially declared to be parasmaipadi, to the exclusion of âtmanepada affixes which would otherwise have come by Rules 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also parasmaipadi. The force of ञ् causing âtmanepada is counteracted by 79.

Now it might be asked:—True, this rule provides for those cases where a root is conjugated in two forms, one a Primitive and another a Desiderative conjugation. But what provision do you make for those partial verbs which take the affix सन् even in their primitive form; and in whose case we have no prior form to look upon as a guide in the application of âtmanepada affixes. And there are at least 7 such quasi-roots which take सन् in this way, called also the self-descriptive सन्. Those quasi-roots are गुप्, तिङ्, किङ्, मान्, बध्, दान्, and शान्. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix सन् and have no simpler conjugation? To this we reply; "In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive सन् the pada will be regulated by the indicatory letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are जुगुप्स, तितित्त, चिकित्स, मीमांस, बीभत्स, शीशन्स and दीदान्स, yet by the maxim अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति, "a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing;" the sign made in the expression गुप् &c., will qualify the whole verb जुगुप्स &c." Thus we have जुगुप्सते he despises, चिकित्सते he cures; मीमांसते he investigates, &c.

आम्प्रत्ययवत्कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्-प्रत्ययवत् ,
कृञः , अनुप्रयोगस्य (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्येवधातोः कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्यात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

63. Like the verb that takes the affix *âm*, if the verb be conjugated with the Atmanepada terminations, so of the verb *kri* when subjoined thereto as an auxiliary, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra applies where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. There are in Sanskrit two forms of the perfect tense (लिट्): one formed in the ordinary way by the reduplication of the root and adding the terminations; the other called the periphrastic perfect, is formed by adding आम् to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots कृ (to do), भू (to be) or अस् (to be). These latter verbs are called anuprayoga or auxiliary verbs, as it is with their help that the perfect tense is formed. The question then arises, what conjugation, parasmai or ātmanepada, do these auxiliaries take in forming the periphrastic perfect? This sūtra supplies the answer:—the auxiliary कृ follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root एध (to increase, prosper) is ātmanepadi, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb कृ will be also in the ātmanepada. Thus एधांचक्रे (he prospered). Similarly इद् (to appear with great splendour) is parasmaipadi and the auxiliary कृ after it will be parasmaipada, as इद्वाञ्चकार (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries भू and अस् retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus एधाम्बभूव , एधामास.

The word *ām-pratyaya* of the sūtra means 'that after which the affix *ām* (III. I. 35 and 36. कास्प्रत्ययाराधमन्त्रे लिटि) comes.' Of the verb *kriñ*, when subjoined to another as an auxiliary, the termination is that of the ātmanepada like the verb that takes the affix *ām*. If this sūtra enjoined a rule of injunction (*vidhi*), then there would be the termination of the ātmanepada even in examples like उद्भजांचकार and उद्भमांचकार where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This is no valid objection to the present sūtra. It is to be interpreted in both ways, that is, both as a *vidhi* (a general injunction) and a *niyama* (a restrictive injunction). How is that to be done? Because the word *pūrvavat* of the last sūtra is to be read in the present aphorism also. The second explanation in that case will be for the sake of establishing a *niyama* or restrictive rule.

It has already been said above that the auxiliary verbs कृ, भू and अस् are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. I. 40, कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि, meaning, the verb कृि is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs, that take am. In this sūtra (III. I. 40) the word कृि is a pratyāhāra, implying the verbs कृड्, भू and अस्. It might be asked how is this pratyāhāra formed? The word कृि is taken from the fourth word of sūtra V. 4. 50, अभूतज्ञावे कृभ्वस्तियोगे &c., and the letter णि is taken from sūtra V. 4. 58 कृञोद्धितीय &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb कृि is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs भू and अस्. These three verbs denoting absolute action unmodified by any especial condition have in all languages been fixed upon as the best auxiliaries.

It must, however, be noted that the word कृि in this sūtra is not used as a pratyāhāra and consequently does not include the verbs भू and अस्.

प्रोपाभ्यां युजेरयज्ञपात्रेषु ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र- उपाभ्याम्, युजेः, अयज्ञ-पात्रेषु, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येवंपूर्वाद् युजेरयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगविषयादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वराद्यन्तोपसृष्टादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

64. After the verb yuj to join, the Atmanepada is used, when it is preceded by pra and upa except with reference to sacrificial vessels even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb युजिर् 'to join' is svaritē, and consequently by sūtra 72 it is always ātmanepadi, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra declares when this verb may take the terminations of ātmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb युज् preceded by the prepositions प्र and उप the terminations are of the ātmanepada, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As प्रयुङ्क्ते 'he joins or employs'; उपयुङ्क्ते 'he fits or uses.'

Why do we say "when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels?" Because there the terminations will be of the parasmaipada. As इन्द्रं न्यञ्चि पात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति.

Vārtika :—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the ātmanepada when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus उपयुङ्क्ते and नियुङ्क्ते. In fact, all upasargas, with the exception of सम्, निर्, and दुर्, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the Vārtika amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.

With सम्, निर् and दुर, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as संयुनक्ति.

समः क्षणुवः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, क्षणुवः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षणु तेजने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वादात्मनेपदं भवति ।

65. After the verb kshṇu, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb क्षणु 'to sharpen, whet, or grind,' is generally parasmaipadi, but it is ātmanepadi, when it is preceded by the prefix सम्; as संक्षणुते शस्त्रम् 'he whets the weapon', संक्षणुवते 'they two whet', संक्षणुवते 'they all whet.'

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb kshṇu, when it could well have been included in the sūtra 29 ante, which also speaks of the force of the 'prefix sam, when used with the verbs gam, richchha, &c. To this the answer is that, that sūtra treats of intransitive verbs, the word akarmaka being understood therein, while the present sūtra, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

भुजोऽनवने ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुजः, अनवने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुजशालनाभ्यवहारयोरिति रुधादौ षष्ठ्यते । तस्मादनवनेऽपालने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

66. After the verb bhuḥ, the Atmanepada is used, except in the sense of protecting.

The root bhuḥ when it does not mean to protect, is ātmanepadi. This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As भुंक्ते 'he eats or enjoys'; also bhuñjate, bhuñjāte &c. But पुत्रान् भुनक्ति पिता 'the father cherishes the sons', भुनक्त्येनमग्निराहितः.

The root bhuḥ belongs also to the tudādi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuḥ belonging to the tudādi class is not to be taken in this sūtra, because that bhuḥ has never the sense of protecting. Therefore बिभुजति पाणिम् 'he bends the hand,' is in the parasmaipada.

शेरणौ यत् कर्म णौ चेत् स कर्त्तानाध्याने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेरः, अणौ, यत्, कर्म, णौ, चेत्, सः, कर्त्ता, अनाध्याने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्यन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति, कथम् अणौ यत्कर्म णौ चेत् तदेवकर्म, स एव कर्त्ता भवति । अनाध्याने, आध्यानं वर्जयित्वा ॥

67. After a verb ending in the affix ni (causal) the Atmanepada is employed, provided that when the object in the non-ni or non-causal sense becomes the

agent in the causal ; and when it does not mean 'to remember with regret;' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The causatives (णिच्) are conjugated in the *âtmanepadi*, when they are used in the passive voice, that is to say when a word which was an objective case in the ordinary verb becomes nominative case in the causative; and the nominative case of the ordinary verbs becomes objective case in the causative. In short when causatives are used in the passive voice, they are *âtmanepadi*. This round-about phraseology has been employed, because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form; as *आरोह्यते हस्तिपकान् हस्ती*.

The phrase 'णे: (after the causatives)' of this *sûtra* governs the four succeeding *sûtras* and is understood in them. The *sûtra* consists of the following words:—णे: 'after the causative;' अणौ 'in the non-causative;' यत् 'what;' कर्म 'object;' णौ 'in the causative;' चेत् 'if;' सः 'that;' कर्ता nominative; 'अनाध्यान' 'except to remember.'

In general, by *sûtra* 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the *âtmanepada*, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present *sûtra* applies to the case where fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

Alter the verbs that take the affix णिच्, the terminations are those of the *âtmanepada*. How? When that which was the object when the primitive verb was used non-causatively, becomes also the object when the derivative verb is used causatively; and even that object becomes also the agent as well. There is exception, however, in the case when the verb means to 'remember with regret.' As *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.' Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb *आरोहन्ति* into a causative form. The sentence then will be, *आरोह्यते हस्ती स्वयमेव* 'the elephant makes itself to be mounted.' Similarly *उपसिचन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant'; and *उपसेचयते हस्ती स्वयमेव* 'the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled'; *पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम्* 'the attendants see the king'; and *दर्शयते राजा स्वयमेव* 'the king makes himself to be seen.'

Why do we say 'alter the causatives?' Because the rule of this *sûtra* will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix णिच्; as *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant'; and *आरोह्यमाणो हस्ती साध्वारोहति* 'the elephant that is being mounted, mounts gracefully'. Here the terminations are of the *parasmaipada* in the second case also.

Why do we say 'in the non-causative non-ñi'? For this rule will not apply when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix णिच्; such are the roots of the tenth class or churādi in which the ñich is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root गग belongs to chu-ādi class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As गगयति गगं गोपालकः 'the cowherd counts the herd;' and the causative form is गगयति गगः स्वयमेव 'the herd makes itself to be counted.' The terminations in both cases are those of the parasmaipada.

Why do we say 'when the object (karma) becomes the agent?' Because the rule will not apply, when any other kāraka or case, than the karma or object, of the primitive verb becomes the agent in the causative. Thus कुनति हस्तिम् 'he cuts with the scythe,' ल वयति हस्त्रं स्वयमेव 'the scythe is made to cut of itself.' Here the word dātra was the instrument of the primitive verb which became agent in the causative, and therefore in the causative the terminations are of the parasmaipada only.

Why do we say 'if in the causative' in the sūtra? It is for the purpose of indicating that the verb must be one and the same, both in the primary sentence and the causative sentence. Therefore the rule does not apply here where the causative verb सेचयति in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपक्काः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्थलमारोहयति मनुष्यान् 'the elephant that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men'.

The word सः 'that' is employed in the aphorism to show that the objects in both sentences must be the same and not different. Therefore in the following example where the objects are different, the terminations of parasmaipada are only used. आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपक्काः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्थलमारोहयति मनुष्यान् 'the elephant, that is being caused to mount, makes men mount on the land.'

Why do we use the word kartā (agent) in the sūtra? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the parasmaipada only would be used. As आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपक्काः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and तानारोहयति महामात्रः 'the elephant-driver makes it to mount.'

Why do we say 'except when meaning to remember with tenderness?' Observe, स्मरति वनगुल्मस्य कोकिलः 'the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree;' and स्मरयत्येनं वनगुल्मः स्वयमेव 'the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.'

भीस्म्योर्हेतुभये ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-स्म्योः . हेतु- भये, (षे ,
आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिभेतेः स्मयतेश्चण्डान्तादात्मनेपदं भवति हेतुभये ॥

68. After the causatives of the verbs bhî to fear, and smi to wonder, even the fruit of the action accrues not to the agent the Atmanepada is employed, when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is understood in this sūtra and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This sūtra is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेतु in the aphorism has been defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 55 (स्वतन्त्र कर्त्ता); it is the agent which is the mover of another's agent. When a fear is caused by a हेतु it is called हेतुभय. The word भय 'fear' in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication विस्मय 'astonishment' also. As जटिलो भीषयते 'the jatila, the cock-headed frightens,' मुण्डो भीषयते 'the munda, the shave-headed frightens'; जटिलो विस्मापयते 'the jatila astonishes,' मुण्डो विस्मापयते 'the munda astonishes' i.e., the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens,' &c.

Why do we say हेतुभय? For if the fear or astonishment is not the direct result caused by the agent, but arises from something else, then the atmanepada will not be used. As कुञ्चिक्यैर्न भाययति 'he frightens him with the kunchika,' रूपेण विस्मापयति 'he astonishes with his form'. Here kunchika and rupa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

गृध्रिवञ्ज च्योः प्रलम्भने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृध्रि-वञ्ज च्योः , प्रलम्भने ,
(षेः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृध्रु अभिकाङ्क्षायाम् वञ्चु गतावित्येतयोर्ष्यन्तयोः प्रलम्भने वर्त्तमानयोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

69. After the causatives of the verbs gridh to covet, and vañch to go, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causatives ending in णि' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रलम्भन of the sūtra means deceiving. As मानवकं गर्हयते 'he deceives the boy,' मानवकं वञ्चयते 'he cheats the boy.'

Why do we say 'when it means deceiving,' For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaipada. As श्वानं गर्धयति 'he causes the dog to bark,' अहिं वञ्चयति 'he avoids the serpent.'

लियः संमाननशालीनीकरणयोश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ लियः ,
संमानन-शालीनी-करणयोः , च , (श्लोः प्रलम्भने आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लियो ण्यन्तात्संमानने शालीनीकरणे च वर्त्तमानादात्मनपदं भवति च शब्दान्
प्रलम्भने च ॥

70. After the causative of the verb *li* to melt or stick, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of showing respect, subduing and deceiving even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra has its scope only when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. In the Dhātupāṭha, there are two roots ली, one is technically called लीङ् and means to stick, and belongs to divādi class. The other ली meaning to 'melt' belongs to kṛyādi class. As there is no specification in the sūtra what ली is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word च in the sūtra is to include the word प्रलम्भन 'to delude' of the last sūtra into the present. The word संमानन means to show respect. The word शालीनीकरण means to subdue. As जटाभिरालापयते 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair.' श्येनो वर्तिकाशुक्लापयते 'the hawk subdues the partridge', कस्त्वाशुक्लापयते 'who deceives thee.'

The sūtra विभाषा लीयते: VI. 1. 51 declares that the ई of ली is optionally changed into आ before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root ली has any of the above three senses : in these cases the substitution of आ is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by sūtra VI. 1. 51 is a व्यवस्थितविभाषा and not a general विभाषा applicable everywhere.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of 'to show respect, &c.'? Because otherwise there is parasmaipada. As बालकशुक्लापयति

मिथ्याउपपदात्कृजोऽभ्यासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिथ्या-उपपदात् ,
कृजः ; अभ्यासे , (श्लोः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एयन्तात् करोतेर्मिथ्योपपदादात्मनपदं भवति अभ्यासे ॥

71. After the causative of the verb *kṛi*, the Atmanepada is used, when it has the word *mithya*, incorrect, as an upapada or dependent word, and is

employed in the sense of 'repeated wrong utterance' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is to be supplied from sūtra 67. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word abhyāsa means doing again, or repetition; as पदं मिथ्या कारयति means 'he repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly, that is with wrong accent, &c., not once but constantly'.

Why do we say 'when the word mithyā is used as an upapada?' The causative of कृि will take parasmaipada when it has any other upapada. Thus पदं सुष्ठुम् कारयति 'he pronounces the word correctly.'

Why do we say 'of the verb कृञ्'? Because the causative of any other verb used along with the word mithyā will not have ātmanepada; as पदं मिथ्या वाचयति 'he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.' Here वच् takes parasmaipada.

Why do we say 'repeatedly'? For if the incorrect utterance is not habitual, then parasmaipada will be used; as पदं मिथ्याकारयति 'he pronounces wrongly, not always but once.'

स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरित-ञितः, कर्तृ-अभिप्राये, क्रिया-फले (णेः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितेति येषां तेषां जितश्च तेभ्य आत्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्तरि चेत् क्रियाफलमभिधेयम् ।

72. After the verb marked with a svarita, (svaritet) or which has an indicatory ñ (ñit), the terminations of the Atmanepada are employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase णेः does not go further. The word क्रियाफलं is a compound, meaning 'fruit of the action.' When the principal object for the sake of which the action is begun, is meant for the agent indicated by the verb, there the ātmanepada is used after verbs having an indicatory ञ् or a svarita accent. As यजते 'he sacrifices for himself'; पचते 'he cooks for himself.' Here the verb यज् and पच् are marked with svarita accent in the Dhātupāṭha, and therefore they take the ātmanepada terminations.

Similarly सुनुते 'he presses the soma-juice,' कुरुते 'he does.' Here the verbs सुञ् and कृञ् have an indicatory ञ्.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting heaven by performance of sacrifices, eating of food, &c., is meant for the agent. That is to say, he sacrifices in order that he himself may attain heaven, he cooks in order that he himself may eat, &c.

Why do we say 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent'? Otherwise it will have parasmaipada. As यजन्ति याजकाः 'the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients)' पचन्ति पाचकाः 'the cooks cook (for their masters)'; कुर्वन्ति कर्मकराः 'the menials work (for their masters).' Here though the fees and the wages are the fruits which the agent gets, yet as that fruit is not the principal object for which the action was begun—the principal object of the sacrifice was not that the priest should get his fee, but that the sacrificer may go to heaven—the verb takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. Here the principal fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, but to a third party.

अपाद्वदः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपाद्, वदः, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्वदतेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

73. After the verb vad to tell, preceded by apa, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the terminations are of the Atmanepada.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent," is understood here. The sūtra is clear. As धनकामो न्यायमपवदते 'the wealth-seeker forsakes justice, that is to say, he wishes to acquire wealth at the sacrifice of justice. But when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is employed. As अपवदति.

णिचश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिचः, च, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिजन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥

74. After a verb ending in affix ni (causal) when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the Atmanepada is employed.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent" is to be supplied from sūtra 72. The verbs that take the affix णिच् णिच् are generally causatives. As कदं कारयते 'he causes the mat to be made for himself'; ओदनं पाचयते 'he causes the food to be cooked for himself. When the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is used. As कदं कारयति परस्य 'he causes another's mat to be made.'

समुदाङ्भ्यो यमो ऽग्रन्थे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उद्-आङ्भ्यः, यमः, अग्रन्थे(कर्त्रभिप्राये आ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उद् आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वार्थमेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति मन्थ-विषयश्चेत्ययोगो न भवति ॥

75. After the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by *sam*, *ut* and *ân*, when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is read into this aphorism by anuvritti from sūtra 72. As *ब्रीहिन् संयच्छते* 'he gathers rice'; *भारमुद्यच्छते* 'he lifts up the load'; *वस्त्रमायच्छते* 'he draws out the cloth.' The root *yam* preceded by the preposition *आङ्* takes the terminations of the Atmanepada by virtue of aphorism 28 ante; but in that aphorism the verb was intransitive, here it is transitive, and this explains the necessity of making two different sūtras for one compound verb *आयच्छ*.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book.' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the parasmaipada. As *उद्यच्छति चिकित्सं वैद्यः* 'the physician diligently studies medicine.'

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the above compound verbs are parasmaipadi. As *संयच्छति, उद्यच्छति, आयच्छति*.

अनुपसर्गाज्ज्ञः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, ज्ञः (कर्त्रभिप्राये आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गाज्ज्ञानातेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

76. After the verb *jñâ* when not preceded by any upasarga, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is understood in this sūtra also. Thus *गां जानीते* 'he recognises the cow as his own'; *अश्वं जानीते* 'he recognises the horse as his own.'

Why do we say when not preceded by any upasarga? For when compounded with prepositions, it may take the Atmanepada terminations; as *स्वर्गे लोके न प्रजानाति मूढः* 'the fool does not know the heavenly regions.'

When, however, the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the simple root *ज्ञा* takes parasmaipada terminations. *देवदत्तस्य गां जानाति* 'he recognises Devadatta's cow.'

विभाषोपपदेन प्रतीयमाने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा . उपपदेन, प्रतीयमाने (कर्त्रभि० आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समीपेभूयमाण शब्दान्तरमुपपदं तेन प्रतीयमाने कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले विभाषा-त्मनेपदं भवति ॥

77. The Atmanepada is optionally used, when the fact of the fruit of the action accruing to the agent is indicated by an upapada, *i.e.* by a word used along with the verb.

By the preceding five sūtras 72 to 76, Atmanepada terminations were ordained to come after verbs which implied the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denoted this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an upapada, that is by a word governed by the verb, the necessity of using the Atmanepada affixes, to denote the same idea, is obviously removed, and in such a case it is optional whether we use the Atmanepada or the Parasmaipada terminations. As *स्वं यज्ञं यजति* or *यजते* 'he sacrifices for his own yajña'; *स्वं कटं करोति* or *कुरुते* 'he makes his own cot.'; *स्वं पुत्रमपवदति* or *अपवदते*; *स्वमोदनं पाचयते* or *पाचयति*, &c. So on with all the above five sūtras.

शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषात्, कर्तरि, परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषात्कर्तरिपरस्मैपदं भवति शेषादेवनान्यस्मात् अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदमुक्तम् ॥

78. After the rest, *i.e.* after all those verbs not falling under any one of the previous provisions, the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed in marking the agent (*i.e.* in the active voice).

The rules of Atmanepada have been declared in the preceding 66 sūtras, 12 to 77. The terminations of the Parasmaipada, which are the general verbal terminations, will come everywhere else, that is to say, where its operation is not debarred by any one of the preceding aphorisms. The present sūtra declares this universal rule. The word *s'esha* or the rest, means that which is the residue after the application of all the previous restrictive rules. Thus it was declared by sūtra 12 ante that a root having an Anudatta vowel or a *ङ* as *it*, will take Atmanepada terminations. As *आस्ते शेते*. The converse of this will take parasmaipada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudatta accent or a *ङ* as *it*. Thus *याति* 'he goes,' *वाति* 'it blows.' It has been declared by sūtra 17 that the root *विश* when preceded by *नि* takes Atmanepada terminations, as *निविशते*. When not preceded by *नि* but any other preposition, it will take the parasmaipada termination. As *आविशति*, *प्रविशति*.

Why do we say "when marking the agent"? For when used in the passive voice the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As *पच्यते* 'it is cooked', *गम्यते* 'it is gone.'

Why is not parasmaipada used when the verb is employed reflexively ? As in the following example :—पच्यते ओदनः स्वयमेव 'the food cooks of itself.' Because in the present sūtra the word कर्तरि of sūtra 14 ante is to be read in by anuvritti, so that, in fact there are two कर्तरि in this aphorism which thus means "when the agent of the verb is an agent pure and simple then parasmaipada is employed." While when a verb is used reflexively (कर्मकर्तरि) the agent of the verb is also, in one aspect, the object of the verb ; and it is therefore, that in reflexive verbs the Atmanepada terminations are employed.

अनुपराभ्यांकृजः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-पराभ्याम् । कृजः ।
(परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपरा इत्येवं पूर्वात् करोतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

79. After the verb kri to make, preceded by anu and para, parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent, and when the sense is that of "divulging," &c.

By aphorism 32 ante, the root कृ took the terminations of the Atmanepada when the sense denoted was that of "divulging, reviling," &c., and it also took Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent by virtue of sūtra 72, because the root कृ has an indicative क्. The present sūtra makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipada. Thus अनुकरोति 'he imitates,' पराकरोति 'he does well.'

अभिप्रत्ययिभ्यः क्षिपः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-प्रति-अतिभ्यः
क्षिपः ॥ (प० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिप्रति अतिइत्येवं पूर्वात् क्षिपः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

80. After the verb kship, to throw, coming after abhi, prati and ati, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root क्षिप् to throw, is svariteta therefore by sūtra 72 ante, it would have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent; this aphorism ordains parasmaipada instead. As अभिक्षिपति 'he throws on', प्रक्षिपति 'he turns away or rejects,' अतिक्षिपति 'he throws beyond.'

Why do we say 'when coming after abhi, prati, and ati'? Because when compounded with any other preposition, it will not take parasmaipada, but will be governed by sūtra 72. As आक्षिपते 'he throws down.'

The second कर्तृ of sūtra 14 is also understood here, so that when the verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present sūtra will not apply. As अभिक्षिप्यते स्वमेव 'it is thrown on of itself.'

प्राह् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राह् । वहः (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र पूर्वाद् वहतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

81. After the verb vah to bear, coming after pra, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root वह् to carry is svaritet, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken the Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. But the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead. As प्रवहति 'it flows.'

Why do we say "when coming after pra"? Because after any other preposition it will not take prasmaipada, as आवहते 'he brings.'

परमृषः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परे । मृषः । (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपूर्वाद् मृष्यतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

82. After the verb mrish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root मृष "to suffer" is svaritet, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This ordains parasmaipada instead. As परमृष्यति 'he endures or he becomes angry.' When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Atmanepada termination. As आमृष्यते.

According to some authors, the root वह् of the last aphorism is said to be understood in this, so that वह् preceded by परि will also take prasmaipada terminations; as परिवहति

व्याङ् परिभ्योरमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-आङ्-परिभ्यः । रमः । (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विआङ्परिभ्येवं पूर्वाद् रमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

83. After the verb ram to sport, preceded by vi and ân, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम् means 'to sport.' It is anudattet and therefore by sūtra 12 it would have taken Atmanepada terminations; the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as विरमति 'he takes rest'; आरमति 'he delights in,' परिरमति 'he sports.'

With other prepositions than these, it will take atmanepada termination. स अभिरमते

उपाच्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् । च । (रमः परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्भ्रमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

84. And also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As देवदत्तमुपरमति 'he causes Devadatta to refrain.' The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was उपरमयति. This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix णिच्.

It might be asked why was not the preposition उप read along with the other preposition in the last aphorism, instead of making this a separate sūtra. The answer is that the necessity of making a separate sūtra with the preposition upa arose from the exigencies of sūtra making. It is desired, that the next sūtra 85 should apply only to the root upa-ram, and not to other compounds of ram; and this could only be done by making these two distinct sūtras.

विभाषाऽकर्मकात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा । अकर्मकात् (रमः पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्भ्रमतेरकर्मकाद्विभाषा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intransitively.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely. This declares an option under certain circumstances. As यावद्भुक्तमुपरमति or उपरमते, he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

बुधयुधनशजनेङ्प्रुद्रक्षुभ्योणेः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बुध-युध-नश-जन-एङ्-प्रु-द्र-क्षु-भ्यः । णेः । (प० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुधयुधनशजन एङ् प्रु द्रु क्षु इत्येतेभ्योऽण्यन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

86. After the verbs budh to know, yudh to fight, nas' to destroy, jana to be born; in to go, pru to move, dru to run, and sru to flow, ending in the affix ni (i.e., when used in the causative), parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

By sūtra 74 ante, causatives took the ātmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This makes an exception to that and ordains parasmaipada. As बोधयति he expands; योधयति he causes to fight; नाशयति he causes destruction, जनयति he begets; अध्यापयति he teaches; प्रापयति he causes to obtain; द्रावयति he causes to melt; भावयति he causes to trickle.

Of the above eight roots, those which are intransitive would have taken the parasmaipada terminations under the conditions mentioned in sūtra 88 sub, that is to say, when the agent is a being endowed with reason. The present aphorism in the case of such intransitive verbs makes this additional statement, that those intransitive verbs will take parasmaipada, even when the agent is not a being endowed with reason. As बोधयति पद्मम् he makes the lotus to expand, बोधयति काष्ठानि he makes the woods to strike each other, नाशयति दुःखम् he destroys sorrow, जनयति सुखम् he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of "moving" will get parasmaipada by sūtra 87. The present sūtra, in their case makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmaipada terminations even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus गृ means both 'to move' and 'to obtain,' द्रु means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and स्रु means 'to flow' as well as 'to trickle.' As प्रवते he obtains; अयोद्ववति the iron melts; कुण्डिका स्रवति the water-vessel drips. The examples in the first paragraph have therefore been thus translated.

The root इङ् is always compounded with अधि.

निगरणचलनार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निगरणचलनार्थेभ्यः च । (येः परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निगरणार्थेभ्यश्च चलनार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्योऽयन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अदेः प्रतिषेधोक्तव्यः ॥

87. And after the causatives of verbs which have the sense of the 'eating or swallowing' and 'shaking or moving' parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The phrase 'when used in the causative (येः) of the last sūtra is to be read into this also. The parasmaipada is ordained as an exception to sūtra 74 by which ātmanepada was ordained when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. The word निगरणं means 'eating,' and चलनं means 'moving,' 'shaking.' As निगारयति he causes to swallow; आशयति he causes to eat; भोजयति he feasts; चलयति he moves; चोपयति, कम्पयति he shakens. This aphorism applies to transitive verbs, and to verbs whose agents in non-causative state are inanimate objects, i. e. not possessed with reason.

Vart :—The prohibition of the root अद् to eat, must be mentioned. The causative of अद् to eat, takes ātmanepada. Thus अन्ति देवदत्तः Devadatta eats; आदयते देवदत्तेन he is made to eat by Devadatta.

अणावकर्मकाश्चित्तवत् कर्तृकात् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणो । अकर्मकात् । चित्तवत् । कर्तृकात् (येः पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः । अण्यन्तो यो धातुरकर्मकाश्चित्तवत्कर्तृकश्चतस्मादयन्तात् परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

88. The affixes of the parasmaipada are employed after the causal of that verb, which in its non-causal state was intransitive and had a being endowed with reason for its agent; even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase **शेः** is understood here also. The Atmanepada was ordained by sūtra 74 when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains parasmaipada. As **आस्ते देवदत्तः** Devadatta sits; **आसयते देवदत्तं** he makes Devadatta to sit; **शेते देवदत्तः** Devadatta sleeps; **शाययति देवदत्तं** he causes Devadatta to lie down.

Why do we say 'in its non-causal state'? For if the causative root is from another causative root, and not from a simple non-causative root, then the parasmaipada will not be employed. Thus 'if one person such as Devadatta, causes another person Yajñadatta, to cause a third person Ramadatta, to do an act denoted by an intransitive root, as 'mounting' for instance, though Ramadatta mounts for his own benefit, the verb to be used in such a case is **आरोहयते**, in the Atmanepada, from the root **आरुह** to mount; and not **आरोहयति**.' (Iengar's Guide to Panini).

Why do we say 'which was intransitive'? This rule will not apply if the verb in its non-causative state was transitive. Thus from **कारि** the causative from **कृ**, if the person caused to do the act denoted by the verb does it for his own use, comes only **कारयते** though the person has a will; for the original root **कृ** though a non-causative root, is not an intransitive root.' (*Ibid*).

Why do we say 'having a being endowed with reason for its agent'? For if the agent is a non-sentient object, the verb will be Atmanepadi. Thus from **शोषि** the causative from **शुष** 'to dry' if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as **व्रीहयः** 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action, *i. e.*, the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes **शोषयते** in the atmanepadi, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; *e. g.*, **शोषयते व्रीहीनातपः** the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (*Ibid*).

न पादम्याङ्यमाङ्यसपरिमुहुरुचिनृतिवदवसः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥
न । पा-दमि-आङ्यम-आङ्यस-परिमुह-रुचि-नृति-वद-वसः । (शेः । परस्मै-
पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादमि आङ्यम आङ्यस परिमुह रुचि नृति वदवसः इत्येतेभ्योग्यन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं
न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ८ तिट्ठे उपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used after the causals of the verbs *pâ* to drink, *dam* to tame, *âyam* to extend, *âyas* to exert oneself, *parimuh* to be bewildered, *such* to shine, *nr̥it* to dance, *vad* to speak, and *vas* to dwell.

The last two aphorisms had ordained parasmaipada instead of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent, thus debarring the latter's action which would otherwise have taken place by virtue of sūtra 74. This sūtra prohibits the last two sūtras, and re-instates Atmanepada of sūtra 74. Thus root *पा* to drink, has the sense of *nigaraṇa* or swallowing, the roots *दम* &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root *नृ* to dance has the sense of *चरन्* or moving, but still these verbs have atmanepada affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As *पाययते* he causes to drink, *दमयते* he causes to be tame, *आयामयते* he lengthens, *आयासयते* he troubles, *परिमोहयते* he entices, *रोचयते* he makes agreeable, *नर्त्तयते* he causes to dance, *वाक्यते* he makes to speak, *वासयते* he causes to dwell.

Vart:—The root *धे* should be enumerated along with *पा* &c. Thus *धापयते* *क्षिशुमेकं सतीची*. The doe suckles a young infant.

वाक्यवः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा । क्यवः । (परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यवन्ताद्धातोर्वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix *kyash*.

The affix *क्यव* is ordained by sūtra III. 1. 12 *भृशादिभ्यो भूव्यच् वेर्लोपश्च इलः* after the words *लोहित* &c. These roots take optionally parasmaipada. As *लोहितायति* or *ते* he reddens. *पटपटायति* or *ते* he makes *paṭ paṭ*.

द्युद्भ्योलुङि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युद्भ्यः । लुङि । (वा परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्युतादिभ्यो लुङि वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

91. After the verbs *dyut* to shine, &c. the terminations of the parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of *luṅ* (aorist) follow.

The *Dyutādi* verbs are 22 in number, to be found in *Dhatupāṭha* in the *Bhuadi* class. By the use of the word *द्युद्भ्यः* in the plural in the sūtra, the force is that of &c. These verbs are *anudatta* and so by sūtra 12 they would have been invariably *atmanepadī*, this aphorism makes them optionally

so in the aorist. Thus अद्युतत् or अद्योतिष्ठ he shone. In other tenses than the aorist (लुङ्) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As ज्योतिषते he shines.

For a list of Dyutādi verbs see Dhatupāṭha.

वृद्भ्यः स्यसिनोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्भ्यः । स्य-सिनोः । (वा । परस्मैप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्, वृधु शधु स्यन्दन्तू । एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्येसनि च परतो वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

92. After the verbs vṛit to exist, &c., Parasmaipada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The वृतादि verbs are five in number and are included in the वृतादि 'sub-class. They are वृत् to be, वृध् to grow, भृध् to fart or break wind ; स्यन्दु to ooze, and कृपु to be able. As 1st Future वर्त्स्यति or वर्त्सिष्यते, it will be ; conditional अवर्त्स्यत् or अवर्त्सिष्यत् ; Desiderative विवृत्सति or विवर्त्सिष्यते &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As वर्त्तते it is.

लुटिचकृपः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटि । च कृपः । (स्यसिनो वा परस्मैप०)

वृत्तिः ॥ लुटि च स्वसनोच कृपे परस्मैपदं वा भवति ॥

93. After the verb klip to be fit, Parasmaipada is optionally employed, when lut. (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed

The verb कृप् is one of the five verbs of the sub-class वृतादि of the last apnorism. Therefore it will take both, parasmaipada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्य or सन follow. The present sūtra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or लुट्. Thus in Luṭ we have—कल्प्सि or कल्प्सासे thou wilt be ; in 1st Future we have :—कल्पिष्यसे or कल्पिष्यति he will be ; in the Desiderative we have :—चिक्ल्पसति or चिक्ल्पिष्यते ; in the conditional we have :—अकल्प्यत् or अकल्पिष्यत्.

श्री३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER IV.

आकङ्कारादेका संज्ञा ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ कङ्काराद्. एका-संज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कङ्काराः कर्मधारय इति वक्ष्यति आ वतस्मात् वृत्तावर्धेर्वदितं कर्तृत्वमनुक्रमित्वान्नः
तत्र एकासंज्ञाभवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kaṅkārah Karma-dhāraye (II. 2. 38) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2.) and that which were its claim disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10. and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11.) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name, i.e. 'heavy.' Thus in विद् to divide विद् to split, the व् is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिवा teaching शिवा begging.

Thus in the root तद् the अ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अततत्. Similarly अररत्. The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषेधे, परम्, कार्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ (मुह्यत्तविरोधो विप्रतिषेधः) तस्मिन् विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् भवति ॥

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.' When two topics having different objects in view find scope of action simultaneously in one particular case, that opposition of equal forces is called vipratishedha. A general rule (utsarga) and its exception (upavāda), or an invariable (nitya) and an optional (anitya) rule, or an antaranga and

a bahiranga rule, are not rules of equal force. There the stronger prevails against the weaker. As an example of rules of equal force, see VII. 3. 102. and VII. 3. 103. The first rule declares, 'when a case-affix beginning with a letter of yañ pratyâhâra follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending in a short अ.' As Vriksha + bhyâm = Vrikshâbhyam. The next rule declares :—When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter or jhal pratyâhâra follows, ए is the substitute for the final short अ of an inflective base.' As Vriksha + su = Vriksheshu. But when the plural case-affix bhyah follows, what rule are we to apply? For the letter bha belongs both to the pratyâhâras yañ and jhal. Are we to lengthen the short अ, or substitute ए? The present sūtra gives the reply, ए is to be substituted because VII. 3. 103 ordaining ए follows next to VII. 3. 102. Thus Vriksha + bhyah = Vrikshebyah.

यूस्त्याख्यौ नदी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई-ऊ, स्त्री-आख्यौ, नदी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकारान्तसूकारान्तं च स्त्र्याख्यं शब्दकरं नदी संज्ञं भवति ॥

3. Word-forms ending in long ī and ū being names of females are called Nadi.

The word वृ is compound of ई + ऊ. The word stryākhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmanīhas. As the words कुमारी Kumārī a virgin, यवानू, yavāgūh rice gruel. The declension of nouns of nadī class is somewhat peculiar which will be treated of later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 चाट् is the augment of the case-affixes having an indicatory ङ when they come after a word ending with a Nadi.

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the dative of कुमारी will be कुमार्यै, the dative of दुहितृ will be दुहित्रे.

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadi. As ग्रामणीः leader of a village; सेनानीः leader of an army; खलपुः a sweeper; their dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेनान्ये, खलप्ये.

Why have we used the word ākhyā 'name' in the text? Because feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये स्त्रियै and खलप्ये स्त्रियै.

ने यदुवङ्स्थानाव स्त्री ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इयङ्-उवङ्-स्थानी,
अस्त्री, (यूनदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङ् उवङोः स्थान नमयोस्तितीवदुवङ्स्थानी ता यून नदीसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

4. Feminine words ending in *î* and *û* which admit the substitute (इयङ्) *iyāṇ* and (उवङ्) *uvaṇ* (VI. 4. 77) are not called *Nadî*; except the word *strî*, (which is called *nadî*) notwithstanding its substituting *iyāṇ*.)

The definition of *Nadî* given in the last *sûtra* was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus श्री, happiness, भ्रू brow, admit the substitutes *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ* respectively, and are not *nadî*. Their vocative singular is हे श्रीः, हे भ्रूः &c., while the vocative singular of *strî* is हे स्त्रि.

वाऽऽसि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आसि, (नयडुवङ्-यू-नदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङ्उवङ्स्थानी नू आनिपरतो वा नदीसंबी न भवतः ॥

5. Feminine words ending in *î* and *û*, though admitting *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ* substitutes, are optionally termed *Nadî*, when the affix *ām* (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word *strî*, which is always *Nadî*.

श्री + आस् = श्री इयङ् + आस् = श्रीयास्; भ्रू + आस् = भ्रूयास्; or श्री + आस् = श्रीनुद् + आस् (VII. 1. 54.) = श्रीणास्; भ्रू + आस् = भ्रूणास्. But *strî* is always *nadî*. and we have श्रीणास् *strînām*.

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last *sûtra*, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

ङिति ह्रस्वश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङिति (ङ्-इति) ह्रस्वः, च, (यु र्नुया-नदी-इयङ्उव-वा-अस्त्री) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङिति परतो ह्रस्वस्य व्योः सस्त्वन्वी यः स्यात्तस्यौ इयङ्उवङ्स्थानी च नू वा नदीसंबी भवतः ॥

6. When a case-affix having an indicator *ñ* (*ñit*) follows, then feminine words ending in short *î* and *û* are optionally termed *Nadî*, as well as feminine nouns in long *î* and *û* which admit of *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ*; but not so the word *strî*, which is always *Nadî*.

Feminine words in long *î* and *û* have been defined as *nadî*, words in short vowels can never be termed *nadî*, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition if they take *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ*. The present *sûtra* declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicator ङ follows.

The case-affixes having an indicator *ñ* are the Dative, Ablative. Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have:—

Dative जतये or जत्यै, जेनवे or जेन्वै, जिये or जियै; Ablative and Genitive जतेः or जत्याः, जेनो or जेन्वाः, जियः or जियाः; Locative जतो or जत्यास्, जेनो or जेन्वां जियि or जियां. So also ध्रुवे or ध्रुवै &c. But stri is always स्त्र्यै &c.

शेषो घ्यसखि ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः, घि, असखि, (ह्रस्व) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषो ऽत्र चित्तं भवति सखिशब्दं वर्जितत्वा । क ख शेषः ? ह्रस्वनिबर्त्तोवर्त्तित-
चन्मत्स्यारुहं स्यात्तु च चन्मन्दीसंज्ञकं च शेषः ॥

7. The rest of the words that end in short ऋ and ॠ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word hrasva is understood in this sūtra. The word śesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short ऋ or ॠ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words.'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicatory णि, the ghi nouns gunate there vowel VII. 3. 111. As अग्नि + हे = अग्ने + ए = अग्नये to the fire. So also वायु + हे = वायवे to the wind. But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सख्या सख्ये सख्यु and सखी.

पतिः समास एव ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतिः, समासे, एव, (घि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दः समास एव चित्तं भवति ॥

8. The word pati is called ghi only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the last sūtra; the present sūtra is therefore a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पत्या by the lord but प्रजापतिना by the lord of creatures. So also पत्ये and प्रजापत्ये; पत्युः and प्रजापत्ये; पत्यौ and प्रजापत्यौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guṇa of the vowel before the four कृत् affixes by VII. 3. 111.

षष्ठी युक्तश्चन्दसि वा ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी-युक्तः, चन्दसि, वा, (पतिः घि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तेन युक्तः पतिशब्दः चन्दसि विषये वा, चित्तं भवति ।

9. The word pati when used in connection with a noun ending in the sixth or genitive case, is ghi, optionally, in the Chhandas (veda).

The word pati is understood in this sūtra. By the last sūtra, pati would have not been ghi when not in composition. This sūtra makes an exception to that when this word occurs in the Vaidic literature

कुलुञ्चानां पत्ये or पत्ये नमः salutation to the lord of the Kulunchas.

Why do we say 'when used in connection with a noun in the genitive case'? Observe नया पत्या जट्टविर्ययाः.

Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe ग्रामस्य पत्ये.

ह्रस्वं लघु ॥ १० ॥ पदानि । ह्रस्वम्, लघु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वनन्तरं लघुसंज्ञं भवति ॥

10. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

This defines the word Laghu. A hrasva vowel which has already been defined (I. 2. 27), is under certain circumstances called laghu or 'light'; thus the i of विद् to break, is laghu; and by being laghu it is gunated before the affix ता + आ, as वेत्ता he will break, by virtue of the rule VII 3. 86, which declares that a laghu penultimate vowel is gunated before a Saravadhātuka or an ārdhadhātuka affix. So also वेत्ता, अचीकरत् and अजीहरत्.

संयोगे गुरु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगे, गुरु, (ह्रस्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगे परतो ह्रस्वनन्तरं गुरुसंज्ञं भवति ॥

11. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

A hrasva vowel however is not to be called 'light' when it is followed by a conjunct consonant. As the i of विद् 'learning' is a heavy vowel. Thus विद् is derived from वि + द (III. 3. 103, let the affix च come after that verb which has a heavy vowel and ends in a' consonant when the word to be formed is feminine). So also कुपद्वा and विद्वा.

दीर्घञ्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घम्, च, (गुरु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घबाधरं गुरुसंज्ञं भवति ॥

12. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

This is clear the anuvritti of the word conjunct is not understood in this sūtra. As i of ईहांचक्रे he endeavoured, ईहांचक्रे he saw. Here the letter ई is guru, and because of its being called guru, the rule III. 1. 36 is applied in forming the perfect tense by the addition of the aug nt आच्. Thus all long vowels, and short vowels followed by conjunct consonants are guru or heavy. All other short vowels are laghu.

यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यये ऽङ्गम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्मात्, प्रत्यय-विधिः, तद्-आदि, प्रत्यये, अङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात् प्रत्ययो विधीयते धातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाद्वा तदादि शब्दस्य प्रत्यये परतो ऽङ्गसंज्ञं भवति ॥

13. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base (aṅga).

The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih, a precept i.e. a rule enjoying an affix; tadādi, I. S. that which begins therewith pratyaye 7. S.=in a pratyaya i.e. when a pratyaya follows (I. 1.) is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (Dhātu) or a nominal base (prâtipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an aṅga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word aṅga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ + ता = कर्ता he will do हर्ता he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति. Here because the root कृ and हृ gets the name अङ्ग they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84). Similarly because उपगु &c. get the name अङ्ग, their vowel is vriddhi in औपगवः &c.

The words कृि हृि are anga with regard to the affix ता &c. उपगु + ऋप् = औपगवः; कौषट्वः. Here upagu and kapaṭu are aṅga with regard to an. Similarly कृ + ह्य + वः = करिष्य + वः = करिष्यावः. Here the whole word form Karishya is regarded as aṅga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vah is enjoined after the word कृि, the form which begins with कृि i.e. karishya will also be called aṅga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like sya &c., or उच् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड + तुम् + इ = कुण्डत् + इ = कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kuṇḍa + num + î = kuṇḍan + î = kuṇḍâni, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix î by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word pratyaya? Without it the rule would have run thus:—'After whatever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Anga.' Then in स्त्री + ह्यती = ह्यती. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between स्त्री + ह्य = ह्य. If स्त्री was here an Anga, then its last last vowel would have been replaced by ह्यत् (VI. 4. 77), the form being स्त्रियति.

Why have we used the word विधि? Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus:—'After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or prâtipadika is Aṅga.' Thus in दधि अधुना, though the affix adhunâ is placed after

the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule; and the word दधि is not called anga. Had it been so called, then the द of dadhi should have been elided by rule VI. 4. 148.

The word pratyaya has been repeated twice in this sūtra in order to show that when an affix is elided, the term anga will not apply to what stood before it. Thus in the compound word स्त्रिये + अयं = स्त्रिययं for the sake of the woman. Here in forming the Tat purusha compound the dative case-affix after the word स्त्री has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are elided in forming compounds. If the word स्त्री after its affix had been elided, still retained its old designation of Anga, the स्त्री + अयं would have been स्त्रिययं, the augment iyañ being added by the rule already referred to above.

सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् ॥ १४ ॥ पैदानि ॥ सुप्-तिङ्-अन्तम्, पदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवन्तं तिङन्तं च शब्दरूपं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

14. That which ends in sup (case-affix) IV. 1. 2; or in tiñ III. 4. 78 (tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

The sup or case-affixes are those by which nouns are declined; and tiñ are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already been given before. Thus ब्राह्मण + जस् = ब्राह्मणाः the Brâhmaṇas पचन्ति they cook.

It might be asked by a caviller why the word अन्त has been used in the aphorism, for by the rule of tadanta given in Sūtra I. 1. 72 a rule relating to sup will mean and include also that which ended with a sup-affix. To this we reply, that the very fact that the word anta is used in this sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that the Tadanta rule of Sūtra 72 Chapter I does not apply to rules of sanjñā (definition) made with regard to affixes. Thus tarap and tamap affixes are called gha by Sūtra I. 1. 22. The tadanta-vidhi will not apply here; words ending with these affixes will not be called gha. Thus ब्राह्मणितरा will not be called gha, for had it been so called, the long ई will be shortened in गौरी ब्राह्मणितरा. In short, 'an affix when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term (sanjñā) does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.'

नः क्ये ॥ १ ॥ पैदानि ॥ नः, क्ये, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तं शब्दरूपं क्ये परतः पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

15. The word-form ending in n, is called pada, when kya follows (i.e.), the affixes kyaeb, kyañ and kyash).

These are affixes by which denominative verbs are formed from nouns. See III. 1. 8, 11, and 13. A word ending in न is called pada, when these affixes follow. Thus राजन् + क्यच् = राजीव 3rd Per. s. राजीयति he behaves like

a king. So also राजन् + क्यच् = राजायते (VII. 4. 5.) चर्न् + क्यच् = चर्न्वते or चर्न्वति. The result of its being called pada is that the च् of राजन्, चर्न् &c., is elided by Sûtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of च् final in a pada which is entitled to the designation of prâtipadika). Thus राजन् + क्यच् = राज + य = राजीय (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes क्यच् &c., come after case-inflected words (i.e., words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations are elided, still by Sûtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sûtra however makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in च् retain the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes do not retain that designation. Thus the words वाच् speech, लुच् a ladle are not treated as pada and we have वाच्यते and लुच्यते. Had they been pada, the च् would have been changed into क् by VIII. 2. 30.

सिति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स-इति, च, (पदम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सिति प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

16. When an affix having an indicatory च् follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sûtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the preceding word is called bha. This sûtra declares an exception to that by anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares : —“ Affixes क्च् and क्च् come after the vriddha (I. 1. 74) word भवत्.” Here the affix क्च् has an indicatory च्, therefore the word भवत्, standing before it, will be called pada. Thus भवत् + क्च् = भवदीयः VII. 1. 2, belonging to you. The result of being pada is that ते is changed into द (VIII. 2. 39). Similarly च् is इत् in युत् (After the word ūṛṇâ there is yuṣ V. 2. 123). Thus ऊर्णयुः ; so also चत् V. 1. 106, has च् as indicatory. Thus अस्त्वियः There is no guṇa because of its being pada.

स्वादिष्व सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिषु, असर्वनामस्थाने, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु प्रत्ययेषु परतः सर्वनामस्थानवर्जितेषु पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

17. When the affixes beginning with सु (IV. 1. 2) and ending in क्च् (V. 4. 151) follow, not being Sarvanāmasthāna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

The affixes beginning with सु and ending with क्च् are meant by the above sûtra. Thus the case-affix श्याच् (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the above. Thus राजन् + श्याच् = राजश्याच्, राजनिः, राजत्वं, राजता, राजतरः, राजतनः. The च् is elided by being pada.

Why do we say 'when not a Sarvanāmsthāna'? Observe राजन् + ओ = राजानो two kings. राजानः kings. The न is not elided.

यच्चि भम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ य-अचि, भम्, (स्वादिष्वस०)

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादावजादी च स्वादी सर्वनामस्थानवर्जिते प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं भसंभं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नभोऽङ्गिरोमनुषां वदुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृषणवस्वश्वयोः ॥

18. And when an affix, with an initial y or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanāmsthāna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

This debars the application of pada. Thus गर्ग + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = गार्ग्यः a grandson of Garga. So also वात्स्यः. The affix yañ begins with a ya and the word garga being treated as Bha its final ञ् is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also दक्ष + इञ् = दाक्षिः (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha दाक्षिः. Here the affix इञ् begins with a vowel the word standing before it being Bha, it causes elision of the final ञ् of Daksha.

The word यच्चि is in the 7th case meaning when य् or अच् follow; and by the last Vart of Sūtra I 1. 72, it means 'when an affix beginning with ya or ach follow.'

Vart.—The words नभस्, अङ्गिरस् and मनुस् should be treated as Bha when the affix वत् follows. Thus नभस्वत् like the sky. अङ्गिरस्वत् like the Angiras. मनुष्वत् like the man. By being Bha, the व् is not changed into र्, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

Vart.—The words वृषन् is treated as Bha in the veaas when the words वसु and अश्व follow. Thus वृषणवसुः; वृषणश्वस्य मेने. Here had the word vṛishan been treated as pada, the न would not have been changed into ष (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this न would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7.

तसौ सत्वर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त-सौ, नतु-अर्थे, (भम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारान्तं सकारान्तं शब्दरूपं सत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परतो भसंभं भवति ॥

19. The word-form ending in t or in s is called Bha when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is' V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sūtra. Thus is the word उदश्वित्वत् having butter milk Nom. Sing. उदश्वित्वान् घोषः the herdsman having butter milk, विदु त्वान् जलादकः the cloud full of thunder. So also यशस्वी famous;

पयस्वी full of milk. Thus उदश्वित् + बहुप् = उदश्वित्यत्, यज्ञस् + विनि (V. 2. 121) = यज्ञस्विन्. By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is debarred in their case. That is to say the final त् of udaśvit &c., and the स् of yaśas &c., are not changed into द and र respectively, which had they been pada words would have been the case by the action of Sûtra VIII. 2. 39, and VIII. 2. 66. viz., उदश्वित् and यज्ञस्विन् which are incorrect.

अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अयस्मय-आदीनि,
छन्दसि, (भम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस्मयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि छन्दसि विषये साधूनि भवन्ति ॥

20. Words like ayasmaya &c., are valid forms in the chhandas (veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to pada and Bha, show that they have been properly forced in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus अयस् + मय = अयस्मय made of iron. Here the word अयस् is treated as Bha and hence the स् is not changed into र. Thus अयस्मयं वर्म iron-made coat of mail. अयस्मानि पात्राणि iron vessels. The present form of this word is अयोनयं. In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word ऋक्वत् formed by ऋक् + वत्, the स् is first changed into क् by treating the word ऋक् as a pada. Then the word ऋक् is treated as bha, and therefore the क् is not changed into र् before वत्. For had it been pada, the form would have been ऋक्वत् Rigvat. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus स सुष्टुभास ऋक्वता गणेन.

बहुषु बहुवचनम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुषु, बहु-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुषु बहुवचनम् भवति ॥

21. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

When it is intended to denote multitude those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus ब्राह्मणाः पठन्ति. The Brahmins read.

This rule applies to words which are capable of expressing numbers. Indeclinables (Avyaya) do not admit of numbers, and consequently they are always in singular number which is the general form.

द्वेकयो द्विविचनैकवचने ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-एकयोः, द्विवचन-
एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वित्वैकत्वयोरर्थयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने भवतः ॥

22. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

This is also clear. When duality is to be expressed, a dual case-affix should be employed, and in the case of unit, the singular case-affix. Thus ब्राह्मणौ पचतः the two Brahmins cook. ब्राह्मणः पचति the Brahmin cooks.

कारके ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ करके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारक इत्यधिकारो वेदितव्यः, यदि त ऊर्ध्वं जन्मुक्तमिष्यानः कारक इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

23. The phrase 'kâraka' (meaning 'in the special relation to a word expressing an action') is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kâraka. Thus in 'cooking,' the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus 'Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.' Here Rama is agent kâraka; 'food' is object kâraka; 'vessel' is a locative kâraka, fire is an instrumental kâraka, 'furnace' is the ablative kâraka and 'master' is the dative kâraka.

The word 'karaka' thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and the occasions that are required to complete an action will be kâarakas. Out of the seven cases in which a Sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kâraka to a verb.

ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्रुवम्, अपाये, अपादानम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रुवं यदपाययुक्तं नपाये साध्ये यदवधिभूतं तत्कारकनपादानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ध्रुवोऽप्याविरामप्रमादार्थानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apâdâna or Ablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apâdâna kâraka. Thus ग्रामादागच्छति he comes from the village. पर्वतादवरोहति he descends from the mountain. स्वार्थाद्धीनः lost his object. रथात् पतितः fallen from the chariot. The Apâdâna takes the 5th case-affix (II. 3 28) and the above examples show this. When therefore this relation is to be expressed, 'the fixed point (like grâma, purvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb, is called ablation.'

Vart.—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus :—अधर्माच्छुगण्यते he dislikes injustice; अधर्माद्विरति he ceases from injustice. धर्मात्प्रमादति he neglects justice.

भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-त्रा-अर्थानाम्, भय-हेतुः, (करके अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभेत्पर्यानां त्रायत्यर्थानां च धातूनां प्रयोगे भयहेतुर्गत्कारकनपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

25. In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger' that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called Apâdâna kâraka.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चौरभ्यो विभेति he is afraid of thieves, चौरभ्य उद्विजते he is agitated because of the thieves. चौरभ्य रक्षायते or रक्षति. He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu) is put in the ablative case'? Observe अरण्ये विभेति or त्रयते he fears or protects in the forest.

पराजे रसोढः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पराजेः, असोढः, (का० अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परापूर्वस्य जयतेः प्रयोगेऽसोढो योऽर्थः सोढुं नशक्यते तत्कारकनपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

26. In the case of the verb parâji, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called Apâdâna kâraka.

When the verb जि to conquer, with the preposition parâ has the sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराजयते he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe यश्च पराजयते he defeats the enemies.

वारणार्थानां मीरितः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वारण-अर्थानाम्, ईरितः (का० अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे य ईरितोऽर्थः तत्कारकनपादानसंज्ञं भवति ।

27. In the case of verbs having the sense of 'preventing,' the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called Ablation or Apâdâna kâraka.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vâraṇa or prevention. As वधेभ्यो नां वारयति or निवर्तयति he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley.

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्तर्द्धा येनादर्शनं निच्छति ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्द्धा, येन, अदर्शनम्, इच्छति, (का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्द्धा निमित्तं येनादर्शनमात्मन इच्छति तत्कारकमपादानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

28 When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apâdâna kâraka.

Thus उपाध्यायादन्तर्धत्ते or निलीयते he conceals or hides from the teacher ; so that the teacher may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् न दिदृक्षते he does not wish to see the thieves. Here the term chauran is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apâdâna kâraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

आख्यातोपयोगे ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ-ख्याता, उप-योगे, (का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपयोगे साध्ये य आख्याता तत्कारकमपादानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apâdâna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word आख्याता means teacher, and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus उपाध्यायापादधीते or आगमयति he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नटस्य शृणोति he hears the player.

जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि-कर्तुः, प्रकृतिः, (का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन्यर्थस्य जन्मनः कर्ता जायमानः तस्यैवा प्रकृतिः कारणं हेतुः तत्कारकमपादानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan to be born, is called Apâdâna.

That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the

root jan is put in the ablative case. As *शृङ्गाच्छते जायते*, the arrow is produced from horn. *गोमयाद् दृष्टिको जायते* the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

भुवः प्रभवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, प्रभवः, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूकर्तुः प्रभवो य स्वरकारकमपादावसंबंधं भवति ॥

31. The source of the agent of the verb *bhu*, to become is called *Apādāna*.

The phrase 'of the agent (*karuth*)' is understood here. The word *प्रभव* means the source or that from which anything arises. As *हिमवतो गंगा प्रभवति* the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas. *काश्मीरेभ्यो बितस्ता प्रभवति*. The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणा, यम्, अभिप्रैति, सः, संप्रदानम्, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणा, करणभूतेन कर्ता यमभिप्रैति तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंबंधं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाग्रहण मयि कर्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा वक्तव्या संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा ॥

32. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving, is called *Sampradāna* or recipient.

Though the word *कर्मणा* in the *sūtra* is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb 'to give.'

As *उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति* he gives the cow to the teacher. *बालाय ददाति* he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

Vart:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As *आह्वाय निगर्हते* he censures for the sake of *Sraddha*. *युद्धाय वनस्पते* he prepares for battle. *पत्ये शेते* she sleeps for her husband.

Vart:—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (*karma*) gets the name of Instrument (*karana*) and the recipient (*Sampradāna*) is called object (*karma*).

Thus *पशुना रुद्रं यजते* or *पशुं रुद्राय दादति* he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra, which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'

रुद्रयर्थानां प्रीयमाणः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद्रि-अर्थानाम्, प्रीयमाणः, (का० संप्रदानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ रुद्रयर्थानां दातृनां प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणो योऽर्थस्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंबंधं भवति ॥

33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root *ruch* 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called *Sampradâna* or recipient.

The verbs having similar meaning (*artha*) as the word *ruchi* or 'liking' are रुच्यर्थे. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called *ruchi*. As देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः the sweet meat pleases Devadatta. यज्जदत्ताय स्वदते उपपः Yajnadatta likes Apupa. Here *modaka* is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि. Devadatta likes modak in the way. The word *pathi* being in the 7th case.

ज्ञाचन्हुड्स्याशपां ज्ञीप्स्यमानः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञाच-न्हुड्-
स्या-शपाम्, ज्ञीप्स्यमानः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञाचन्हुड् स्या शप् इत्येतेषां ज्ञीप्स्यमानो योऽर्थे स्तत् कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

34. In the case of verbs *ślāgh* to praise, *hnu* to take away *sthā* to stand, and *śap* to curse, the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, these actions, is called *Sampradâna*.

The word *ज्ञीप्स्यमान* means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As देवदत्ताय ज्ञाचते he praises Devadatta, i.e., while praising Devadatta, he wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As देवदत्ताय हुते he hides from (wishing that Devadatta should know of it) Devadatta, देवदत्ताय तिष्ठते she offers herself to Devadatta (for sexual embrace, wishing that he should know of it). देवदत्ताय शपते he reviles Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय ज्ञाचति पथि. Here *pathi* is in the Locative case.

धारे रुत्तमर्णः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धारेः, उत्तम-ऋणः,
(का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धार्यतेः प्रयोगे उत्तमर्णो योऽर्थे स्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

35. In the case of the verb *dhâri* 'to owe,' the creditor is called *Sampradâna*.

The word *उत्तमर्ण* is compounded of two words उत्तम best and ऋण debt meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to ऋणमर्ण debtor. As देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति he owes hundred to Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति ग्रामे he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village. Here village is in the Locative case.

स्पृहे रीणितः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृहेः, ईणितः,
(का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृह ईणितो, चुरादावदन्तः पठ्यते, तस्य ईणितो बोध्यस्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

36. In the case of the verb *sprih* to desire, the thing desired is called *Sampradâna kâraka*.

The verb *स्पृह* to desire, belongs to the *churâdi* class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As *पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति* he desires flowers, *फलेभ्यः स्पृहयति* he desires fruits.

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe *पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति* he desires flowers in the forest. Here *वने* is in the Locative case.

क्रुधद्रुहेर्ष्या सूर्यार्थानां यं प्रतिकोपः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुह-
इर्ष्या-असूय-अर्थानां, यं, प्रतिकोपः (का० संप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधादर्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रतिकोपस्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

37. In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* to be angry, *druh* to injure, *îrshyâ* to envy, *asûyâ* to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *Sampradâna*.

Krudh means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *îrshyâ* jealousy; and *asûya* means to find out the faults of another. The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions. As *देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यतिद्रुहति-ईर्ष्यति* or *असूयति* he is angry upon, (i. e. with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds out the faults of *Devadatta*. Here *Devadatta* is in the Dative case.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus *भार्यानीर्ष्यति* he is jealous of his wife, i. e., does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word *bhâryâ* is in the accusative case.

क्रुधद्रुहो रूपसृष्टयोः कर्म ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुहोः, उप-
सृष्टयोः, कर्म (का० यं प्रतिकोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधद्रुहो रूपसृष्टयो रूपसर्गसंबन्धयो यं प्रतिकोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंबन्धं भवति ॥

38. But in the case of the verbs *krudh* and *druh*, when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *karma karaka* or object.

This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word upasrishta means having upasarga or preposition. As देवदत्तमभिक्षयति अभिक्षयति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवदत्ताय क्रुष्यति.

राधीत्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधि-ईदयोः, यस्य, विप्रश्नः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधेरीवेत्यकारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति कीदृशं यस्य विप्रश्नः, विविधः प्रश्नः, विप्रश्नः; च कस्य भवति वस्य शुभाशुभं पृच्छयते ॥

39. In the case of the verbs rādh, to propitiate, and īksh to look to, the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāna.

The word vipraśna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus देवदत्ताय राध्यति-ईक्षते गर्गः. Garga is favorable to or looks to Devadatta, the sense is that being casually asked by Devadatta, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Devadatta.

Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राध्नाति or ईक्षते वा गुरुः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रत्याङ्मुखां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्ता ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्मुख्याम्, श्रुवः, पूर्वस्य, कर्ता (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिआङ् इत्येवं पूर्वस्य शृणोतेः कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति कीदृशं पूर्वस्य कर्ता ॥

40. In the case of the verb Śru preceded by the prepositions prati and ān; and meaning 'to promise' the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradāna.

The compound verb प्रतिश्रू and आश्रू means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case. As देवदत्ताय गं प्रतिशृणोति—आशृणोति he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनुप्रतिशृणश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-प्रति-शृणः, च, (का० संप्रदा० पूर्वस्य, कर्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य च पृच्छातेः कारकं पूर्वस्याः क्रियायाः कर्तृभूतं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

41. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and [prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating', the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradāna.

The phrase pūrvasya kartā of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रे जुषुषाति. They encourage the Hotri, i.e. the Hotri priest invokes first, the others then follow him in invocation and by so doing encourage him. The word अनुंगरः and प्रतिंगरः mean encouraging the invoker.

साधकतमं करणम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधकतमम्, करणम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियाप्रोबेदी यत् प्रकृष्टोपकारकं विवक्षितं तत्साधकतमं कारकं करणसंबन्धं भवति ॥

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karana kāraka.

As दात्रेण लुनाति he cuts with the sickle. परशुना छिनत्ति he divides by the axe. The instrument कारक takes the third-case affix.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kārakās, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां घोषः the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges. कुपे गर्गकुलम् the family of frogs in the well, i.e. on the sides of the well.

दिवः कर्म च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, कर्म, च, (का साधकतमम् करणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः साधकतमं यत्कारकं तत्कर्मसंबन्धं भवति चकारात् करणसंबन्धं च ॥

43. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb div to play, is called karma object, as well as karana, Instrument.

The present sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that karana is also to be read into this. As अवाप्तं दीव्यति or अबै दीव्यति he plays the dice or with the dice.

परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्रयणे, संप्रदानम्, अन्यतरस्याम् (का० साधकतमम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्रयणे साधकतमं कारकमन्यतरस्यां संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb *parikrî*, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called *Sampradâna* or recipient.

This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word *परिक्रवणे* means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. As *यताय परिक्रीतो ऽनुब्रूहि यतेन परिक्रीतो ऽनुब्रूहि*.

ADHIKARANA.

आधारोऽधिकरणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आधारः, अधिकरणम्,
(का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोः क्रियाश्रयभूतयोर्धारणं क्रियां प्रति य आधारेस्तत्कारकमधिकरणं
संबंधं भवति ॥

45. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed by reason of the agent or the object being in that place is called *Adhikarana* or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called *âdhâra*. As *कटे आस्ते* he is seated on the mat. *कटे शेते* he is sleeping on the mat. *व्याहृत्यं पचति* he cooks in the pot. The *Adhikarana* takes the 7th case-affix.

अधिशीङ्स्यासां कर्म ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि । अधि-शीङ्-स्या-आसां कर्म,
(का० आधारः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिपूर्वाणां शीङ् स्या आस् इत्येतेषां साधारोयस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंबंधं भवति ॥

46. That which is the site of the verbs *śi* to lie down, *stha*, to stand, *ās* to sit, when preceded by the preposition *adhi*, is however called *karma kâraka* or object.

This ordains accusative case, where otherwise by the last *sûtra* there would have been the Locative case. As *ग्राममधिषेते अधितिष्ठति* or *अप्यास्ते* he lies down, occupies or lies in the village.

अभिनिविशश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-नि-विशः, च, (का०
आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिनिपूर्वस्य विद्यतेराधारे यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंबंधं भवति ॥

47. That which is the site of the verb *abhinivîś* to enter, is also called *karma-kâraka*.

As ग्राममभिनिविशते he resorts to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sūtra 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिनिवेशः resorting to sin. कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa.

उपान्वध्याङ् वसः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-अनु-अधि-आङ्-वसः,
(का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उप अनु अधि आङ् इत्येव पूर्वस्य वसतेराधारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंबन्धं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वसेरयस्यस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

48. That which is the site of the verb vas to dwell, when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and āi, is called karma-kāraka.

As ग्राममुपवसति सेना the army dwells in the village पर्वतमुपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or आवसति.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means "fasting," or does not denote lying in a locality. As ग्रामे उपवसति he fasts in the village. Here the verb upavasati governs the locative case and not the accusative.

KARMA.

कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, ईप्सिततमम्, कर्म,
(का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तुः क्रियया यदाहुनिष्टतमं तत्कारकं कर्मसंबन्धं भवति ॥

49. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which is especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कटं करोति He makes the mat. ग्रामं गच्छति he goes to the village. Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe नाशेऽयं बध्नाति he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as the horse is not the agent of the verb, the word नाश takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पयसोदनं भुङ्क्ते he eats the food along with the milk. Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sūtra by anuvritti from the last sūtra, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvritti of the word ādhāra does not extend to this sūtra, because as we do not take the anuvritti of the word karma into this sūtra, we do not take

the anuvritti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvritti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say गेहं प्रविशति he enters the house, we could not say ओदनं पचति he cooks the food, सक्तुं पिबति he drinks saktu. By repeating the word karma in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-kāraka, takes the second case-affix.

तथा युक्तं चानीप्सितम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तथा, युक्तम्, च, अनीप्सितम्, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन प्रकारेण कर्तुं रीप्सिततन्त्रं क्रियया युज्यते तेनैव चेत् प्रकारेण वदनीप्सितं युक्तं भवति तस्य कर्मसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

50. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act becomes however similarly connected with the action it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anīpsita or object of aversion. Thus विषं भक्षयति he eats poison, चोरान् पश्यति. He sees the thieves. ग्रामम् गच्छन् वृक्षमूला न्युपसर्पति going to the village, he plucks the roots of the trees.

अकथितं च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकथितम्, च, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकथितं च वत्कारणं तत्कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

51. And that kāraka which is not spoken of as coming under any of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

There are some verbs in Sanskrit which take what is called an akathita object, in addition to their usual direct one. As its name indicates, it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way of any of the other case relations, such as अपादान अधिकरण &c. and is, therefore optional. If the noun capable of taking this akathita object be not intended for any other case, it is put in the Accusative case with such verbs; as, वेदुं दोग्धि पयः he milks the cow (her milk) वृक्षमवसृजति गां 'he confines the cow to the fold.' Here वेदुं and वृक्षं are akathita or optional objects. If the speaker does not intend to have this object, the words will be put in their natural cases; as, वेद्याः (ablative) पयःप्राप्तये, वृक्षे (locative) अवसृजति गां.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned in the following kārika:—दुष्माच्च पच दण्डे नहि त्रिजिह्वि हि हृद्यात् त्रि नष्टं भुषात् ॥ अनेषु क् स्यादकथितं तथा स्यात्तु कृष् वदात् ॥

In the case of the roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच् 'to cook,' दण्ड् 'to punish,' बध् 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ् 'to ask,' चि 'to collect' ब्रू to tell याच् 'instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) नन्य् 'to churn' लुप् 'to steal,' and also in the case of नी, ह, कृष्, and वह all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification, that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case; as, गां दोग्धि पयः (S. K.) 'he milks the cow'; बलिं याचते बहुधां. He begs the earth of Bali; similarly तंडुलानोदनं पचति, गर्गाञ् शतं दण्डयति, ब्रजमवदण्डि गां, नाणवकं पयानं पृच्छति, वृक्षमवचिनोति कलानि, नाणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते-शास्त्रिणा, यतं जयति देवदत्तं, लुपां क्षीरनिधिं नयति, देवदत्तं शतं लुण्णाति; ग्रामजानं नयति-हरति-कर्षति-बहति वा are examples of the other roots in order. नाणवकं धर्मं भाष ते वक्ति वा, बलिंबहुधां भिद्यते, तां त्वां संवरणस्यार्थं वरयानि विभावणे are instances of this kind of object, because भाच् or याच् and भिच् or वृ have the same meaning as ब्रू and याच्, the roots given in the Kâsikâ.

Obs.—The roots चि, लुप्, पच् नन्य्, कृष्, जि, कृष् ह and ever वह् are of every rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in the classical literature, though given in the above list.

The roots mentioned above and others having the same sense, take two objects. One of them is principal, and the other, secondary. In the case of the first twelve roots from दुह् to लुप्, the nouns पयः, बहुधां, कलानि, लुपां, &c. are principal objects, and गां, बलिं, वृक्षं, क्षीरनिधिं &c. are secondary objects, for they can, according to the speaker's volition, be put in other cases. And in the case of the last four roots अजा, is the principal object and ग्रामं the secondary. Thus that which is necessarily put in the accusative case in order to complete the idea of the verb, is the principal object, and that which may be put in the Accusative case, depending upon the speaker's will, is called the secondary object.

गति बुद्धि प्रत्यवसानार्थशब्द कर्माकर्म काणा मणिकर्ता स गौ ॥
५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति-बुद्धि -प्रत्यवसान-अर्थ-शब्दकर्मा-कर्मकाणाम्,
अणिकर्ता, सः, गौ (कारके कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां बुद्ध्यर्थानां प्रत्यवसानार्थानां च धातूनां तथाशब्द कर्मकाणा नकर्माकाणा
श्च अवयवन्तानां यः कर्ता स एवन्तानां कर्मसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गत्यर्थेषु नी वदोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षडेर नियन्तृ कर्तृकस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आदि खादोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भडेर द्विचार्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'motion' 'knowledge or information' and 'eating,' and of verbs that have

some literary work for their object, and of intransitive verbs that which was the agent of the verb in its primitive (non-ni or non-causal state), is called the object (karma) in its causative state (when the verb takes the affix *ni*).

In the case of the roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL.
अन्नचः स्वर्गलगच्छत्	अन्नूस् स्वर्गलगन्नयत्
इवे वेदार्थनविदुः	स्वान वेदार्थं नवेदयत्
देवा अद्युतनाशनम्	देवान् अद्युतनाशनयत्
विधिर्वेदनयति	विधिं वेदनय्याययत्
पुरुषी वलिते आसत्	पुरुषीं वलिते आसयत्

But in *गन्वति रामो गोविन्दं* (Rama makes Govind go) if some body else (*विष्णु मित्र*) prompts Rāma to do this, we shall have to say *विष्णुमित्रो रामेन गोविन्दं गन्वति* 'Vishnu mitra prompts Rāma to cause Govind to go.' Here 'Rāma' is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Patanjali, in his *Mahābhāṣya*, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word *अदकर्त्तृ* in the *sūtra* *नविपुष्टि* &c. *अदकर्त्तृ* may be either *अदो* *येषां* *कर्म* *क्रिया* or *अदो* *येषां* *कर्म*.

When we take the former interpretation, the roots *वृषति* (*हृ*) *क्रंदति* (*क्रंद*) and *अददायते* (denom. of *अदद*) have to be excluded from the rule; as, *हृषति देवदत्तः ह्रायति देवदत्तेन*; *क्रंदति-अददायते-देवदत्तः*; *क्रंदयति-अददायति-देवदत्तेन*. And the roots *बु*, *वा* with *वि* and *लभ्* with *उप* must be included in the rule; as, *बुध्यति विज्ञानाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तः*; *अभ्ययति-विज्ञापयति-उपलपयति-देवदत्तः*. When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots *जृप्*, *भाष्* with *आ* and *लप* with *वि*, must be included in the rule; *जृषति-विलपति-आभायते-देवदत्तः*, *जृषयति-विज्ञापयति-आभायति-देवदत्तः*.

There are several exceptions and counter-exceptions to the preceding rule, which are important.

Vart:—The causals of *नी* 'to lead' and *वह्* 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. *पुत्र्यो भारं नयति वहति वा* A servant carries a load. *पुत्र्येन भारं नाययति वाहयति वा* (S. K.) (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

Vart.—But चद्, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as, वाहा रथं वहन्ति. Horses draw the chariot. वहन्ति यतान् बलीवर्दाः.

Vart.—(b). The causals of the roots खाद् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern the Instrumental case; e. g. बटुरन्नमस्ति खादति वा. The boy eats his food. बटुनान्नमादयति खादयति वा. (He) causes the boy to eat his food.

Vart.—(c). भद्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा 'injury to a sentient thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, भदयति पिंडीं देवदत्तः, भदयति पिंडीं देवदत्तेन; but भदयति यवान् बलीवर्दाः, भदयति बलीवर्दान् यवान्.

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above is meant such roots as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is, quite evident; as, किंकरः पचरः पचति. Here पचति, though transitive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किंकरेण पाचयति and not किंकरं; but ज्ञासनासयति देवदत्तं.

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL ACTIVE.	CAUSAL PASSIVE.
राप्ता ग्रामं गच्छति.	राप्तां ग्रामं गच्छयति.	राप्ता ग्रामं गच्छते.
Râma goes to a village.	(He) causes Râma to go to a village.	Rama is caused to go &c.
शूत्यः कटं करोति.	शूत्येन शूत्यं वा कटं कारयति.	शूत्यः कटं कार्यते.
The servant prepares a mat.	(He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.	The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमास्यते.	गोविंदं मासमासयति.	गोविंदो मासमास्यते.
Govind sits for one month.	(He makes Govind sit &c.)	Govind is made to sit &c.

(a). But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa e. g. माणवकं धर्मं बोधयति 'he make Mananaka know his duty'; माणवको धर्मं बोध्यते or माणवकं धर्मो बोध्यते 'M. is made known his duty' or duty is made known to M.; बटुनादनं भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food: 'बटुरोदनं भोजयते or बटुनादनं भोजयते (S. K.)

With regards to roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; i.e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive Case, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, ज्ञाननेन बलिं धनुर्वांशयते; (ईश्वरो) ज्ञाननेन बलिं

बसुधां वाचयति '(God) makes Vâmana ask Bali for Earth.' गोपेऽजां नगरं हरति ; (स्वामी) गोपं गोपेन वाजां नगरं हारयति. '(The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

हु क्रोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह-क्रोः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (का० अणि कर्ता स शौ कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेः करोतेऽप्यन्तयोः कर्ता स प्यन्तयो रन्यतरस्यां कर्मसंबो भवति ॥

वाचिक्श् ॥ अभिवादि ह्योरात्मनेपद उपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. The agent of the verb in its non-ni (primitive) form in the case of hri to lose and kri to make, is optionally called karma or object when these verbs take the affix.

ni (CAUSAL).

PRIMITIV.

CAUSAL.

As हरति. भारं नाणवकः

हारयति भारं नाणवकं or नाणवकेन.

The boy takes the load.

He causes the servant to take the load.

करोतिकटं देवदत्तः

कारयति कटं देवदत्तं or देवदत्तेन.

Devadatta makes the mat.

He causes Devadatta to make the mat.

Vart.—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवद् and हृय् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or instrumental case in the causal; as,

PRIMITIVE.

CAUSAL.

अभिवदति गुरुं वदत्तः

अभिवादयते गुरुं or देवदत्तेन

Devadatta bows down to the Guru. He makes Devadatta bow down to the Guru.

पश्यन्ति श्रुत्वा राजानम्.

दर्शयते श्रुत्या राजानं or दर्शयते श्रुत्यै.

The servants see the king.

He makes the servants see the king

KARTRI.

स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रिया प्रसिद्धी स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्ष्यते तत्कारकं कर्तृसंज्ञं भवति ॥

54. Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartā or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as देवदत्तः पचति Devadatta cooks. स्यासी पचति the pot cooks

तत् प्रयोजको हेतुश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रयोजकः, हेतुः, च,
(का० स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजको योऽर्थः तत्कारकं हेतुसंबन्धं भवति चकारात् कर्तुं संबन्धं च ॥

55. That which is the mover thereof, i. e., of the independent source of action, is called Hetu or cause, as well as kartâ or agent.

Thus कारयति he causes to be made, दारयति he causes to be taken. When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. 1. 26).

The force of the word च is to give both names to the mover of an agent, viz., Hetu and kartâ; otherwise by sūtra 1 of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipāta.

THE PARTICLES.

प्राग्गोचरान्निपाताः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्, गोचरात्, निपाताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिरोक्षर इति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मादवधेयानित ऊर्ध्वमनुकनिष्पन्नः निपात संज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

56. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhiraśvare (I. 4. 97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipāta or Particles.

The word प्राक् of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapra-vachniya take two names, i. e., their one name as well as the name Nipāta. The letter र in प्राग्गोचरात् is to remove doubt, i. e., aphorism I. 4. 97 should be taken as limit and not sūtra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswari also.

चादयो ऽसत्वे ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-आदयः असत्वे, (निपाता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादयो निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति न चेत्सर्वे वर्तन्ते ॥

57. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipāta) च 'and' वा 'or' ह 'an expletive' अह 'vocative particle' एव 'only' exactly. ' एवम् 'so thus,' नूनम् 'certainly,' अश्वत् 'continually,' युगपत् 'at once,' भूयस् 'repeatedly,' सूपत् कूपत् 'excellently,' कुर्वत् 'abundantly,' नेत् चेत् 'if' चत् 'if,' [the न् is indicatory], यत्र where,' तत्र 'there,' कश्चित् 'what if?,' नह 'no,' हन्त 'ah,' ! नाकिञ्च [नाकीञ्च] नकिञ्च 'do not,' आकीञ्च 'indeed !' नाह् 'do not,' नञ् 'not,' यावत् 'as much as,' तावत् 'so much,' एवे न्वे द्वे 'perhaps,' रे(disrespectful interjection) जीवद् जीवद्

स्वाहा (interj.) 'oblation to the gods,' स्वधा 'oblation to the manes,' forefathers वसु 'oblation to the gods,' ओम् (mystical ejaculation typical of the three great deities of the Hindu mythology), तुम् 'thouing,' तथाहि 'thus,' introducing an exposition, (खलु 'certainly,' किल 'indeed,' अद्य 'now' auspicious inceptive), शुभ 'excellent,' एष (attached to the present tense gives it a past signification), अदह 'fie' अ इ उ षु लृ ए ऐ ओ औ. The vowels a, â, i, î, u, û, e, ai, o, au, when, as interjections, they indicate various emotions, differ from the ordinary vowels.

उञ्, उक्ञ्, वेलायाञ्, सात्रायाञ्, यया. यत्, तत्, किञ्, पुरा, वधा, (वध्वा), धिक्, हाहा, हेहे, (हहे), पाट्, प्याट्, आहो, उताहो, हो, अहो, नो, (नौ), अथो, ननु, नन्वे, निध्या, अस्मि, ब्रुहि बु, बु, इति, इह, वत्, घात्, चन, वत, [सञ्, वञ्, शिञ्, दिञ्,] सनुकञ्, छन्वट्, (छंवठ), षंके, शुक्ञ्, खञ्, सनात्, सनुतर्, नहिकञ्, सत्वञ्, श्रुतञ्, अडा, इडा, नोचेत्, नचेत्, नहि, जातु, कपञ्, कुतः, कुत्र, अथ, अनु, हा, हे, (है), आहोसिवत्, यम्, कञ्, खञ्, दिष्टया, पशु, वट्, सद,, (सनुपञ्), आनुषञ्, अङ्ग, कट्, ताजक्, (भाजक). अये, अरे, वाट्, (वाटु), कुञ्, खुञ्, पुञ्, अञ्, ईञ्, औञ्, सिञ्, चिः, वै .

To the list of indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an upasarga (No.59), of a word with one of the terminations of case or persons and of the vowels. In the example अवदत्तम् avadat-tam 'given away,' the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word (by VII. 4. 47) would be अवत्तम् avattam. In the example ahanyuh अहंयुः 'egotistic,' the ahañ is not identical with the aham 'I,' terminating in a case affix—because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the nominative case, could not be the first member, in such a compound. In the example अस्तिक्षीरा astikshîrâ, a cow or the like 'in which there is milk,' the asti अस्ति must be regarded as differing from the word asti, 'is,' which ends with the affix of the third person singular, otherwise it could not have appeared as the first member in a compound.

प्रादयः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-आदयः, (निपाता असत्वे) ॥

धृतिः ॥ प्रादयो ऽसत्वे निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

58. The words pra &c, are called Nipâta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions:' प्र, परा, अप, सञ्, अनु, अव, निम्, दुम्, चि, आम्, नि, अधि, अपि, अति, सु, उत्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the Pra &c., words two names, namely, those of Nipâtas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, i. e., when they are in composition with verbs. Not so however the châ &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signifying substances they are not Nipâtas. As परा वरुणि वेवा the excellent army conquers. Here the word परा is not a Nipâta.

उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गाः, क्रिया-योगे
(प्रादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयः क्रिया योगे उपसर्ग संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञ्छब्दस्य चोपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अञ्छब्दस्योप संख्यानम् ॥

59. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As प्र+नयति=प्रणयति. Here the dental न is changed into cerebral ञ, because of the प्र getting the designation of upasarga (See sūtra VIII. 4. 14). Similarly परिणयति, प्रणायकः, परिणायकः.

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called upasargas. As प्रनते नायकोऽस्माद् देशात् = प्रनायकोदेशः a country destitute of a leader. Here न is not changed into ञ. Thus while प्रणायकः means 'a leader' the term प्रनायकः means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements:—pra in one is an upasarga, in the other a Nipāta pure and simple.

Vart:—The word नञ्त् should be included in the list of upasargas. As नञ्द्विर्वत्तः=नञ्त् given by Marut. नञ्त्+दा+क्त=नञ्त्+त्+त (VII. 4. 47.) Here Marut being treated as an upasarga, though it does not end with a vowel, the दा is replaced by त by rule VII. 4. 47 which declares 'त the substitute of दा which is called ghu when it is preceded by an upasarga that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with त which has an indicative k.'

It might be objected, that as नञ्त् does not end with a vowel, sūtra VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of upasarga to नञ्त् is superfluous; and in order that this should not be so, the fact of its not ending with a vowel, is overlooked.

Vart:—The particle अत् should be included in the list of upasargas. Thus अत्+धा+अङ्=अट्टा (III. 3. 106). Here because अत् is treated as an upasarga, that sūtra III. 3. 106 is made applicable.

गतिश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, च, (प्रादयः क्रियायोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिसंज्ञकाश्च प्रादयो भवन्ति क्रियायोगे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कारिका शब्दोप संख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुनश्चनञौ छन्दसि गतिसंज्ञौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

60. The words pra &c., are called also Gati, when in composition with a verb.

As प्रकृत्य, Now the gerund of the simple root कृ would have been कृत्वा, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the क्त्वा is replaced by क्यप् see II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. प्र + कृ + क्यप् = प्रकृत्य (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compounding by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply VII. 1. 37. Similarly प्रकृत्य. Here pra being a gati word retains its own accent by rule VI. 2. 49. 'a gati retains in a compound its own accent when it immediately precedes a second member that ends in kta, provided the latter denotes the object of the action which is expressed by the root to which kta is added.'

Similarly प्रकरोति, here pra being treated as gati gets annudâtta accent by rule VIII. 2. 71,

The yoga-vibhâga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The annuvṛitti of gati only runs through the latter sūtras and not of upasarga. So that while pra &c., have two names upasarga and gati; uri &c., have only one name, namely, gati.

Thus in प्रणीतम् and अभिषिक्तम्, by treating the words प्र and अभि as upasargas we change the न and ष into ण and ष by rule VIII. 4. 14 and VIII. 3. 87; and again treating them as gati we regulate the accent.

Vart.—The words कारिका should be included in the list of Gati. As (1) कारिकाकृत्य (2) कारिकाकृतम् (3) यत्कारिका करोति. In the first by taking it as gati we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and क्यप् (VII. 1. 37) The other two cases illustrate accent.

Vart.—The words पुनर् and चनस् are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As पुनर्वत्स्यतंवाचो देयम्. Here the word पुनर् being gati, causes वत्स्यत to take annudâtta accent (VIII. 1. 70) चनोदितः. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

ऊर्यादि च्विडाचश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरी-आदि च्वि-डाचः,
च, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्यादयः शठदाः च्ठयन्ता डाजन्ताश्च क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with dâch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhû, kri or as) are called Gati.

The affixes chvi and dâch are ordained when the verb in composition is either कृ, भू or ऋष् (V. 4. 50 and 57) ûri &c., being read along with chvi and dâch, shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else; in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati.

The words करी and उररी mean to assent and spread. As करीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) करीकृत्य (VI. 2. 49), यदुरीकरोति (VIII. 2. 71). So with the word उररी. The following is a list of these words:—

पापी.	धूसी.	अंशकला.	कली.
ताली.	यकला.	गुलुगुधा.	विह्वी.
आताली.	संयकला.	सज्जः	आली.
चेताली.	ध्वंसकला.	कल.	

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुक्लीकृत्य having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in डाच् as पटपटाकृत्य having made the sound pat.

अनुकरणं चानिति परम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुकरणम्, च;
अनिति-परम्, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुकरणमनिति परम् क्रियायोगे गतिसंबन्धं भवति ॥

62. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrihi compound; अनु-इति-परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it'

As खाट्कृत्य having made the sound khât. खाट्कृत्य (VI. 2. 49), यत्खाट्करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खाट्कृत्य निरपेक्षम्

आदरानादरयोः सदसती ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदर-अनादरयोः,
सद्-असती, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदरानादरयोः यथाक्रमं सदसद्व्यवहारी गतिसंबन्धौ भवतः ॥

63. The words sat and asat when in composition with a verb are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As सत्कृत्य having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) असत्कृत्य, सत्कृत्य or असत्कृत्य (VI. 2. 49) यत् सत् करोति or यदसत् करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe
 चतुकृत्वा कायङं गतः .

भूषणेऽलम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूषणे, अलम्, (क्रि० गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूषणे योऽलम् शब्दः स गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

64. The word alam when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings:—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament. As अलंकृत्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37); अलंकृतं (VI. 2. 49) बदलं करोति (VIII. 2. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have अलं भुक्त्वा ब्रजति he goes having eaten enough.

अन्तरपरिग्रहे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्-अपरि-ग्रहे, (क्रि० गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तः शब्दोऽपरिग्रहे ऽर्थगतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्तः शब्दस्या द्विविधि णत्वेऽप्युपसर्गसंज्ञावक्तव्या ॥

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

The word परिग्रह means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिग्रह means therefore the opposite of this namely 'rejecting,' abandoning. As अन्तर्हृत्य घृहं गतः he went away having abandoned home; अन्तर्हृतमनृतम् falsehood being abandoned. यदन्तर्हन्ति.

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe अन्तर्हृत्वा भूषिकां हयेनो गतः the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

Vart.—The word अन्तर् is treated as an upsarga for the purpose of the application of the following rules; III. 3. 106 by which अङ् is added; rule III. 3. 92 by which क्रि is added; the rule VIII. 4. 14 by which ऋ is changed into ण. As अन्तर्द्धा, अन्तर्द्धिः and अन्तर्णयति.

कणोमनसी अद्वाप्रतीघाते ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कणे-मनसी, अद्वा-प्रती-घाते, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कणेशब्दो मनसश्च शब्दश्च अद्वा प्रतीघाते गतिसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

66. The words kane and manas are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of reaction by satiation.'

The word **बद्धा-मतीचात** means 'satisfaction of desire.' As **कणेहृत्य चयः पिबति** he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied? So also **जनोहृत्य पदः पिबति**. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (**बद्धा**) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have **कणे** or **जनोहृत्यानतः** he went away satisfied

पुरो ऽव्ययम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरः, अव्ययम्, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्प्रत्ययान्तः पुरः शब्दोऽव्ययं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

67. The word **purah** in front of, when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called **gati**.

The pronoun **पूर्व** 'front' with the affix **अस्मि** forms **पुरस्**, and by I. 1. 38 it becomes an **Avyaya**. (See V. 3. 39 **pur** being substituted for **pūrva**). The object by making it **gati** is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 (3) to change the **h** into **च्** by VIII. 3. 40. As **पुरस्कृत्य**, **पुरस्कृतम्** and **यत् पुरस्करोति**, when not an indeclinable we have **पुरः**, **पुरी**, **पुरः** कृत्वा काण्डगतः.

अस्तं च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तम्, च, (गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तं शब्दो जकारान्तोऽव्ययं अनुपलब्धौ वर्तते च गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

68. And the indeclinable word **astam** 'at home,' is called **gati**, when in composition with a verb.

The word **अस्तच्** is an indeclinable as it ends in **च्** (I, 1. 39); and means 'not visible.' As **अस्तंगत्य सविता पुनरुदेति** the sun having set, rises again **अस्तंगतानि धनानि** riches that have vanished. **यदस्तं गच्छति**, when not an indeclinable it is not **gati** as **अस्तं काण्डच्** the arrow has been thrown.

अच्छ गत्यर्थवदेषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्छ, गति-अर्थ-वदेषु, (गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच्छशब्दोऽव्ययमभिधायकस्यार्थे वर्तते, च गत्यर्थेषु धातुषु वदती च गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

69. The indeclinable word **achchha**, meaning 'before in the presence of,' is called **gati**, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word **अच्छ** is an indeclinable and has the force of the word **अभि**. As **अच्छगत्य**, **अच्छगतम्**, and **यदच्छगच्छति**. So also **अच्छोद** **अच्छोदितम्** and **यदच्छवदति** when not an **Avyaya**, we have **उदकमच्छं गच्छति**.

अदो ऽनुपदेशे ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदस्, अनुपदेशे, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदः शब्दो ऽनुपदेशे गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

70. The word adas 'that' is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadeśa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadeśa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As अदः कृत्य, अदः कृत्य and यददः करोति when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have अदः कृत्वा कायं गतः

तिरोऽन्तरद्वौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरः, अन्तरद्वौ, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरद्वौर्व्यवधानम्, तत्रतिरः शब्दो गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

71. The word tiras when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोभूय, तिरोभूतश्च and यत् तिरोभवति why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थितः i.e., standing apart.

विभाषाकृजि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृजि, (गतिः अन्तरद्वौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरः शब्दः करोतौ परतो विभाषा गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

72. The word tiras meaning 'disappearance' is optionally called gati, when the verb kri follows.

This is an example of प्राप्त-विभाषा. As तिरः कृत्य or तिरस्कृत्य (VIII. 3. 42): तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into वृ is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति he stands having laid aside the stick.

उपाजेऽन्वाजे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाजे-अन्वाजे, (विभाषा कृजि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपाजेऽन्वाजेशब्दौ विभक्ति प्रतिरूपकौ निपातौ दुर्बलस्य सान्दर्भ्याधाने वर्तते तौ कृजि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

73. The words upâje and anvâje both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kri.

As उपाजे कृत्य or उपाजे कृत्वा having given support. अन्वाजे कृत्य or अन्वाजे कृत्वा.

साक्षात्प्रभृतीनिच ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ साक्षात्, प्रभृतीनि, च, (गतिः विभाषा कृजि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि कृजि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतिषु ऽप्यर्थे वचनम् ॥

74. The words sâkshât, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kri.

Vart :—In the words साक्षात् &c. the force of the affix णिप् is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before, As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्वा निह्याकृत्ये निह्याकृत्वा making evident what was concealed before.

अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनत्याधाने, उरसिमनसी, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनत्याधान उपश्लेषणं तदभावे अनत्याधाने उरसिमनसी शब्दौ विभाषा कृञि-गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

75. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati when the verb kri follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्वा; मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्वा. When it has the sense of placing we have उरसिकृत्वा पाणिं शेते he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, मनसिकृत्वा वचनं ध्यायति he ponders having placed the word in his mind.

मध्ये पदे निवचने च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्ये पदे, निवचने, च, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः अनत्याधाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्ये पदे निवचने इत्येते शब्दा, अनत्याधाने विभाषा कृञि गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

76. And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kri follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा. पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा; निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा.

But when it has the meaning of placing we have इस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा शिरः शेते he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

नित्यं हस्ते पाणौपयमने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, हस्ते-पाणौ उपयमने (गतिः कृञि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्ते पाणौ इत्येते शब्दौ कृञि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञौ भवत उपयमने ॥

77. The word haste 'in the hand,' pānau 'in the hand' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kri in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाणौ कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य having married. But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापणं गतः he went out having taken in his hand a kârshâpana (a coin).

प्राध्वं बन्धने ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राध्वम्, बन्धने, (गतिः कृजि नित्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राध्वनिति सकारान्तमव्ययेनानुकूल्ये वर्त्तते, तदानुकूल्यं बन्धनहेतुकं यदा भवति तदाप्राध्वंशब्दः कृजि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

78. The indeclinable word *prādhvam* followed by the verb *kri*, is always called *gati* when used in the sense of 'binding.'

The word *प्राध्वम्* ends in *ञ* and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a *gati*: as, *प्राध्वंकृत्य* having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have:—*प्राध्वं कृत्वा शकटं गतः* having made the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीविका-उपनिषदौ, औपम्ये, (गतिः कृजि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीविका उपनिषदित्येतौ शब्दौ औपम्ये विषये कृजि गतिसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

79. The words *Jīvikā* and *upanishad* followed by the verb *kri* are called *gati* when used in the sense 'of likeness or resemblance.'

As *जीविकाकृत्य* having made it as if it was a means of living; *उपनिषत्कृत्य*—having made it like an *upanishad*. But *जीविका कृत्वा गतः* having made his livelihood he is gone.

ते प्राग्धातोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, प्राग्, धातोः, (गतिः उपसर्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ते गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः धातोः प्राक् प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

80. The particles called *gati* and *upasarga* are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are pre-fixes).

The word *ते* has been employed to include the term *उपसर्ग* also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.

छन्दसि परेऽपि ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, परे, अपि, (गतिः उपसर्ग प्रा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये गत्युपसर्ग संज्ञका; परेऽपि पूर्वपि प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

81. In the *chhandas* (*veda*) these *gati* and *upasarga* are employed indifferently after the verbal root as well as before it.

As.—*वायविन्द्रश्च सुमन्त आयातनुपनिष्कृतश्च ॥ सचिबत्या धिया नरा* (Rig. I. 2. 6).

In this we have आयातसुष instead of उषायतस् 'vayu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.'

व्यवहिताश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहिताः, च, (ग० उ० छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहिताश्च गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः छन्दसि दृश्यन्ते ॥

82. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As:— इन्द्र वायु इमे सुता उप प्रयोभिरागतस् ॥ इन्द्रो वा युयन्तिहि (Rig. I. 2. 4). "Indra and vāyu, here are soma—libations for you. Approach, ye with pleasures for us. For the libations are desiring you." Here उप is separated from the word आगत by the intervening word प्रयोभिः.

KARMA PRAVACHANIYA.

कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानित ऊर्द्धमनुकर्मिण्यासः कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

83. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachanīya.

These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As सुस्तुतं भवता well praised by you. सु वित्तं भवता you have sprinkled. Here सु is a karma pravachanīya and qualifies the sense of the verb, i. e. it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so, it would have changed the स into ष (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma pravachanīya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, टि, चि, दु &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karmapravachanīya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called.

अनुलक्षणे ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः लक्षणे, (कर्मप्रवचनीयाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशब्दो लक्षणे दोत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

84. The word anu when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachanīya.

The word lakshana means a sign; an attendant circumstance an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' 'because of, or being indicated by.' As अपननु प्रावर्षत it rained

after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other words, *anu* is a *karmapravachanīya* when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

So also *आकलस्य चिदिताननु प्रावर्षत्* = *आकलस्येन बुद्धतां चिदिताननुनिश्रव्य देवः प्रावर्षत्*. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Śākalya. The force of a *karmapravachanīya*, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an *upasarga* whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example *चिदितं* is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition *अनु*, but really governed by the verb *अनुनिश्रव्य* understood.

So also *अननुद् चवनन्वविचत्*. The Taurus sprinkled water after the sacrifice, *अनस्त्यमन्वविचत्* *प्रजाः* the people began sprinkling water after the rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this sūtra, when *अनु* would have been called *karma pravachanīya* even by force of sūtra 90 following, where also the word *lakshana* occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the *karmapravachanīyas* should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in expressing *हेतु* (II. 3. 23). Otherwise Rule 23rd of the third chapter of Book II would have set aside Rule 8 of the same by the maxim of *परत्व* I. 3. 2: and would have caused a *karma pravachanīya* to govern an Instrumental case where the sense was that of *hetu*.

तृतीयार्थे ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-अर्थे, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशब्द तृतीयार्थे दोत्ये कर्मवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

85. The word *anu* is *karma-pravachanīya* when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of *अनु* in this case will be that of 'with' or along with. As *नदीमनु अवसिता सेना* the army lying along side the river. *पर्वतमनु अवसिता सेना* lying along the slopes of the mountain.

हीने ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हीने, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हीने दोत्येऽयमनुः कर्म प्रवचनीय संज्ञो भवति ॥

86. The word *anu* is *karma-pravachanīya* when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

The word *हीन* means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words *अनु* governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As *अनुशाकदायनवैवाकरणाः* 'all grammarians are inferior to Śakatāyana.'

उपोधिके च ॥ ८७ ॥ उप, अधिके, च, (हीने कर्म प्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपशब्दः अधिके हीने च दोत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवति ॥

87. The word upa when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachanīya.

That is when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as उप कार्वां द्रोणः a Drona is above a khâri. उप निष्के कार्षापणः a karshapana is more than a Nishka. In this sense उप governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3. 9). So also उप शाकटायनं वैयाकरणः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śakatāyana.' In this sense उप governs the accusative case.

अप परी वर्जने ॥ ८८ ॥ अप-परी, वर्जने, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परी शब्दौ वर्जनेदोत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

88. The words apa and pari are karma-pravachanīya when meaning 'exclusion.'

The force of अप and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As अपत्रिगर्तेभ्यो बृहो देवः it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta. So also परि त्रिगर्तेभ्यो बृहोदेवः. In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not karma-pravachanīya. As ओदनं परिषिञ्चति. He waters the rice. Here it is an upasarga, and hence changes the च into ष.

आङ् मर्यादा वचने ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मर्यादा-वचः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् इत्येषशब्दः मर्यादावचने कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवति ॥

89. The word āṅ as far as, is karma-pravachanīya when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or, 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As आपाटलिपुत्राद् बृहो देवः it rained as far as (but excluding) Pātaliputra आपाटलिपुत्रं बृहो देवः it rained as far as (including) Pātaliputra आङ्गुनां यशः पाणिनेः आसांकाश्यात्, अमशुरायाः when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.

लक्षणेत्थम्भूताख्यानभागवीप्सासुप्रति पयनवः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षण-इत्थम्भूताख्यान-भाग-वीप्सासु, प्रति-परि-अनवः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे इत्थम्भूताख्याने भागे वीप्सायां च विषयभूतायां प्रति परि अत्र इत्येते कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

90. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of 'sign' (in the direction of) 'mere statement of circumstance' ('as regards') 'division' 'share of' and 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) वृक्षं प्रति-परि or अनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.' (2) साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति-परि=अनु 'Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.' (3) हरं प्रति हलाहलं 'the poison fell to the share of Hara.' यदन्नमां प्रति स्यात् that it may fall to my share. So with परि and अनु. (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिञ्चति he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and अनु.

अभिरभागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिः, अभागे (लक्षण इत्यं-भूताख्या० कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणादिष्वेव भागवर्जितेऽवभिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

91. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, 'share of.'

The illustrations given under the last sūtra mutus mūtandi apply here also, with the exception of those given under head (4). As वृक्षमभि विद्योतते; चातरमभि &c. But it is not karma-pravachaniya when भाग is meant. भाग means the share which is allotted to one as his own. As यदन्नमां प्रति स्यात् तद् दीयताम् give that which falls here to my share. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore च of स्य is changed into च.

प्रतिः प्रतिनिधि प्रतिदानयोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिः, प्रतिः निधि-प्रतिदानयोः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिनिधिविषये प्रतिदाने विषये च प्रतिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

92. The word prati is karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि. Giving in return for what is obtained, is प्रतिदान. As अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति Abhi-manyu is the representative of Arjuna. माषानस्मै तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति he exchanges Māshās for these sesamum. In these senses prati governs the Ablative (II. 3. 11.)

अधिपरी अनर्थकौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-परी, अनर्थकौ, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि परी शब्दौ अनर्थकौ अनर्थान्तरवाचिनौ कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

93. The words adhi and pari are karma-pravachaniya when used as mere expletives.

As कुतोऽभ्यागच्छति whence has he come? or कुतः चर्यो गच्छति. These words though mere surplusages, have been called karmappravachaniya so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

सुः पूजायाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुः, पूजायाम्, (कर्मप्र०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सु षष्ठः पूजायापर्यं कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

94. The word su is karma-pravachaniya in the sense of respect, (when it means 'excellently').

As सुवित्तं भवता, सु स्तुतं भवता excellently sprinkled by your honor. Well praised by your honor. By not being an upasarga, it does not change the च into व (VIII. 3. 65).

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुवित्तं किं तच्छुभ्र has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

अतिरतिक्रमणे च ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतिः, अति क्रमणे, च,
(कर्मप्र० पूजायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति षष्ठः अतिक्रमणे चकारात् पूजायां च कर्म प्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

95. The word ati in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma-pravachaniya.

The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाच् from the last. As अतिवित्तमेवा भवता. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, अतिस्तुतमिव भवता so also अतिस्तुतं भवता excellently praised by your honor. अति वित्तं भवता.

अपिः पदार्थ संभावनाऽन्ववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥
अपिः, पदार्थ-संभावन-अन्ववसर्ग-गर्हा-समुच्चयेषु (कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदार्थ संभावने ऽन्ववसर्गे गर्हायां समुच्चये च वर्तमानः अपिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

96. The word api is karma-pravachaniya, when it implies, the sense of word understood ('somewhat') or possibility (e. g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').

The word पदार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् there may be perhaps a drop of ghee सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात्. Here some word like vindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little' mâtṛā 'a measure &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन means possibility, a supposition. As, अपि सिंचेत् बलकसहस्रं क्षणेनैकेन possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; अपि स्तुयाद् राजानं he may praise possibly, a king. In the above cases it is used with the potential mood. अन्वसर्ग means indifference on the part of the speaker where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अपि सिंच you may sprinkle if you like. अपि स्तुहि you may praise if you like. The word गर्हा means censure, contempt or reproof. As धिग्जालनं देवदत्तमपि सिंचेत् पलायडुम्. The word समुच्चय means cumulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिंच praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the च into ष.

अचिरीश्वरे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिः, ईश्वरे । (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरः स्वामी सच स्वमपेक्षतः । तदयं स्वस्वामि संवन्धः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

97. The word adhi is karmapravachanīya when used in the sense of "lord" ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word adhi governs a Locative case. Sometimes locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अधि ब्रह्म दत्ते पंचालाः or अधि पंचालेषु ब्रह्म दत्तः. Brahmadata rules over Panchâlas.

विभाषा कृञि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृञि कर्मप्र० अधिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिः करोती विभाषा कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

98. The word adhi is optionally karma pravachanīya when the verb kri follows.

As यदत्र नामधि करिष्यति. Here the word अधि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मप्रवचनीय. When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71 ; otherwise not.

लः परस्मैपदम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लः, परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लादेशाः परस्मैपदसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

99. The substitutes of ल are called parasmaipada.

The word लः is in the genitive case, and means 'of ल.' The word लादेश 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term ल is a generic word for verb in general, *viz.*, लट्, लिट्, लृट्, लृट्, लेट्, लोट्, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्. The substitutes of ल are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following.

PARASMAIPADA.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st Pers.	निप्	वस्	वस्
2nd Pers.	सिप्	यस्	य
3rd Pers.	तिप्	तस्	फि

And the affixes णट् and क्खु (III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78).

तडानावात्मनेपदम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ तङ्-आनौ आत्मनेपदम्,
(लः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेषु परस्मै पदसंज्ञायां प्राप्तायां तडानयोरात्मनेपदसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

100. The nine affixes comprised under the Pratyāhara tañ and the two ending in ān (Sānach and Kānach), which are substitutes of ल are called Atmanepada.

The following are the Atmanepada affixes :—

	Sing.	Dual	Plural.
1st	इट्	वहि	महिङ्
2nd	यास्	आयास्	ध्वस्
3rd	त	आताम्	फ

And the affixes णामच् and कानच् (III. 2. 106)

तिङ्स्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथम मध्यमोत्तमाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥

तिङः, त्रीणि, त्रीणि, प्रथम, मध्यम, उत्तमाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङोऽष्टादश प्रत्ययाः नव परस्मैपद संबन्धाः नवात्मनेपदसंबन्धाः तत्र परस्मैपदेव त्रयस्त्रिकाः यथाक्रमम् प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति । आत्मनेपदेऽपि त्रयस्त्रिकाः प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

101. The three triads in both the sets Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, of conjugational affixes (comprised under the general name *tiñ*, a *pratyâhâra* formed of the first and last of them, *viz.*, *tip* and *mahiñ*) are called, in order, Lowest (3rd person of European Grammar,) the middle (2nd person), and the highest (1st person).

Of the 19 conjugational affixes, above given ; 9 are Parasmaipada and 9 are Atmanepadi. Each of these two classes is subdivided into three classes, according to person, as shown in the above list.

तान्येकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचनान्येकशः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तानि ,
एकवचन-द्विवचन-बहुवचनानि एकशः, (त्रीणि २) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तान्येकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति एकशः एकैकं पदम् ॥

102. These three triads of conjugational affixes, which have received the names of Lowest &c, are called (as regard the three expressions in each triad) severally " the expression for one" (singular) " the expression for two" (dual), and " the expression for many" (plural).

Of the six triads thus formed, each is divided according to number into three classes, *viz.*, singular, dual, and plural.

सुपः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, (त्रीणि २ एकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचनानि एकशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपश्च त्रीणि त्रीणि पदानि एकश एकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

103. Of *sup* (which is a *Pratyâhâra* formed of *su* the first of the case affixes and the final *p* of the last of them) the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

The sup or the case-affixes by which nouns are declined are 21 in number corresponding to the seven cases, see sūtra IV. 1. 2. They also have three numbers singular, dual and plural.

विभक्तिश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभक्तिः, च, (त्रीणि २ सुपः तिङ्;) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रीणि त्रीणि विभक्ति संज्ञाश्च भवन्ति सुपश्चिङ्श्च ॥

104. The traids of conjugational affixes and case affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सप्तमी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i.e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि सध्यमः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदि, उपपदे, समान-अधिकरणे, स्थानिनि, अपि, सध्यमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्युपपदे सति व्यवहिते चाव्यवहिते सति समानाधिकरणे समानाभिधेये तुल्यकारके स्थानिनि प्रयुज्यमानेऽप्यप्रयुज्यमानेऽपि सध्यम पुरुषो भवति ॥

105. When the pronoun yushmad, "thou" understood, and also when the same expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the middle (2nd person).

This defines the 2nd person of conjugational affixes. As त्वं पचसि thou cookest or पचसि; यूवां पचथः or पचथः you two are cooking; यूयं पचथ or पचथ you cook.

प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहासे, च, मन्य-उपपदे, मन्यतेः, उत्तमः, एकवत्, च, (सध्यमः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रहासे गम्यमाने मन्योपपदे धातो र्मध्यमपुरुषो भवति, मन्यतेरुत्तमः स चैक वद्वयति ॥

106. When joke is implied with reference to an action, the verb denoting it is used in the 2nd person; provided that the word manya 'to think' is the attendant word (upapada) of such verb, and of the verb manya itself, the affix must be of the 1st person and singular number.

The word प्रहास means joke, sport. As एवं मन्ये ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे इति; नहि भोक्ष्यसे, उक्तः सोऽतिथिभिः. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि नहि यास्यसि, यातस्तेन ते पिता. I think thou wilt go by the chariot, no, thou wilt not, thy father has gone before thee on it. When joke is not intended, the proper persons should be used: as, एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

अस्मद्युत्तमः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदि, उत्तमः, (उपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मद्युत्तमः उपपदे समानाधिकरणे प्रयुज्यमाने व्यप्रयुज्यमाने ऽपि उत्तमपुरुषो भवति ॥

107. When the pronoun asmad "I," understood and also when expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the Highest or the 1st person.

This is clear. As अहं पचामि I cook, or merely पचामि-आवां पचावः or merely पचावः.

शेषे प्रथमः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे प्रथमः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ वज्र युष्मदस्मदी समानाधिकरणे उपपदेन स्तः तत्रशेषे प्रथमपुरुषो भवति ॥

108. In the other cases, namely where, "thou" or "I" are not the attendant words in agreement with the verb, there is the verbal termination called the Lowest (or 3rd person).

As पचति he cooks, पचतः they two cook. पचन्ति they cook.

परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः संनिकर्षः संहिता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परो यः संनिकर्षो वर्णानां नर्द्धमात्राकालव्यवधानं स संहितासंज्ञो भवति ॥

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a mâtṛā or prosodial length between them, is called contact or sanhitā.

When words are in sanhitā, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As ददुपन्न = दधि + अन्न.

विरामो ऽवसानम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विरामः अवसानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विरति विरामः । विरज्यते ऽनेनेति वा विरामः । वाऽवसानं चो नवति ॥

110. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasâna.

The word avasâna occurs in sūtra VIII. 3. 15 &c.



ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

समर्थः पदविधिः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थः , पद-विधिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयम् , यः कश्चिदिह शास्त्रे पदविधिः श्रूयते स समर्थो वेदितव्यः ॥

1. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

1. This is a paribhâshâ or interpreting aphorism. Whereever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि. The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धाञ्; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि. What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (पराङ्मवद् भाव).

The word समर्थ means capable; that is to say, that which is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence on analysis, is called समर्थ; or the word समर्थ may mean that which depends upon words as connected in sense; that is to say, a rule relating to words whose senses are connected together.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words श्रित , अतीत &c. and forms tatpurusha compound;' as, कष्टं श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense there can be no compounding; as, पर्य देवदत्त कष्टं, श्रितो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and श्रितं though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ.

Similarly, it will be taught in sūtra 30 'a word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes that the quality of which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the 3rd case-affix and with the word अर्थ 'wealth;' as, शंकुलया + खण्डः = शंकुलखण्डः 'a piece cut by nippers.' Here also when the words are not connected in sense there is no composition; as, करिष्यसि शंकुलया, खण्डो देवदत्त उपलेन 'thou shalt do it with the nippers, Devadatta is cut by the stones.'

Similarly, sūtra 36 declares, 'a word ending with the 4th case-affix, is compounded optionally with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words अर्थ, बलि &c.'

Thus यूपाय + दारु = यूपदारु 'wood for a stake.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं यूपाय, दारु देवदत्तस्य गृहे 'go thou for the stake, the wood is in Devadatta's house.'

Similarly, sūtra 37 declares 'a word ending with the 5th case-affix may be compounded with the word भय; as, वृकभ्यो + भयं = वृकभयं 'fear by reason of a wolf.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं मां वृकभ्यो, भयं देवदत्तस्य यज्ञदत्तात् 'come thou to me from the wolves, there is fear to Devadatta from Yajñadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra II. 2. 8 declares 'a word ending with the 6th case-affix is optionally compounded with what ends with a case-affix;' as, राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man.' But when the words are not समर्थ, there is no composition: as भाग्या राज्ञः, पुरुषो देवदत्तस्य 'the wife of the king, the man of Devadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra 40 declares. 'A word ending with the 7th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word शौण्ड 'skilled;' as, अक्षेभु शौण्डः = अज्ञशौण्डः 'skilled in dice.' But when the words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, शक्तस्वमक्षेभु, शौण्डः पिवति पानागारे 'thou art skilled in dice, the gambler drinks in the tavern.'

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि i. e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि; and therefore the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply here. Two words however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra यण्, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra अच् immediately follows;' as, दधि + अशान = दध्याशान. This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as

तिष्ठतु दध्यशान त्वं शाकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छत्र, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

सुबानन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, आनन्त्रिते,
पर-अङ्गवत्, स्वरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तमामन्त्रिते परतः परस्याङ्गवत् भवति, स्वरे, स्वरलक्षणे कर्तव्ये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबन्तस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे समानाधिकरणस्योपसंख्यानमनन्तरत्वात् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

2. A word ending in sup or a case affix, when followed by a word in the vocative case, is regarded as if it was the aṅga or component part of such subsequent vocative word, when a rule relating to accent is to be applied.

In other words, the word ending in a case-affix enters, as if, into the body of the vocative (āmantrita) word; as it will be taught in sūtra VI. 1. 198 which declares 'a word ending in a vocative case-affix, gets the udātta accent on the beginning i.e., first syllable.' Now, this rule will apply even when a word ending with a case-affix precedes such word in the vocative case. Thus the word पती 'O two lords!' has udātta on the first syllable. Now, when this word is preceded by another inflected noun as शुभम् 'of prosperity,' the accent will fall on शु, the two words being considered as a single word; as:—अश्विना यज्वरीरिषो ब्रवन् पाणी शुभस्पती ॥ पुरुभुजा चनस्यतम् ॥ Rig. I. 3. 1. 'O Asvins, riding on quick horses, lords of prosperity, and bestowers of plenty of food, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction.' So also in the following:—कुण्डे नाटन् 'O thou wandering with a bowl. परशुना वृश्नन् 'O thou cutting with an axe.' मद्राणां राजन् 'O thou king of Madras.' कश्मीराणाम् राजन् 'O thou king of Kashmir.'

Why do we say 'a word ending with a case-affix?' If the preceding word ends with any other affix than a case-affix, this rule will not apply. As पीड्ये पीड्यमान 'O thou who art pained, I am pained because of this thy pain.'

Here पीड्ये 'being a तिङन्त (a verb)' is not considered as an aṅga of the vocative word.

Why do we say 'when followed by a word in the vocative case?' This rule will not apply when the subsequent word is not a vocative. As गेहे गार्ग्यः 'Gārga is at home.'

Why do we say 'of the subsequent?' It will not be a part of the vocative word which precedes. As देवदत्त कुण्डे'नाटन् 'O Devadatta wandering with a bowl.' Here कुण्डेन has not become part of Devadatta, but of the subsequent word अटन् .

Why do we say 'an aṅga or component part?' Both must be considered as one word for the application of the rule of accent, so that the first syllable of each word separately may not get the udātta.

Why do we say 'as if or वन्.' It is not altogether the body of the subsequent word; rules depending upon its own separate independent existence also take effect.

Thus rule VIII. 1. 55 declares 'a word ending in the vocative case is not anudātta when it follows the word आम् there intervening a word between itself and आम्; as, आम् कुण्डेनाटन्! Here kundaṇa is considered a separate word for the purposes of Rule VIII. 1. 55 and is said to intervene between आम् and the vocative word अटन् .

Why do we say 'for the purposes of the application of rule of accent?' For the purposes of the application of any other rule, it will not be the aṅga of the subsequent word; as, कूपे सिंचन् 'O thou sprinkling in the well.' चर्म नमन्. Here had कूपे and चर्म been the aṅgas of the subsequent words for all purposes, their स and न would have been changed into ष and ण respectively by Rules VII. 4. 2 &c.

Vart:—When a word ending in a case-affix becomes, as if, the component part of the subsequent word, it becomes so even when there are several words in apposition with it which intervene between it and the vocative word; because that, of itself, does not constitute want of immediateness. Thus तीक्ष्णया सूच्या सीव्यन् 'O thou sewing with a sharp needle' तीक्ष्णेन परशुना वृश्चन् .

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of indeclinable words. As सच्चैरधीयान 'O thou reading loudly.' नीचैरधीयान .

प्राक्कडारात्समासः ॥ ३ ॥ यदानी ॥ प्राक्, कडारात्, समासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारसंशब्दनात् प्राग् यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम स्ते समाससंज्ञा वेदितव्याः ॥

3. From this point up to the aphorism kaḍa-rakarmadhâraye (II. 2. 38), all the terms that we shall say describe will get the designation of samâsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word **यया** when not meaning like unto.' Here the word **समास** must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. In fact this chapter and the second chapter treat of compounds and therefore the word compound must be read in all those aphorisms.

The word **prāk** is employed for the same purpose as it was used in I. 4. 56 that is to give the designation of **समास** to various technical terms like **अन्यथीभाव** &c. which otherwise would not have got the name of **समास**.

सह सुपा ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह , सुपा (सुप् समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबिति सहेति सुपेति च त्रयमप्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् यदित ऊर्ध्वं मनुक्रमिष्याम स्तत्रेह सुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

4. The words 'saha supâ' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word **सुप्** is understood from sūtra 2, so that it consists of three words *viz.*, **सुप्, सह, सुपा**. All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sūtra may require. This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word **सह**? Well, without it the sūtra would have stood thus: **सुप् सुपा** 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word **सह** is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely:—

(1). **सह , सुप् , समस्यते समर्थेन** 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word **सह** with the help of the three words **सुप्** taken from sūtra 2, **समस्यते** from sūtra 3, and **समर्थेन** from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like **अनुव्यचलन् अनुप्रावर्षत**. The accent will depend upon these being considered as **samâsa**.

(2). **सुपा सह सुप् समस्यते** a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word. The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, **पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासी वेयं पुनर्निष्ठतो स्थः**. This also is for the sake of accents.

अव्ययी भावश्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः , च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानित ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो ऽव्ययीभावसंज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

5. From this forward whatever we shall describe will get the name of Avyayîbhâva samâsa or adverbial compound.

This is also an adhikâra aphorism like the last. As far as sūtra 21, the compounds treated of, will get the designation of Avyayîbhâva. The word अव्ययीभाव like the word कर्मप्रवचनीय is a self-descriptive term, and not an arbitrary term like ढि , धि &c. When that which was not an indeclinable becomes an indeclinable, it is called अव्ययीभाव or 'becoming an indeclinable.' In the Avyayîbhâva compound the sense of the first of its elements is the main one or the independent one on which the other depends.

अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यूहयथाभावात्थयासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भाव
पश्चाद्यथानुपूर्वयौगपद्यसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥
अव्ययम्, विभक्ति-समीप-समृद्धि-व्यूह-अर्थाभाव-अत्यय-असंप्रति-शब्दप्रादुर्भाव-
पश्चाद्-यथा-आनुपूर्व-यौगपद्य-सादृश्य-सम्पत्ति-साकल्य-अन्त-वचनेषु, (सुप सुपा
अव्ययीभावः समासः) (समर्थः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्त्यादिष्वयेषु यदव्ययं वर्तते तत् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते अव्ययीभाव
श्च समासो भवति ॥

6. An indeclinable (avaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity, or adversity, or absence of the thing, or departure, or not now, or the production of some sound, or after, or according to, or order of arrangement, or simultaneousness, or likeness, or possession, or totality, or termination, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

The words सुप् and सुपा are understood in this sūtra. The word वचन should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases.

1. विभक्तिवचन;—As अधिस्त्रि कथा वर्तते 'a story relating to women.'
अधिकुमारि 'relating to a girl.'
2. समीपवचन;—As उपकुम्भम् 'near to the jar.' उपमणिकं 'near to the gem.'
3. समृद्धिवचन;—As सुमद्रं 'well or prosperous with the Madras';
सुमगधं 'well with the Magadh.'
4. व्यूद्धिवचन;—As दुर्गवादिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas,' दुर्यवनं 'ill with the Yavanas.'
5. अभाववचन;—As निर्मलिकम् 'free from flies,' निर्मशकं 'free from mosquitoes.'
6. अत्ययवचन;—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather';
निःशीतं .
7. असम्प्रतिवचन;—As अतितैसृकम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts.'
8. शब्दप्रादुर्भाववचन;—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे
इति इति वर्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').
9. पश्चाद्वचन;—As अनुरथं पादातम् 'the infantry after the chariots.'
10. यथार्थवचन;—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz. corres-
pondence, severality or succession, the not passing beyond something, and
likeness; thus (1) अनुरूपम् 'in a corresponding manner.' (2) प्रत्यर्थम् 'according
to each or several object or signification.' (3) यथाशक्ति 'according to one's
ability.'
11. आनुपूर्व्यवचन;—As अनुज्येष्ठं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter
in the order of seniority.'
12. यौगपद्यवचन;—As सचक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel.'
13. सादृश्यवचन;—As ससखि 'like a friend.'
14. संपत्तिवचन;—As सक्षत्रम् 'as warriors ought.'
15. साकल्यवचन;—As सदृणम् 'even to the grass' i.e. the whole,
not leaving even a scrap.
16. अन्तवचन;—As साम्नि as far as the chapter of fire (i.e. the whole
Veda).

यथा ऽसादृश्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा , असादृश्ये , (समर्थः सुप्
सुपा अव्य०भा०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथेत्येतदव्ययमसादृश्ये वर्तमानं सुपा सह समस्यते, ऽव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति॥

7. The indeclinable word yathâ when it does
not signify 'likeness' is invariably compounded with a

word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it and the compound is called an Avyayîbhâva Samâsa.

Thus यथावृद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयस्व invite every old Brahmana. So also यथाध्यापकम् .

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As यथादेवदत्तस्तथा यत्तदन्तः As is Deva-datta so is Yajñadatta.

This samâsa could have been included in the last sūtra clause 10, but making a separate sūtra shows that the word यथार्थवचन there, must be limited by the present sūtra, to first three meanings of the word यथा given there and not to its fourth meaning. *viz.* there is no compounding when it means likeness.

यावदवधारणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावद्, अवधारणे, (संशुपा अवयवभासमास) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्विद्येतद्व्ययमवधारणे वर्तमानं सुपा सह समस्यते अवयवीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

8. The indeclinable word yâvat when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

The word अवधारण means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, यावद् मत्रं ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयस्व 'invite so many Brâhmanas only and not more as there are pots': *i.e.*, if there are five pots then invite five Brâhmanas ; if six pots, then invite six Brâhmanas.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe यावदन्तं तावद् भुक्तम् 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' *i.e.* I donot know for certainty how much I have eaten.

सुप्प्रतिनामात्रार्थे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, प्रतिना, मात्रा-अर्थे, (अवयवभासमाससह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रार्थे वर्तमानेन प्रतिना सह सुबन्तं समस्यते अवयवीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

9. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word prati, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called Avyayîbhâva.

The word **नात्रा** means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit;' as, **शाकप्रति** 'a little of vegetable,' **सूपप्रति** 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe **वृक्षं प्रति विद्यीतते विद्युत्** 'it lightens in the direction of the tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Though the word **sup** was, by anuvṛitti from sūtra 2, understood in this sūtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the word **अव्यय** which began with sūtra 6 does not extend further into the subsequent sūtras.

The word **प्रतिना** being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an upasarjana (I. 2. 43) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30).

अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्ष-शलाका-संख्याः, परिणा , (अ०स०सह) ॥

अक्षशब्दः शलाकाशब्दः संख्याशब्दश्च परिणा सह समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

10. The words **aksha**, 'a die for playing with,' **salākā** 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and **saṅkshyā** 'numerals' are compounded with the word **pari**, and the compound formed is called **Avyayībhāva**.

This **समास** is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called **panchikā** which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned down, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses. Thus **अक्षपरि** 'an unlucky throw of dice,' **शलाकापरि**, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also **एकपरि** 'an unlucky throw by one over' **द्विपरि**, **त्रिपरि** and lastly **चतुःपरि**. This is the maximum. But when five are of one form, then of course, he wins.

विभाषा ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यद्विंश ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

11. The word **vibhāṣhā** or option governs all succeeding sūtras.

This is an **adhikāra sūtra**. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before. Compounds like **सुमद्रं**, **यथावृद्धं**, **अक्षपरि** &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (**नित्य समास**), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of

the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

**अपपरिवहिरञ्चः पञ्चम्या ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप-परि-वहिः-
अञ्चः, पञ्चम्या (स०अ० सह० वि०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परि वहिस् अञ्च इत्येते सुबन्ताः पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यन्ते अव्ययी-
भावश्च समासो भवति ॥

12. The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahih* and indeclinables ending in *añchu* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayībhāva*.

As *अत्रिगर्तम् वृष्टो देवः* or *अत्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः* 'it rained away from Trigarta. So also, *परित्रिगर्तम्* or *परित्रिगर्तेभ्यः* 'round about Trigarta,' *वहिर्ग्रामम्* or *वहिर्ग्रामात्* 'outside the village' *प्राग् ग्रामम्* or *प्राग् ग्रामात्* 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb *अञ्चु* 'to go,' are *उदञ्च* 'north' *प्राञ्च* 'east,' &c.

From this sūtra we learn by inference (*jñāpak*) that the word *वहिः* also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29).

**आङ् सूर्यादाभिविध्योः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, सूर्यादा-अभि-
विध्योः, (स०अ०वि०पञ्चम्या सह) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आङित्येतन्मूर्यादायामभिविध्यौ च वर्तमानं पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते,
अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

13. The word *āñ* when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

As, *आपाटलिपुत्रं* or *आपाटलिपुत्रात् वृष्टो देवः* 'it rained up to Pātaliputra.' *आकुमारं* or *आकुमारेभ्यो यशः पाणिनेः* 'the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the boys.'

**लक्षणेनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणेन, अभि-
प्रती, आभिमुख्ये, (स०अ०वि०सु०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणं चिन्हं तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सहाभिप्रतीशब्दावाभिमुख्ये वर्तमानौ विभाषा
समस्येते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

14. The words *abhi* and *prati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the

goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

The word lakshana means a sign goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 for a further explanation of this word. As अभ्यग्नि or अग्निमभि शलभाः पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रत्यग्नि or अग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aims (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

Why do we say 'when meaning lakshana'? Observe सुग्नं प्रति गतः 'he turned back and went towards Srughna i.e., having turned back he went only towards the direction of Srughna but not to that place itself.

Why do we say the words abhi and prati? Observe येनाग्निस्तेन गतः 'he went in the direction of the fire.'

Why do we say 'when meaning direction towards'? Observe अभ्यङ्गा गावः or प्रत्यङ्गागावः 'the recently marked cows.'

अनुर्यत्समया ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः, यत्-समया, (स०वि०अ०-स० लक्षणेन) ३

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्य समीपवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

15. The word anu 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

As, अनुवनमशनिर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Why do we say अनु? Observe वनं समया 'near the forest.'

Why do we say 'when compounded with the word, nearness to which is indicated'? Observe वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens towards the tree.'

Though this compounding was valid even by sūtra 6, because nearness is mentioned there also; it is repeated here in order to show that an Avyayîbhâva compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

यस्य चायासः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, आयासः, (स०-अ०वि०स० लक्षणेन अनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्यायामवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

16. The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayîbhâva*.

As, अनुगंगं वाराणसी 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' अनुयमुनं मथुरा 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

Why do we say 'length'? Observe वृत्तमनु विद्योतते विद्युत् .

तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि ;
च (अव्ययीभावस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठद्गुवाक्यः समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि अव्ययी-
भावसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

17. And the words *tishṭhadgu*, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are *Avyayîbhâva* compounds.

The words *तिष्ठद्गु* &c. are all irregularly formed *Avyayîbhâva* compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of *च* in the *sûtra* is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the *Avyayîbhâva* compound and nothing else. They are as follow:—

तिष्ठद्गु, वहद्गु, आयतीगवम्, खलेयवम्, खलेबुसम्, लूनयवम्, लूयमान-
यवम्, पूतयवम्, पूयमानयवम्, संहूतयवम्, संहियमाणयवम्, संहूतबुसम्, संहियमाण-
बुसम्, समभूमि, समपदाति, सुषमम्, विषमम्, दुष्पमम्, निष्पमम्, अपरसमम्, आय-
तीसमम्, प्राह्णम्, प्ररथम्, प्रमृगम्, प्रवृत्तिणम्, अवरदक्षिणम्, संप्रति, असंप्रति,
पापसमम्, पुण्यसमम्, इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे V. 4. 127. *e. g.* कचाकचि ॥

पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारे, मध्यं, षष्ठ्या,
वा (स०अ०वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारमध्यशब्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

18. The words *pâra* 'across,' and *madhya* 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms *pâre* and *madhye*, and the compound so formed is *Avyayîbhâva*.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpurusha compounds. The present *sûtra* ordains *Avyayîbhâva* instead. The force of

वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpuruṣa compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पारंगंगम् or गंगापारम् 'across the Ganges.' मध्येगंगम् or गंगमध्यम् 'middle of the Ganges'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. 1. 11., this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase; as पारं गंगायाः or मध्यं गंगायाः .

संख्या वंशेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वंशेन, (स०वि०अ०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वंशे भवः वंश्यः, तद्वाचिना सुवन्तेन सह संख्या समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

The word वंश means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source whether through birth or knowledge. A succession of teachers and pupils, of ancestors and descendants &c., would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As, द्विमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders viz., Pāṇini and Patanjali. So, त्रिमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives viz. Pāṇini, Patanjali and Sakatāyana or Kātyāyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case : as द्विमुनि or त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम्

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् Twenty-one Bhāradwājas. These a subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

नदीभिश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ नदीभिः, च, (स०अ०वि०संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीवचनैः शब्दैः सह संख्या समस्यते, अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

20. A numeral (saṅkhyā) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva denoting an aggregate.

According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार); as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्विमुनं 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās, पञ्चनदं 'where the five rivers meet,' सप्तगोदावरम् 'where seven Godavaris' meet. See II. 4. 1, 17.

अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यपदार्थे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (स०अ०वि०नदीभिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीभिः सह सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्तमानं संज्ञायां विषये समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avyayîbhâva.

The anuvritti of the word saṅkhyâ does not extend to this sūtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samâsa rule: for no Name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्नत्तगङ्गा 'the country called Unmatta Ganges.' So also लोहितगङ्गम्, कृष्णगङ्गम्; शनैर्गङ्गम् II. 4. 18.

Why do we say 'when it denotes a thing other than that expressed by the component parts of the compound'? Observe कृष्णदेव the 'river Krishnadeva.'

Why do we say 'when it expresses an Appellative'? Observe शीघ्रगङ्गो देशः 'the country where the Ganges moves rapidly.'

तत्पुरुषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुष इति संज्ञाधिक्रियते प्राग्बहुव्रीहे, यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

22. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, the word Tat-purusha is the governing word, and is understood in all the following sūtras.

From this sūtra as far as the sūtra II. 2. 23 relating to Bahuvrîhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sūtra. This big term is of older coinage than that of Pāṇini, being, in fact, made by older grammarians. In the Tat-purusha compound, the sense of the last of its elements is the main one, and governs the preceding one. The Karma-dhâraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds. The rest of this chapter and 22 sūtras of the second, deal with this.

द्विगुश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः, च, (तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुश्च समासस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञो भवति ॥

23. And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha.

The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra; as sūtra 52 of this chapter already defines Dwigu. Thus पञ्चराज V. 4. 91 fem. पञ्चराजी (IV. I. 15, 21), 'an aggregate of 5 princes' द्वयहः V. 4. 89, पञ्चगवम् 'an aggregate of 5 cows.' दशगवम् 'an aggregate of ten cows.' V. 4. 92.

द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥
द्वितीया श्रित-अतीत-पतित-गत-अत्यस्त-प्राप्त-आपन्नैः, (सुसुपा०स०वि०सह-तत्पुरुष) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्तं सुबन्तं श्रितादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रितादिषुगमिगान्यादीनां मुपसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atīta 'gone by' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prāpta 'who has obtained,' and āpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As कष्ट + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'who has had recourse to trouble.' नरकश्रितः, So also :—क्रान्तारातीतः 'who has passed over the dreary forest.' नरकपतितः 'fallen into hell.' ग्रामगतः 'gone to village.' तरंगात्यस्तः 'passed the waves.' सुखप्राप्तः 'who has reached pleasure.' सुखापन्नः 'who has obtained happiness.'

Vart:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As ग्रामगामी, ग्रामगामी; ओदण बुभुक्षुः.

स्वयं क्तेन ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वयम्, क्तेन, (स०वि०त०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वयमित्येतत्सुबन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. The indeclinable word swayam 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया from the last aphorism into this, cannot take place; though, however, it is understood in the next sūtra. The word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं धौतौ पद्मौ 'feet washed by himself' स्वयं विलीनमाड्यम्.

In this compounding, the two words do not appear to have undergone any change after their composition. They are the same as they were before the composition. But by calling their juxtaposition, 'a compound,'

two indirect advantages are gained. Namely these two words are regarded as one word, and their accent is also similarly regulated. See Rule VI. I. 223.

The words ending in *kta* which is a *Nishthā* affix, are past participles.

खट्वा क्षेपे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खट्वा, क्षेपे, (संवि०त०क्तनस०)
(द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खट्वाशब्दो द्वितीयान्तः क्तान्तेन सह क्षेपे गम्यमाने समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

26. The word *khatwâ* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when censure is implied, and the compound so formed is *Tat-purusha*.

The word *क्षप* means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word as a whole and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a *Nitya Compound*, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to *Optional Compounds*:—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

As *खट्वारूढः* or *खट्वाहुतः* (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

There is no compounding when 'censure is not meant. As *खट्वामारूढः* 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts:—a person under the *Aryan* social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his *Brahmachârya* i.e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All *Brahmachâris* were bound to sleep on ground and not on *खट्वा* or cots, so long as they were *Brahmachâris*. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, *खट्वारूढः* 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

सामि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामि, (संवि०त०सह क्तन)
(द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ 'सामीत्येतद्व्ययमर्द्धशब्दपर्यायस्तस्य सन्त्ववाचित्वाद् द्वितीयया नास्ति संबन्धः तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. The indeclinable word *sâmi* meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

The word *सामि* being an *avyaya*, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore the *anuvṛitti* of the word *द्वितीया* would be inapposite in this aphorism.

As *सामिकृतम्* 'half-done.' *सामिरीतम्* 'half-drunk' *सामिभुक्तम्* 'half-eaten.'

The object attained by this *saṃāsa* is the same as in II. 1. 25, namely making them one word and taking one accent.

कालाः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, (स०वि०त०स०द्वितीययाक्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word *कालाः* does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by *Sūtra* I. 1. 68, the word-form *काल* but special words denoting *काल*.

As *मासप्रमितश्चन्द्रमाः* 'the new moon,' (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month). Similarly *अहस्संक्रान्ताः*, *रात्रिसंक्रान्ताः* applied to six *Muhurtas* (of 48 minutes each) which are called *चर* and *अचर* which sometimes occur in day time (in the summer month) and sometimes in the night (in the winter).

अत्यन्तसंयोगे च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्यन्त-संयोगे, च, (स०वि०त०स०कालाः सुपा द्वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ता अत्यन्तसंयोगे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. Words denoting time being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of complete connection throughout with the time (i.e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क्त.'

The word अत्यन्ततयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.' सर्वरात्रकल्याणी, सर्वरात्रशोभना.

तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, तत्कृत-अर्थेन, गुण-वचनेन, (स०वि०त०सु०सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयान्तं सुबन्तं गुणवचनेन अर्थशब्देन च सह समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

30. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप, सुना are understood here: and the whole of this sūtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थः provided that the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case. As शंकुलयाखण्डः शंकुलाखण्डः 'cut by nipper' किरिकाणः 'made blind of one eye by a hog' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case'? Observe अद्धा काणः 'blind of one eye.' Here अद्धा in the 3rd case is not the instrumental cause that produced blindness and hence no compounding.

Why do we say 'a word expressing quality?' Observe :—गोभिर्वपावान् 'sowing with the cows.' Here though 'sowing' is instrumentally caused by the cows, yet it does not qualify cows but the sower, and hence no compounding.

Guna-vachanas are those words which, not being words formed by primary or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of saṅkhyā, or sarvanāma, or jāti, or compound words, are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives.

पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥

पूर्व-सदृश-सम-ऊनार्थ-कलह-निपुण-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्णैः, (स०वि०त०तृतीयास०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व सदृश सम ऊनार्थ कलह निपुण मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण एतैः सह तृतीयान्तं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वादिष्ववरस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

31. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words *pûrva* 'prior,' *sadriśa* 'like,' *sama* 'similar,' *ûnârtha* 'words having the sense of less,' *kalaha* 'quarrel,' *nipûna* 'proficient,' *miśra* 'mixed,' and *slakshna* 'polished sleek' and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

From this *sûtra*, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' संवत्सरपूर्वः 'prior by a year,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसदृशः 'like the father,' मातृसमः 'similar to the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' माषोनम्, माषविकलं 'less by a *māshā*,' असिकलहः 'a fight with the swords,' वाक्कलहः 'bandying words,' वाङ्निपुणः 'proficient in speech,' आचार नियुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' तिलनिभः—गुड़निभः 'mixed with sesamum or juggery' आचारस्लक्ष्णः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart :—The word अवर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month.'

कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणे ; कृता बहुलम्, (४० वि० त० तृती० स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि करणे च या तृतीया तदन्तं कृदन्तेन सह समस्यते बहुलं, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

32. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a *krit* affix; and the compound so formed is called *Tat-purusha*.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions. As अहिनाहतः = अहिहतः 'killed by the snake' नखनिर्भिन्नः 'divided by the nails,' परशुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe.'

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent or the instrument'? Observe भिक्षाभिहृतः 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that mentioned in *sûtra* II. 3. 21 and not that of II. 3. 18.'

Why do we say 'diversely'? Observe हस्तेण जूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle.' परशुनाच्छिन्नवान् 'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is compounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—as पादहारकः and गजो चोपकः.

कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः , अधिक-अर्थ-वचने ,
(स०वि०त०कर्तृकरणेत्०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकरणयोर्या तृतीया तदन्तं सुबन्तं कृत्यैः सह समस्यते अधिकार्थवचने
गम्यमाने विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्यग्रहणे यत्प्यतोर्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

33. A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally with a word ending in a kṛitya affix, when an exaggerated statement (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As काकपेयानदी 'a shallow river' (so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink). श्वलेहः कुपः 'a shallow well' (so that a dog can lick water from the brink of it). वाष्पच्छेद्यानि दृणानि 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by vapour) कण्टकसंचेय ओदनः .

This sūtra is in a way a prolongation of the last.

Vart:—The phrase 'words ending in a kṛitya affix' must not be taken universally, only the kṛitya affixes यत् and एयत् are meant in the above sūtras. The following are the kṛitya affixes:—तव्य, अनीय, यत्, क्यप्, एयत्, (see sūtra III. I. 95-132). Therefore there is no compounding when the word ends in तव्य as in काकैः पातव्या .

अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नेन, व्यञ्जनम्, (स०वि०त०-
त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ्जनवाचि तृतीयान्तमन्त्रवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥

34. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a condiment, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying food, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन ; as दध्मोदनः = दध्ना उपसिक्त ओदनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' So also क्षीरोदनः . The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood,

भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ष्येण , मिश्री-करणम्
(संवि०त०तृ०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिश्रीकरणवाचि तृतीयान्तं भक्ष्यवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

35. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a relish giving or refining ingredient, is compounded with a word meaning, victuals, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य; its refinement is called मिश्रीकरणं. As गुडधाना; 'barley prepared with juggery;' गुडपृथुका: 'flattened parched rice prepared with juggery.'

The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी ,
तदर्थ-अर्थ-बलि-हित-सुख-रक्षितैः (संवि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदर्थं अर्थं बलि हित सुख रक्षित इत्येतैः सह चतुर्थ्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अर्थेन निरयसमासवचनं सर्वलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

36. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix and so too with the words artha 'on account of,' bali 'a sacrifice,' hita 'salutary,' sukha 'pleasure' and rakshita 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha

The words सुप , सुपा are understood in this sūtra: and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थ 'for the purpose thereof,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is by Patanjali here held to be intended. As यूपाय दारुः = यूपदारुः 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). कुण्डलहिरण्यं 'gold for ear-ring.' But not so here. रन्ध्रनाय स्थाली 'pot for cooking.' अवहननायोलूखलम् 'the wood mortar for threshing. From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose thereof.' The word तदर्थार्थ is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable thereto.' See VI. 2. 44. For accent see VI. 2. 45.

Vart :—With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies ; as, ब्राह्मणार्थम् पयः 'milk for the sake of Brahmans ;' and ब्राह्मणार्था यवागूः 'gruel for the Brahmanas.' So also कुबेरबलिः 'a sacrifice for Kuvera' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गोहितं 'what is good for cows.' अश्वहितं 'what is good for horses' गोसुखं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोरक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

पञ्चमी भयेन ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी , भयेन , (स०त०वि०सु० सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्तं सुवन्तं भयशब्देन सुवन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भयं भीतं भीतिं भीति रिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

37. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word bhaya 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As वृकोभयोभयं = वृकोभयं 'fear from wolves' चौरभयं 'fear from thieves' दस्युभयं 'fear from robbers.'

Vart :—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीः as वृकोभीतः , वृकोभीतिः , वृकोभीः .

This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra 32 and an exposition of the word बहुल there. So that we may have the following compounds also: ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village.' अधर्मं जुगुप्सुः .

अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपेत-
अपोढ-मुक्त-पतित-अपत्रस्तैः , अल्पशः , (स०वि०त०सु०पञ्चमीस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपेत अपोढ मुक्त पतित अपत्रस्त इत्येतैः सह पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥ : अल्पश इति समासस्याल्पविषयतामाचष्टे ॥

38. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words apeta 'gone away,' apodha 'carried away,' mukta 'freed,' patita 'fallen,' apatrasta, 'afraid of,' when the event takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tatpurusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः 'freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापत्रस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32.

By using the word अव्ययः 'in a gradual degree,' is shown the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following cases:—
प्रासादात् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion. भोजनादपन्नस्तः 'afraid of eating.' For here the fall &c. is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि क्तेन, ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोक-
अन्तिक-दूर-अर्थ-कृच्छ्राणि, क्तेन, (सप्तविंशसुपञ्चमीसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोक अन्तिक दूर इत्येवमर्थाः शब्दाः कृच्छ्र शब्दश्च पञ्चम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह
समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शतसहस्रौ परेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. Words with the sense of stoka 'a little,' antika 'near,' dūra 'far,' and also the word kṛichehbra 'penance,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in kta, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As स्तोकान् मुक्तः 'loosed from a little distance.'

So also अन्तिकादागतः 'come from near' अभ्याशादागतः 'come from near' दूरादागतः 'come from far,' विप्रकृष्टादागतः 'come from a distance.' कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः saved with difficulty.' कृच्छ्रान् लब्धः 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

Vart:—The words शत 'a hundred' and सहस्र 'a thousand' are similarly compounded with the word पर. As, शतात्परे = परश्शताः 'beyond a hundred.' So also परसहस्रः 'beyond a thousand.' In these examples the word शत and सहस्र being exhibited in the 1st case and thus being upasarjana ought to have stood as the first member of the compound (II. 2. 30); But these compounds are supposed to fall under the class of राजदन्त &c., (II. 2. 31) and hence the upasarjana stands as the second member of the compound. Irregularly is also the augment स (सु) interposed between these two words.

सप्तमी शौण्डैः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, शौण्डैः (सप्त-
विंशसुपञ्चमीसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं शौण्डादिभिः सह समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

40. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words śaunda 'skilled' &c. and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word शौण्डै: in the sūtra being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with saundā.

As, अक्षेष् शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice' अक्षधूर्तः 'cunning in dice' अक्षकितवः 'a gamester in dice.'

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words:—1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त, 3 कितव, 4 व्याड, 5 प्रवीण, 6 संवीत, 7 अन्तर when meaning place, 8 अधि, 9 पटु, (or अधिपटु), 10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 चपल, 13 निपुण, 14 संन्याड, 15 भन्ध, and 16 समीर.

सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धैश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व-बन्धैः,
च, (स०त०वि०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व बन्धै इत्येतैः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

41. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words siddha 'perfected,' śushka 'dried,' pakva 'cooked' and bandha 'bound,' and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सांकाश्यसिद्धः 'perfect in sânkâśya.' काम्पिन्यसिद्धः 'perfect in Kâmpilya.' आतपशुष्कः 'dried in the sun.' छायाशुष्कः 'dried in the shade.' स्थालीपक्वः 'cooked in pot.' कुम्भी पक्वः 'cooked in an earthen jar.' चक्रबन्धः 'bound on the wheel. For their accent see VI. 2. 32.

These are also further illustrations of the word बहुल in sūtra 32.

ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे, (स०त०वि०-
सु०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, क्षेपे गम्यमाने ॥

42. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the word dhvânksha, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, तीर्थध्वाङ्क्षः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' i.e., a very greedy person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long, any where, so a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाकः or a तीर्थवायसः.

When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as, तीर्थध्वाङ्क्ष-
स्तिष्ठति 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

कृत्यैर्ऋणे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, ऋणे, (स०त०-
सु०स०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य प्रत्ययान्तैः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

43. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kṛitya-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

This compound is confined to the words formed by the kṛitya affix यत् and not to every kṛitya-formed word.

As, मासदेयं 'a debt repayable within a month.' So संवत्सरदेयं 'payable within a year.' त्र्यहर्देयम् 'repayable within three days.'

By using the word कर्ण we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following cases also:—पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम 'the Sâma that should be sung in the morning.' प्रातरप्येयोऽनुवाकः 'the chapter that should be studied in the morning.'

Why do we say 'debt'? Observe मासे देया निष्ठा 'the aims that should be given each month.'

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (स०त०वि०सप्तमी
सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये सप्तम्यन्तं सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

44. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and is called Tat-purusha samâsa.

A sanjñâ is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (nitya) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; anything which does not answer to one's expectation. So also अरण्येमाषाः, वने किंशुकाः 'anything found unexpectedly.' So also वनेबिल्वकाः, कूपेपिशाचकाः.

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance to sūtra VI. 3. 9. (The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.)

क्तेनाहोरात्रावयवाः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, अहः-रात्र-अवयवाः,
(स०वि०त०सप्त०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहरवयवा रात्रवयवाश्च सप्तम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

45. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्णकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपराह्णकृतम् 'done in the afternoon.' पूर्वरात्रकृतम् 'done in the first part of the night.' अपररात्रकृतम् 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अहनि भुक्तम् 'eaten in the day' रात्रौ वृत्तम् 'occurring in the night.'

This being a continuation of sūtra II. 1. 32, we have diversely रात्रिवृत्तं and संध्यागर्जितं .

तत्र ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र , (स०वि०त०सप्त०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येतत् सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

46. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there.' तत्रकृतम् 'done there.' तत्रपीतम् 'drunk there.' By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sūtra II. 1. 25 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

क्षेपे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे , (स०वि०त०सप्त०सह क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

47. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अवततेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् 'they are as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलम् ॥

So also उदके विशीर्णम् 'dried in water,' (figuratively used for any thing unheard of or impossible.)

So also प्रवाहे मूत्रितम् (lit.) 'making water in a stream,' (fig.) 'doing a useless action.' भस्मनि हुतम् 'offered oblation in ashes,' (fig.) 'a fruitless action.'

The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.

पात्रेसंमितादयश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पात्रे , संमित-आदयः , च,
(स०त०क्षेपे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, पात्रेसंमितादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुष संज्ञा भवन्ति क्षेपे गम्यमाने ॥

48. The words like pâtre-sammita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udâtta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'युक्तारोह्यादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

The following is the list of the words:—1 पात्रेसमिताः, 2 पात्रेबहुलाः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner time). 3 उदुम्बरमशकः, 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदरकृमिः, 6 कूपकच्छाः, 7 अवटकच्छपः, 8 कूपमण्डूकः, 9 कुम्भमण्डूकः, 10 उदधानमण्डूकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरवायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिण्डीगूरः, 15 पितरिशूरः, 16 गेहेशूरः, 17 गेहनर्षीः, 18 गेहेद्वेडी, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गेहेव्याडः, 21 गेहेमेही, 22 गेहेदाही, 23 गेहेदूरः, 24 गेहेदृष्टः, 25 गर्भेदूरः, 26 आखनिरुक्कः, 27 गोष्ठेशूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेद्वेडी, 30 गोष्ठेदृष्टः, 31 गोष्ठेपण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भः, 33 कर्णेठिरिटिरा, 34 कर्णेचुरुचुरा ॥

पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन ॥ ४९ ॥
पदानि ॥ पूर्वकाल-एक-सर्व-जरत्-पुराण-नव-केवलाः समानाधिकरणेन ,
(स०वि०त०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वकाल एक सर्व जरत् पुराण नव केवल इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

49. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pûrvakâla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purâna 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुर् सुपा is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकरणं) or abiding in a common substratum.

In the present sūtra the word-form pûrva-kâla is not to be taken

(I. 1. 68) but its significates ; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it. As, स्नातानुलितः 'bathed and perfumed.' कृत्सनीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled.' वृधप्ररुद्धम् 'burnt and healed.' एकशटी 'having one petticoat.' एकभिन्ना 'begging once in a day.' सर्वदेवाः 'All gods.' सर्वमनुष्याः 'all men.' जरद्वस्ती 'old elephant.' जरद्गृष्टिः 'an old cow.' जरद्वृत्तिः 'old occupation.' पुराणान्नम् 'old rice.' पुराणवसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवान्नम् ; नवावसथम् ; केवलान्नम् 'only rice.'

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकशटाः 'one s petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I. 2. 42).

दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-संख्ये , संज्ञायाम् ,
(स०त०वि०सुपा०समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिनः शब्दाः संख्या च समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

50. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (saṅkhyā) enter into composition with the word correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter.

As पूर्वेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukāmaśamī-in-the-east.' अपरेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukāmaśamī-in-the-west.' पंचाम्नाः 'the five mangoes' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear).

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of an appellative?' Observe उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees.' पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas.' See IV. 2. 107.

तद्धितार्थोत्तरपद समाहारे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धित-अर्थ-उत्तरपद
समाहारे , च (स०त०वि०दिक्संख्ये स०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थं विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे चाभिधेये दिक्संख्ये समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

51. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be ex-

pressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्यां शालायां भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107) serves to represent the force of a Taddhita-affix) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patañjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्व + शाला + अ (IV. 2. 107) = पूर्वशाल (VII. 2. 117 and VI. 4. 143) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade). As, पूर्वशालामियः or अरशालामियः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarpada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is of course impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words). The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as, पाँचवर्षितः 'relating to five barbers.' पाँचकपालः 'relating to an oblation offered in five cups' (कपाल) (IV. 1. 88). So also पंचगवधन (V. 4. 92) 'whose wealth consists of five cows,' दशगवधनः.

The following are examples of aggregates:—पंचफली 'the collection of five fruits' (IV. 1. 21) दशबुली 'an aggregate of ten bundles,' त्रिलोकी 'the aggregate of the three worlds.' पंचकुमारि 'an aggregate of five virgins;' this word is neuter by II. 4 17. and the long ई is shortened by I. 2. 47.

संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-पूर्वः, द्विगुः, (संवि-
तद्वितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे चेत्यत्र यः संख्यापूर्वः समासः स द्विगुसंज्ञो भवति ॥

52. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound or when an aggregate is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or Numeral Determinative compound.

First to take an example of Taddhitārtha:—as, पंचेषु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पंचकपालः 'an offering prepared or offered in five cups.' So also दशकपालः 'prepared in ten cups.' These are names of Purodāsa offerings; and are formed by adding the affix अण् in the sense of 'refining an object of food' by sūtra IV. 2. 16; then this affix is elided (लुक्) by IV. 1, 88.

To take an example when an additional member comes after the compound. As पंचनावप्रियः 'loving five ships.' द्विनावरुप्यम् 'money which has come by two ships' (द्वि + नौ + टच् V. 4. 99 = द्विनाव)

Of an aggregate we have पंचपुत्री. The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः,
(सविंशतसुसहस्रं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितवाचीनि सुवन्तानि कुत्सनवचनैः सुवन्तैः सह समव्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

53. Case-inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words, expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As वैयाकरणखसूचि, 'a bad or dull grammarian.' Here it might be asked is the word व्याकरण 'grammar' a word of contempt, or the word वैयाकरण 'grammarian'? Neither 'Grammar' (it being a part of Vedāṅga,) nor the person who studies it i. e., the grammarian, can be an object of contempt ordinarily.

The word 'grammarian' is, however, the expression of contempt in an indirect way, thus :—The person studying grammar but not studying it well, becomes an object of contempt and such a despicable person becomes also contaminated. The word खसूचि is a term of contempt *per se*. It literally means, a person who on being asked a question, and not possessing ready wit and intelligence to answer it, scratches his head and contemplates vacancy (खसूचयति) and tries to divert the questioner's attention by exclaiming 'how beautifully clear is the sky,' such a person is called खसूचिः.

Such compounds are confined to cases where the reason for the use of any particular term is to express contempt with regard to the signification of that term. So we can not form a compound of the sentence वैयाकरणश्चोरः 'the thief grammarian;' for, contempt is not expressed with regard to the signification of the word 'grammarian.' But when the term 'grammarian' itself is used in a contemptuous signification, then a compound will be formed.

This aphorism is commenced in order to introduce an exception to sūtra 57, by which an adjective stands as the first member in a compound. By the present sūtra, however, the attributive word will stand as the second member.

Other examples of such compounds are: याज्ञिककिन्वः 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices' सीमांसक-वुर्दुरुहः 'an unbelieving logician,' 'an athiest.'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such. Therefore it is not in the following case. कुत्सितोत्रामणः 'the bad Brāhmaṇa' &c.

पापाणके कुत्सितैः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाप-अणके, कुत्सितैः,
(स०न०वि०सु०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाप अणक एते सुबन्ते कुत्सितवचनैः सह समस्येते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

54. The case inflected words pāpa 'sin,' and anaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अनक are words of contempt (कुत्सन); by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtras I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30, that they will stand as first. As पापनापितः or अणकतापितः 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अणक-कुलालः 'a contemptible potter.'

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानानि, सामान्य-
वचनैः, (स०त०वि०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचीनि सुबन्तानि सामान्यवचनैः सुबन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

55. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamāna' and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common.' Thus घनश्याम कृष्णः 'cloud-black Krishna' (Krishna black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud; therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुमुदश्रेणी 'lily-white.' हंसगद्गदा 'Swan-sounding' न्यमोक्ष-पारिमंडला 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadatta' or फला इव तन्वुलाः 'the rice are like fruits' पर्वता इव बलाहकाः 'clouds like mountains.'

उपनिमित्तं व्याघ्र दिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे ॥ ५६ ॥ यदानी ॥ उपनिमित्तम्,
व्याघ्र-आदिभिः, सामान्य-अप्रयोगे, (स०त०वि०सु०स०उपमानानि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमेयमुपनिमित्तं तद्वच्चि सुबन्तं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामर्थ्याद् उपमानवचनैः सह समख्ये ,
तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति , न चेत्सामान्यवच्चि शब्दः प्रयुज्यते ॥

56. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyâghra 'tiger,' &c.; the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of sūtra 57, by which the objective would have stood first; by the present, the attribute stands second. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव = पुरुषव्याघ्रः 'a person-tiger' (in strength) पुरुषसिंहः

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपनिमित्त and certain उपमान but never with सामान्य वचन. Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:— पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव बलः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखममम्, मुखकमलं, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The words व्याघ्र &c. are आकृतिगणः i. e., this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts a priori.

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. कृत्त = A bear. 4. कृषभ = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull. 8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिन् = An elephant. 10. तरु = A tree. 11. कुम्भर = An elephant. 12. रुरु = A kind of deer. 13. पृषत = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree Butea Frondosa. 16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. मुखममम् } A lotus-like face.
2. मुखकमलम् }
3. करकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः

विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणम्, विशेष्येण, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशेषणवाचि सुबन्तं विशेष्यवाचिना समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह बहुलं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

57. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing thereby qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पलं 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुल 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (निरयसमास) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake.' लोहितशालिः 'red rice':—and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामो जामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jâmadagnya' (as being the son of Jamadagni): अर्जुनः कर्त्तव्यीर्यः—and in some cases it is optional, नीलमृत्पलं or नीलोत्पलं.

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.'

Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka.'

पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-प्रथम-चरम-जघन्य-समान-मध्य-मध्यम-वीराः, च (स०त०वि०सु०स० समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व अपर प्रथम चरम जघन्य समान मध्य मध्यम वीर इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुप्ता सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

58. The case-inflected words pûrva 'prior,' apara 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost,' samâna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vîra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As पूर्वपुरुषः 'ancestor,' (any one of the three, father, grandfather and great-grandfather), अपरपुरुषः 'successor,' चरमपुरुषः 'last person,' जघन्यपुरुषः 'hindermost person,' समानपुरुषः 'equal person,' मध्य or मध्यमपुरुषः 'middle person,' वीरपुरुषः 'heroic person.'

श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रेणि-आदयः, कृत-
आदिभिः, (स०त०वि०सु०स०समान) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रेण्यादयः सुबन्ताः कृतादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो
भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रेण्यादिषु छयर्थवचनम् ॥

59. The case-inflected words śrenī 'class' &c., are compounded with words kṛita 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart:—The words श्रेणि &c., for the purposes of this sūtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix चि (chvi). Thus अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः = श्रेणिकृताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

The class of words called कृतादि are ākṛiti-gaṇa and cannot be known a priori. This Samāsa is also an invariable Samāsa by reason of sūtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (चि) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)

1. श्रेणि = A line, a series. 2. एक = One or ऊक. 3. पृग = A heap, collection, multitude. 4. मुकुन्द = Name of Krishna or कुन्द. 5. राशि = A heap, mass, collection. 6. निचय = A collection, heap. 7. विषय = An object or विशेष. 8. निधन = Poor, indigent or विधान, निधान. 9. पर = Distant. 10. इन्द्र = The god of rain. 11. देव = Divine, celestial. 12. मुण्ड = Shaved, bald. 13. भूत = Become, being. 14. श्रमण = Sraman or श्रवण. 15. वदान्य = Liberal minded. 16. अध्यापक = A teacher. 17. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 18. ब्राह्मण = Brāhman. 19. क्षत्रिय = Kshatriya. 20. विशिष्ट = Distinguished, distinct. 21. पटु = Clever, skillful, dexterous. 22. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 23. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 24. चपल = Shaking, trembling, tremulous. 25. निपुण = Skillful, dexterous. 26. कृपण = Wretched, helpless.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृत = Done, performed, made. 2. मित = Measured. 3. मत = Thought, believed, supposed. 4. भूत = Produced, formed. 5. उक्त = Said, spoken, uttered. 6. युक्त = Joined, united. 7. समाज्ञात = Known or understood thoroughly. 8. समाम्नात = Repeated, recited. 9. समाख्यात = Reckoned up, counted, summed up. 10. संभावित = Considered, supposed, imagined. 11. संसेवित = Served. 12. अवधारित = Ascertained, known. 13. अवकल्पित = Corresponded with, answered. 14. निराकृत = expelled, banished. 15. उपकृत = Assisted, benefited, served &c. 16. उपाकृत = Invited. 17. दृष्ट = Seen, looked, perceived. 18. कलित = Counted. 19. श्लित =

Broken, torn, rent, burst. 20. उदाहृत = Said, uttered. 21. विभूत = Well-known, renowned. 22. उदित = Risen.

क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, नञ्-विशिष्टेन, अनञ्, (स०त०वि०स०समानधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञैव विशेषो यस्य सर्वमन्यत् प्रकृत्यादिकं तुल्यं तन्नञ्विशिष्टं तेन नञ्विशिष्टेन क्तान्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह अनञ् क्तान्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृतापकृतादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समानाधिकरणाधिकारे शाकपार्थिवदीनामुपसंख्यानम्, उत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥ २ ॥

60. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done,' भुक्ताभुक्तं 'eaten and not eaten,' पीतापीतं 'drunk and not drunk,' उदितानुदेतं 'spoken and not spoken.'

The intermediate augment न or the वृ, as in the following two examples, do not make the forms dissimilar. अशितानशितेन जीवति, ह्निष्टाह्निशितेन वर्त्तते ॥

Vart:—The compounds कृतापकृत &c. should also be included.

भाकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृतापकृत. 2. भुक्ताभुक्त. 3. पीतविपीत. 4. गतप्रत्यागत. 5. यातानुयात.
6. कदाक्रयिका. 7. पुत्रपुटिका. 8. फलाफलिका. 9. मानोन्मानिका.

Vart:—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' i.e. an era making king.

1. शाकपार्थिव. 2. कुतपसैभुत. 3. सजातौल्वलि.

सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-महत्-परम-उत्तम-उत्कृष्टाः, पूज्यमानैः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत् महत् परम उत्तम उत्कृष्ट इत्येते पूज्यमानैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

61. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishṭa 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सत्पुरुषः 'a good person,' महापुरुषः 'a great man,' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person,' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person,' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टः गौः कर्दमात् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.'

वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृन्दारक-नाग-कुञ्जरैः, पूज्यमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृन्दारक नाग कुञ्जर इत्येतैः सह पूज्यमानवान्नि सुवन्तं समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

62. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛindâraṅka 'eminent,' nâga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant'; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow,' अश्ववृन्दारकः 'an excellent horse'. So also गोनागः, गोकुञ्जरः &c. Why do we say 'when meaning the object deserving of respect?' Observe सुसीमोनागः 'the serpent Susîma.'

कतरकतमौ जातिपरिग्रहे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, जातिपरिग्रहे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कतर-कतमौ जाति-परिग्रहे वर्तमानौ समर्थेन सुधा सह समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

63. The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which or who of many', when used in asking questions about the genus or class, are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कतरकठः and कतरकालापः 'which of the two is katha. and which kâlâpa?' कतमकठः and कतमकालापः 'which of these is katha &c.'

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिग्रह in the aphorism; since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase

in the aphorism shows that the word कतम has other meanings besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jāti; as कतरो भवतोद्देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta,' and कतमो भवतां देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.' Here there is no questioning about jāti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

किं क्षेपे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम् : क्षेपे , (स०त०स०समानाधि-
करणेनवि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमित्येतत् क्षेपे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

64. The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his subjects.' किं सखा योऽभिद्वेष्टति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix ट्ठ् (V. 4. 91) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, मन्त्रराजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा.

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्य राजा = किं राजः 'whose king;' किंसखः

पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्वक्ष्यणीप्रवक्त्र्यया
पकधूर्तैर्जातिः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोटा-युवति-स्तोक-कतिपय-गृष्टि-
वशा-वेहद्-वक्ष्यणी-प्रवक्त्र-श्रोत्रिय-अध्यापक-धूर्तैः , जातिः , (स०सह०
वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पोटादिभिः सह जातिवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

65. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with the words potâ 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grīshṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milch-cow,' vaśâ 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayanî 'a cow that has a full-grown calf,' pravaktri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brâhmana,' adhyâpaka 'a teacher,' and dhûrta 'a cunning fellow; and' the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As इभयोऽ 'a young female elephant' इभयुवति 'a female elephant.' So also अग्निस्तोकः 'a little fire' उदश्वित् कृतिपयम् 'a little butter milk,' गोमृष्टिः, गोधेनुः, गोवशाः, गोवेहस्, गोवहकपणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Kaṭha', कठश्रोत्रिय, 'a Brāhmaṇa who has mastered the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठाध्यापकः 'a teacher of the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe ण्वदन्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda'

प्रशंसावचनैश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि प्रशंसा-वचनैः, च, (स०त०वि०-जातिसह समानार्थ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि सुबन्तं प्रशंसावचनैः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

66. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with a word denoting praise and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhi (रूढि) words like मतल्लिका &c., which retain their specific gender though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as, गोमकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow,' अश्वमतल्लिका 'an excellent horse' गोमचर्चिका 'an excellent cow.' These words are generally used at the end of a compound to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.'

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मतल्लिका 'an excellent virgin.'

युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युवा, खलति-पलित-वलिन-जरतीभिः, (स०वि०त०स०सहसमानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलत्यादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः सह युवशब्दः समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

67. The word yuvâ 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word जरतीभि is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलति = युवाखलतिः. So also युवतिः खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवपलितः fem. युवपलिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युववलिनः fem. युववलिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवजरन् fem. युवजरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old.)

कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-तुल्य-आख्या ,
अजात्या , (स०वि०त०स०सु०)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य-प्रत्ययान्तास्तुल्यपर्यायाश्च सुबन्ता अजातिवचनेन समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

68. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded with words which do not denote genus (jāti) being in the same case with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' भोज्यलवणं 'salt food' पानीयशीतलं 'cool drink, तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सदृशश्वेतः 'equally white.' सदृशमहान् 'equally great.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe भोज्य भोदनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. I. 57.

वर्णो वर्णेन ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः , वर्णेन , (स०त०वि०सह
समानाधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णविशेषवाचि सुबन्तं वर्णविशेषवाचिना सुबन्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

69. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope,' लोहितसारङ्गः 'antelope dappled with red.' कृष्णशवनः 'dappled with black spots' &c. For accent VI. 2. 3.

कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, श्रमण-आदिभिः ,
(स०वि०त०स०समा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः श्रमणादिभिः सह समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

70. The word kumâra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanâ 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

In this list of श्रमणा and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as श्रमणा , प्रव्रजिता, कुलटा, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender ; with the words which appear as masculine, e.g. आचार्यक, अभिरूपक, पण्डित the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.

As, कुमारीश्रमणा and कुमारश्रमणा 'a virgin ascetic or a bachelor ascetic.'

श्रमणादिः ॥

1. श्रमणा = Labouring, toiling. 2. प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा = An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female. 5. तापसी = A hermit, devotee. 6. दासी = A female servant. 7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman. 8. आचार्यक = A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 10. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 11. मृदु = Soft. 12. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 13. चपल = Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful.

चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्पादः , गर्भिण्या ,
(स०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादश्चात्रिनः सुबन्ता गर्भिणी शब्देन समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ चतुष्पाज्जातिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word garbhinî, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

गौगर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' अजागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Vart:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here:—कालाक्षी गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kâlâkshî or Svastimatî.'

Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe गौगर्भिणी

मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयूर-व्यंसक-आदयः , य ,
च०त०वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव नपात्यन्ते मयूरव्यंसकादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञाश्च भवन्ति ॥

72. And the words mayûra-vyamsakâ 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसक is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसक .

The following is the list of such compounds :—

मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक. 2. ह्यात्र व्यंसक. 3. कम्बोजमुण्ड. 4. यवनमुण्ड. 5. हस्ते-
गृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas. 6. पावेगृह्य or पादगृह्य. 7. लाङ्गूलेगृह्य or लाङ्गूलगृह्य.
8. पुनर्दीप ॥ एहीडादयो ऽन्वपदायै as, 9. एहीडं वर्तते. 10. एहियवं वर्तते ॥ 11.
एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया) . 12. अपेहिवाणिजा. 13. प्रेहिवाणिजा. 14. एहिस्वागता .
15. अपेहिस्वागता . 16. एहिद्वितीया . 17. अपेहिद्वितीया . 18. प्रेहिद्वितीया . 19.
एहिकटा . 20. अपेहिकटा or अपोहटका. 21. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा . 22. आहरकरटा .
23. प्रेहिकर्दमा . 24. प्रोहकर्दमा . 25. निधमचूडा . 26. उद्धमचूडा . 27. उद्धरचूडा .
28. आहरचैला . 29. आहर वसना . 30. (आहरसेना) . 31. आहरवनिता . 32.
(आहरवितना) . 33. कृन्तविचक्षणा . 34. उद्धरोत्सृजा . 35. उद्धरावसृजा . 36.
उद्धमविधमा . 37. उत्पन्ननिपचा or विपचा . 38. उत्पन्ननिपता . 39. उच्चावचम् .
40. उच्चनीचम् . 41. आचोपचम् . 42. आचपराचम् . 43. नखप्रचम् . 44. निश्चप्रचम् .
45. अकिंचन . 46. स्नात्वाकालक . 47. पीत्यास्थिरक . 48. भुक्तासुहित . 49.
प्रोच्यपापीयान् . 50. उत्पस्थपाकला or व्याकुला . 51. निपत्यरोहिणी . 52. निषण-
श्यामा . 53. अपेहिप्रघसा . 54. एहिप्रघसा . 55. इहपञ्चमी . 56. इहद्वितीया ॥ जहि
- कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिधाति . 57. जहिजोडः . 58. जहिजोडम् . 59.
जहिस्तम्बम् . 60. (जहिस्तम्बः) . 61. उज्जहिस्तवम् or व्ज ; आरव्यातमारव्यातेन
क्रियासातत्ये . 62. अश्नीतिपिबता . 63. पचतभृजता . 64. खादतमोदता . 65. खादत-
वमता . 66. खादताचमता . 67. आहरनिवपा . 68. आहरनिष्किरा . 69. आवप-
निष्किरा . 70. उत्पन्नविपचा . 71. भिन्धिलवणा . 72. कृन्धिविचक्षणा . 73. पचलवणा .
74. पचप्रकटा .

 आकृतिगणोऽयम् .

1. अकृतोऽभयः . 2. कान्दिर्णकः . 3. कन्दिशीकः . 4. आहोपुरुषिका . 5.
 अहमहमिका . 6. यइच्छा . 7. एहिरेयाहिरा . 8. उन्मृजावमृजा . 9. द्रव्यान्तरम् .
 10. अवश्यकार्यम् .

— ○ : —

ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER II.

पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-
अधर-उत्तरम्, एकदेशिना, एकाधिकरणे, (स०वि०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकदेशोऽस्यास्तीत्येकदेशी अवयवी तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह पूर्वापराधरोत्तर-
शब्दाः सामर्थ्यादेकदेशवचनाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

1. The words pûrva 'front,' apara 'near,'
adhara 'lower,' and uttara 'upper,' are compounded when
in construction with a word signifying a thing that
has parts, provided that the thing having parts is
distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound
is Tat-purusha.

The word 'ekâdhikaraṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or
qualifies the word 'ekadeśin.' This debar the Genitive Tat-purusha compound
ordained by sūtra 9; which would have placed the words 'pûrva' &c., last in
the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43
and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

पूर्व + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the
body'; अधरकायः 'the lower part of the body'; and उत्तरकायः 'the upper part
of the body.'

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe
पूर्व नाम्नेः कायस्य. But not so in पूर्व छात्राणामामन्त्रय 'invite the fore-most of
the pupils': because here the substratum (adhikaraṇa) is not unity (eka).
But how do we get the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening'? The
word 'ahna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, because we
learn this by inference from sūtra VI. 3. 110.

अर्द्धं नपुंसकम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धम्, नपुंसकम्, (स०वि०त०सु०-
स०एकदेशिना एकाधिकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धमिदमेतन्नपुंसकमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

2. The word अर्द्ध *ardha* when it signifies exactly equal parts i. e. halves, is always neuter, and is compounded with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word अर्द्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and एकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars sūtra 9; as अर्द्धपिप्पली = अर्द्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्द्धकोशातकी 'a half of the Kośātakī.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्द्धः 'half the village'? नगरार्द्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadeśin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्द्धं पशोर्वैवस्वस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādhikarāṇa' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्द्धं पिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीय-
तृतीय-चतुर्थ-तुर्याणि, अन्यतरस्याम्, (स०त०वि०एक-एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि एकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

3. The words dvitīya, 'second,' tritīya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

This also debars sūtra 9. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः = द्वितीयभिक्षा 'second begging.' When we apply sūtra 9, we have भिक्षाद्वितीयं. So also with the words तृतीयभिक्षा, चतुर्थभिक्षा, तुर्यभिक्षा.

Vart:—The word तुरीय 'fourth' should also be included. As भिक्षा-
तुरीयं or तुरीयभिक्षा.

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य or द्वितीयं भिक्षाणाम् .

प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राप्त-आपन्ने , च , द्वितीयया , (स०त०वि०स०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राप्त आपन्न इत्येतौ द्वितीयान्तेन सह समस्येते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

4. The words prâpta 'obtained,' and âpanna 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'ekadeśin' and 'ekâdhikarâṇa' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्तो जीविकां) or जीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः .

कालाः परिमाणिना ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, परिमाणिना , (स०-वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणमस्यास्तौति परिमाणी तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह सामर्थ्यात् परिमाणवचनाः कालशब्दाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

5. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

5 This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातस्य = मासजातः 'a month old' (born a month ago.) So also संवत्सरजातः 'a year old.' द्वयहजातः 'two-days' old.' &c.

नञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ् , (समर्थःस०वि०त०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपस्तिङि क्षेपे ॥

6. The negative word nañ is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As न ब्राह्मणः = अब्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brâhmaṇa,' (though a man). The न् of न is elided by VI. 3. 73:

Vart:—The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that censure is implied as अपचसि एवं जालम् 'thou cookest not O knave.'

The word नम् has six senses:—(1) सदृश्य 'likeness or resemblance'; as अग्राहणः 'one like a Brāhmaṇa and wearing the sacred thread &c., but not a Brāhmaṇa, but a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.' (2) अभाव 'absence,' 'negation,' 'want,' or 'privation,' as अज्ञान 'absence of knowledge.' (3) भेदः 'difference' or 'distinction,' as अपटः 'not a cloth, but something different from or other than a cloth'. (4) अल्पता 'smallness,' 'diminution' used as diminutive particle, as अनुवरा 'having a slender waist.' (5) अप्राशस्त्य 'badness,' 'unfitness,' having a depreciative sense, as अकाल 'wrong or improper time.' (6) विरोध 'opposition,' 'contrariety,' as अनीतिः 'opposite of morality,' 'immorality.'

ईषदकृता ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषद् , अकृता , (स०त०वि०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्ययं शब्दोऽकृदन्तेन सुपा सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईषद् गुणवचनेनेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

7. The word īshat 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a kṛit-affix; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart:—It should be stated that the word ईषत् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कडारः 'a somewhat proud.' ईषम्पिङ्गलः 'a little, brownish.' ईषद्विकटः 'a little hideous.' ईषदुन्नतः 'a little raised.' ईषत् पीतम् 'a little yellow.' ईषद्रक्तम् 'a little red.'

Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe ईषद्गार्ग्यः; there is no compounding here.

षष्ठी ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी , (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तं सुबन्तं समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्योणा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man' ब्राह्मणकम्बलः 'the Brāhmaṇa's blanket.'

Vart:—When a word takes the genitive case because of its connection with a word ending in a kṛit affix; that word may be compounded with such a kṛit word. Rule II. 3. 65., states the conditions when a kṛit-formed

word governs the genitive case. Thus **इध्रप्रक्षनः** 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter), **पलाशशान्तनः** 'Palāsadestroyer.

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by *kṛit*-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pāṇini, other than II. 3. 51, is a 'prātipadavidhāna' genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see *vārtika* under II. 2. 10.

याजकादिभिश्च ॥ ९ ॥ यदानि ॥ याजक-आदिभिः, च, (स०-त०वि०सु०स०षष्ठी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याजकादिभिः सह षष्ठी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तस्यैव गुणैः षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गुणोत्तरेण तरलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word *yājaka* 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by Rule 16 in the case of *याजक* &c.; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition. As **ब्राह्मणयाजकः** 'a Brāhmaṇa's sacrificer.' **क्षत्रिययाजकः** 'one who sacrifices for Kshatriyas.

(याजकादि) .

1. याजक . 2. पूजक . 3. परिचारक . 4. परिवेषक . 5. परिवेषक .
6. स्नापक or स्नातक . 7. अध्यापक . 8. उत्साहक or उत्सादक . 9. उद्घर्तक .
10. होतृ . 11. भर्तृ . 12. रथगणक . 13. पत्तिगणक . 14. पीतृ . 15. हतृ .
16. वर्तक .

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As **ब्राह्मणवर्णः** 'Brāhmaṇa-caste.' **चंदनगन्धः** 'sandal-scent.' **कपित्थरसः** 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree; and the sign of comparison **तर** is elided. Thus **सर्वेषां श्वेततरः** = **सर्वश्वेतः** 'the whitest of all.' **सर्वेषां महत्तरः** = **सर्वमहान्** 'the greatest among all.' This '*vārtika*' is an exception in anticipation to the next *sūtra* which prohibits composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus **सर्वशुक्ला गौः** 'a cow whitest among all.'

न निर्धारणे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, निर्धारणे, (सप्तविंश-
संघटी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्धारणे या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhâraṇa).

With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhâraṇa.' As क्षत्रियो मनुष्याणां शूरतमः 'the Kshatriya is the most powerful amongst men.' कृष्णा गवां संपन्नक्षीरतमः 'the black cow is the most milk-giving amongst cows.' धावन्नधगानां शीघ्रतमः 'the runner is the swiftest amongst walkers.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41.

Vart:—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50, is never compounded. See sūtra 8. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषोऽज्ञानम्, मधुनोऽज्ञानम्.

पूरणगुणसुहितार्थे सद्व्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥
पूरण-गुण-सुहित-अर्थ-सद्-अव्यय-तव्य-समानाधिकरणेन (षष्ठीन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरण गुण सुहितार्थे सद् अव्यय तव्य समानाधिकरण इत्येतैः सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

11. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of an ordinal, an attribute, or satisfaction, or with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127) or an indeclinable, or ending with the affix tavya, or with a word denoting the same object (i.e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) छात्राणां पंचमः 'fifth amongst the pupils;' छात्राणाम् दशमः (2) काकस्य काष्ठ्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' वलाकायाः शीघ्र्यम्. (3) फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits;' फलानां तप्तः. (4) ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् 'the doing of a Brâhmana;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the doing of a Brâhmana. (5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brâhmana,' ब्राह्मणस्य हुत्वा. (6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम्. When however the affix is तव्यम् having the indicatory त् (III. 1. 96.) there is compounding as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्यं 'the Brâhmana's duty.' (7) राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pataliputraka' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the sūtra composer

Pāṇini. We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनिः । By the general rule relating to words in apposition contained in sūtra II. 1. 57, the difference between that sūtra and the present, is as to position of the words. In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first if compounded ; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

क्तेन च पूजायाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन , च , पूजायाम् , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तो यः पूजायां विहितस्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

12. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' &c.

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजाः and pūjā itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As राज्ञां मतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

Why do we say 'when meaning respect'? When 'kta' has not this signification there is compounding. As छात्रहसितं 'pupil's laughing.'

अधिकरणवाचिना च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-वाचिना , च , (स० षष्ठी न क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिना क्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

13. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating', it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots i. e., that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III. 4. 76); as इदमेषां यातम् 'here they have gone.' इदमेषां भुक्तम् 'here they have eaten.'

कर्मणि च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि , च , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि च या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

14. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative.

The anuvṛitti of कृत् does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashṭhi. Sūtra II. 3. 66 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed i. e., when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by कृत् affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent; as आश्वर्यो गवां शोहोऽगोपालकेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते ओद-नस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'eating of rice agrees with Devadatta.' साधु खलु पयसः पानं देवदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Devadatta is indeed excellent.' विचित्रा सूत्रस्थ कृतिः पाणिनिना 'wonderful is the structure of sūtras by Pāṇini'

तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्-अकाभ्याम्, कर्तरि,
(सषष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि वा षष्ठी सा तृचाऽकेन च सह न समस्यते ॥

15. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the genitive-case. The affix तृच् is taught in sūtra III. 1. 133, and the affix अक is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element वृ are अक; such as ण्वुवृल् or वृम् or वृन् (sūtra VII. 1. 1.) Thus भवतः शायिका 'your honor's repose' भवत आशिका 'your eating' भवतोऽगामिका 'your going in front.'

The affix तृच् is employed always in forming nouns of agency; hence there can be no example of a word in a genitive case having the force of an agent, governing another word also having the force of an agent. The तृच् therefore serves no purpose in this aphorism, but applies to the sūtras that follow.

The genitive has the force of an agent under conditions mentioned in II. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि.

कर्तरि च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च (सषष्ठीनतृजकाभ्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि च यौ तृजकी ताभ्यां सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

16. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka' affix when the force of these latter affixes is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the word 'aka' only and not 'trich,' for the latter always denotes the agent and nothing else.

As अपां स्रष्टा 'the creator of waters' पुरां भेत्ता 'the destroyer of cities' वज्रस्य भर्ता 'the holder of thunderbolt.'

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of याजक (sûtra 9) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.'

The above are examples of words formed by वृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by भृक्; thus भोदनस्य भोजकः 'the eater of rice,' सक्तूनां पायकः 'the drinker of saktu.'

नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, क्रीडा-जीविकयोः, (सु०त०षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीडायां जीविकायां च निरयं षष्ठी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

17. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka, when these affixes denote a sport or a livelihood; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is a Nitya-samâsa incapable of analysis. This anuvṛitti of the word 'na' which began with sûtra 10, does not extend further. The affix वृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of 'aka.' Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddâla flowers are broken or crushed.' So also वारणपुष्पप्रचायिका 'a play of gathering flowers.'

So also दन्तलेखकः 'one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.' नखलेखकः 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe भोदनस्थ भोजकः .

कुगतिप्रादयः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु-गति-प्र-आदयः, (स०त०-नित्यसमर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कु गति प्रादयः समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह निरयं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अस्यादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया .

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवादयः कृटाद्यर्थे तृतीयया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चमया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इवेन सह नित्यसमासो विभक्त्यलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरस्य च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिप्रसङ्गे कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

18. The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c., are invariably compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is Tat purusha.

The word ku means 'badness or sin'; as, कुपुरुष 'a sinful man'; (2) Gati (I. 4. 60) as, उररीकृतं 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) यदूरीकरोति ॥

So also with the words प्र &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati'; as दुर् meaning 'bad,' in दुष्पुरुष: 'a bad man'; so also सु and अति meaning 'respect' in सुपुरुष: 'honorable man'; अतिपुरुष: 'excellent man'; आ means 'a little' as आपिङ्गल: 'brownish.'

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कौष्णं or कदुष्णम् or कबोष्णन् 'tepid.' So also दुष्कृतम्, अतिस्तुतम् and आवद्भम् ॥

Vart:—The words प्र &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus प्राचार्य: 'a heretory teacher'; so also प्रान्तेवासी.

Vart:—The words अति &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As: अतिक्रान्त: खट्वाम् = अतिखट्व: (I. 2. 44 and 48) 'without a bed-stead,' अतिमाल: 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.'

Vart:—The words अव &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix as अवक्रुष्ट: कौकिलया = अव कौकिल: 'what is announced by the cuckoo' i. e., the Spring.

Vart:—The words परि &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix as परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय = पर्यध्ययन: 'weary of study.' अलंकुमारि: 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:—The words निर् &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निष्कौशाम्बि: 'who has gone beyond Kausâmbi'; so also निर्वाराणसि: .

Vart:—A word enters into composition with इव 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वागर्थविव 'like a word and its meaning,' वाससीद्व 'like two garments.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c., when they are 'Karma pravachaniya'; as वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.' साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

उपपदमतिङ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपपदस्, अतिङ् (स०त०-
त्रि०समर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपदमतिङन्तं समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92), which does not end with a tense-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.'

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe एधानाहारको व्रजति 'he goes to bring fuel.

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant; since the anuvṛitti of the words सुप् सुपा is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply that we should infer that the words सुप् सुपा should not be read into this and the last aphorism. The following Paribhāsha also arises from this sūtra.

गतिकारको पपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras 18 and 19 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kārakas also. Thus अश्वक्रीती 'a female brought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. अश्वेन क्रीयते सा = अश्व क्रीत; add डीप् (IV. 1. 50) and we have अश्वक्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टांप् had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with अश्व the form would have been अश्वक्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case डीप् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

अमैवाठययेन ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमा, एव, अठययेन (स०त०-
निरस०उपदस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अठययेनोपपदस्य यः समासः सोऽमैव भवति नान्येन ॥

20. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम्.

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix णमुन् (III. 4. 26) &c.

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुमुन् added by rule III. 3. 167 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय or वेला 'time.')

The force of the word only is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix अम् as well as another affix is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sūtra III. 4. 24, declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and णमुल् come after a verb when the words अग्ने, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix णमुन्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it namely क्त्वा. Therefore in अग्नेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition because अग्नेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, अग्नेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-प्रभृतीनि अन्यतरस्याम् (स०त०उ०अमैवाव्ययेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदंशस्तृतीयायामिरयतः प्रभृति दान्युपपदानि तान्यमैवाव्ययेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47) &c., is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The term अम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपदंशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकैनोपदंशं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.' So also पार्श्वोपपीड or पार्श्वयोरुपपीडम् शेते (III. 4. 49) 'he lies pressing on his ribs.' For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4. 52 &c. This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhāna with the अम्; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well. This vibhāshā may therefore be called both प्राप्त and अप्राप्त vibhāshā. It is प्राप्त with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्राप्त with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.

क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा, च, (स०त०तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्य-
न्यतरस्याम् उप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययेन सह द्वितीया प्रभृतीन्युपपदानि अन्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥

22. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix *ktvâ*; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्चैः कृत्य or उच्चैः कृता . Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sūtra III. 4. 59. In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute न्यप् ; otherwise not. See VII. 1. 37.

The condition of the upapadas being in the 3rd case &c., applies here also. Therefore there is no composition in अलं कृत्वा or खलु कृत्वा .

शेषो बहुव्रीहिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः, बहुव्रीहिः (स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषः समासो बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञी भवति ॥

23. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrîhi.

A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above, will be Bahuvrîhi. This is a governing aphorism and extends up to sūtra 28. Thus चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.'

अनेकमन्यपदार्थे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेकम्, अन्य-पद-अर्थे (स०-
बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्तमानं समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुव्रीहिः समानाधिकरणानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां च बहुव्रीहिर्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्युपमानपूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समुदायविकारषष्ठ्याश्च बहुव्रीहिरुत्तरपदलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राक्स्थितो धातुः स्योत्तरपदस्य लोपश्च वा बहुव्रीहिर्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञोऽस्त्यर्थानां बहुव्रीहिर्वा चोत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबधिकारेऽस्तिक्षीरादीनां बहुव्रीहिर्वक्तव्यः ॥

24. Two or more words, ending in any case-affix, form a compound, denoting another new thing, not connoted by those words individually; and the compound is called Bahuvrîhi.

The Bahuvrīhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first; as प्रासमुदकं ग्रामं = प्रासोदको ग्रामः 'a water-reached village.' ऊडरथोऽनड्वान् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' उपहृतपशुर्ऋद्रः 'Rūdra to whom cattle is offered.' उडुतौदना स्थानी 'a vessel in which rice is placed.' चिचगुर्वेवत्तः 'Devadatta possessed of a brindled cow.' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village possessed of heroic men.'

Bahuvrīhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As वृष्टे देवे गतः 'gone when it had rained.'

Why do we say 'more than one'? So that there may be compounding of many words, as in the following verse :—

सुसूक्ष्मजटके शोभे सुलभाजिनवाससा । पुत्री पर्वतराजस्य कुतो हेतोर्विवाहिता ॥ .

'Why was the daughter of the king of the mountains married by Siva possessed of beautifully-delicate-locked-hair, and cheap-deer-skin-dress.'

Vart:—Bahuvrīhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded; as पञ्चभिर्भुक्त-मस्य .

Vart:—The compounds of indeclinables are Bahuvrīhi; as उच्चैर्मुखः 'possessed of raised mouth.' So also नीचैर्मुखः &c.

Vart:—The second member is elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound of which the first member is a word in the locative case, or a word with which comparison is made (उपमान). As, कण्ठे स्थितः कान्धोऽस्य = कण्ठे कान्धः 'in whose throat there is blackness (Siva).' उरसिज्जोमः 'who has hair on his chest.' उष्टस्य मुखमिव मुखं यस्य सः = उष्ट्रमुखः 'he whose face is like that of a camel.' खरमुखः 'ass-faced.'

Vart:—Bahuvrīhi compound may be formed after eliding the second member with a word in the sixth case denoting 'collection or modification.' As केशानां संघातः = केशसंघातः, केशसंघातभूडोऽस्य = केशचूडः 'he who has a collection of hair as crest.' सुवर्णस्य विकारोऽनंकारोऽस्य = सुवर्णलंकारः 'he who has ornaments made of gold.'

Vart:—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after प्र &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य = प्रपर्णः 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.' So also प्रपलाशः .

Vart:—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As, अविद्यमान पुत्रो यस्य = अपुत्रः 'childless.' So also अभाय्यः 'wifeless.'

Vart:—Compounds like अस्तिकीरा should be stated as Bahuvrīhi. As अस्तिकीरा ब्राह्मणो 'a Brāhmaṇi having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

संख्ययाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥

संख्यया, अव्यय-आसन्न-अदूर-अधिक-संख्याः, संख्येये, (स०बहुव्रीहिःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्येये या संख्या वर्तते तया सहाव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. Indeclinable words and the words *âsanna* 'near,' *adûra* 'near,' *adhika* 'more' and the words called *saṅkhyâ* (Numerals) are compounded with another *saṅkhyâ* word, when the sense is that of a numeral or *saṅkhyâ*. The compound is *Bahuvrîhi*.

Thus उपद्शः (V. 4. 73) 'those who are near ten i.e. nine or eleven.' Similarly उपविंशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142). So also आसन्नद्शः 'nine or eleven.' अदूरद्शः 'nine or eleven.' अधिकद्शः, 'eleven.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्वित्राः 'two or three.' द्विद्शः 'twenty.'

Why do we say 'with a numeral'? Observe पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brâhmanas.'

Why do we say 'with an Indeclinable &c'? Witness ब्राह्मणाः पञ्च. Why do we say 'when denoting a numeral'? Observe अधिका विंशतिर्गवाम् 'of cows more than twenty.'

दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिङ्-नामानि . अन्तराले (स०बहु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्नामानि सुबन्तानि अन्तराले वाच्ये समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवद्भावः ॥

26. Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is *Bahuvrîhi*.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वादिक् *dakshina-pûrvâ*, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the *sûtra* to indicate that no compounding takes place when the words denoting direction are derivative words whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्रधक्षकौबेर्याश्च दिशोर्यदन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐन्द्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

Vart:—Whenever a Bahuvrīhi gets the designation of Sarvanāman (I. 1. 28, 29), the first term becomes masculine, by VI. 3. 34; as दक्षिणा + पूर्वा = दक्षिणपूर्वा ॥

तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, तेन, इदम्, इति, सरूपे (स०बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सतम्यन्ते सरूपे परे तेनेति च तृतीयान्ते इदमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. Two homonymous words (both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case) are compounded, the sense being 'this happens therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case,' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सरूप or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति. The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of seizing; and the word is exhibited in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of striking; the word indicated by the word इदमिति is युद्ध; as केशेषुकेशेषु च गृहीत्वा इवं युद्धं वृत्तं = केशाकेशि (VI. 3. 137 and V. 4. 127.) 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; कचाकचि 'hair against hair'; दण्डैश्च दण्डैश्च प्रहस्य इवं युद्धं वृत्तं = दण्डादण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave'; so also मूगालामूगाली. In the above examples the samāsānta āffix इच् is added at the end by rule V. 4. 127; and all such words are Avyaya or indeclinable. The final vowel of the first term is lengthened by Rule VI. 3. 137.

Why do we say 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following: हलैश्च मुषलैश्च प्रहस्य इवं युद्धं वृत्तम्.

तेन सहिति तुल्ययोगे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, सह-इति, तुल्य-योगे, (स०बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेत्येतच्छब्दरूपं तुल्ययोगे वर्तमानं तेनेति तृतीयान्तेन सह समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The word saha 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सच्छत्रः 'accompanied by the pupil.' सकर्मकरः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहैव दशभिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्वभी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सलोमकः, सपत्नकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य गोगवचनं प्रायिकं) .

चार्थे द्वन्द्वः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-अर्थे, द्वन्द्वः, (स०अनेकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तं चार्थे वर्तमानं समस्यते द्वन्द्वश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and' the set is made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meanings that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचय 'collateralness of reference, (3) इतरेतरयोगः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases viz., community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. 1. 1). Composition is enjoined therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and lumping. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षामटं गां चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following प्लक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धव-खदिर-पलाशाः, वाक्चक्रम्, बाणदृषदम् ॥

उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्जनम्, पूर्वम् (समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनसंज्ञकं समासे पूर्व प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

30. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43) is to be placed first in a compound.

The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samâsa, must stand first. The constant application of this rule has been illustrated in the previous aphorisms. Without this rule, there would have been no fixity as to the position of words.

राजदन्तादिषु परम् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजदन्त-आदिषु, परम्, (स०उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजदन्तादिषु परमुपसर्जनं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

31. the upasarjana is to be put last in the words Râjadanta &c.

Thus राजदन्तः (दन्ताना राजा) ' a chief of teeth ' (i.e., an eyetooth). It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples ; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः. 2. अग्नेवणम्. 3. लिखयासितम्. 4. नम्रमुषितम्. 5. सिक्तस-
मृष्टम्. 6. मृष्टलुञ्चितम्. 7. अबह्निन्नपक्वम्. 8. अर्पितोत्तम्. 9. (अर्पितोत्तम्). 10.
उत्तगाढम्. 11. उत्तूल्लमुसलम्. 12. तण्डुलकिण्वम्. 13. दृषदुपलम्. 14. आरुद्धा-
यनि. 15. (आरुद्धायन्नबन्धकी). 16. चित्ररथवान्हीकम्. 17. अवन्त्यश्मकम्. 18.
शूद्रार्थम्. 19. स्नातकराजानौ. 20. विष्वक्सेनाङ्गुनौ. 21. अक्षिभुवम्. 22. दारगवम्.
23. शब्दार्थौ. 24. धर्मार्थौ. 25. कामार्थौ. 26. अर्थशब्दौ. 27. अर्थधर्मौ.
28. अर्थकामौ. 29. वैकारितम्. 30. गजवाजम्. 31. (गोजवाजम्. 32. गोपालि-
धानपूजासम्. 33. (गोपालधानीपूजासम्). 34. पूजासकारणम्. 35. (पूजासककु-
रणम्). 36. स्थूलासम्. 37. (स्थूलपूजासम्). 38. उशीरबीजम्. 39. (जिज्ञास्थ).
40. सिञ्जास्थम्. 41. (सिञ्जाश्वत्थम्). 42. चित्रास्वाती. 43. (चित्रस्वाति).
44. भार्यापती. 45. दम्पती. 46. जम्पती. 47. जायापती. 48. पत्नपती. 49.
पुत्रपशू. 50. केशश्मश्रू or श्मश्रुकेशौ. 51. शिरोविजु. 52. शिरोबीजम्. 53.
शिरोजानु. 54. सर्पिर्मधुनी. 55. मधुसर्पिणी. 56. आद्यन्तौ. 57. अन्तादी.
58. गुणवृद्धी. 59. वृद्धिगुणौ.

द्वन्द्वे चि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, चि, (स०उ०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे व्यन्तं पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

32. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called चि (1. 4. 7) stand first.

As हरिहरौ ' Hari and Hara.' So also पटुगुप्तौ and मृदुगुप्तौ. Where there are more than one such चि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest to follow no fixed rule. As पटुमृदुशुक्लाः or पटुशुक्लमृदवः.

Why do we say 'Dvandva'? Observe विस्पष्टपटुः which is Tat-purusha.

अजाद्यदन्तम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्-आदि-अदन्तम्,
(स०उ०पूर्वम्द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजाद्यदन्तं शब्दरूपं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुष्वनियमः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वन्द्वेऽप्यजाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

33. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, उड्खरम् 'the camel and the ass.' उड्खशकम् 'the camel and the hare.'

Vart:—When there are many such words there is no fixed rule. As अश्वरथेन्द्राः or इन्द्ररथाश्वाः.

Vart:—In the Dvandva compounds the वि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजायवन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी or इन्द्रवायू. Here अग्नि and वायु though वि, do not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2).

Why do we say 'अत् with a त्' (I. 1. 70)? This rule does not apply when it is long आ as अश्वा + वृषः = अश्वावृषो or वृषाश्वे.

अल्पाक्षरम् ॥ ३४ ॥ यदानि ॥ अल्पाक्षरम्, (सङ्ख्येपूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अल्पाक्षरं शब्दरूपं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वप्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋतुनक्षत्राणामनुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अभ्यर्हितं च पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वर्णानामनुपूर्व्येण पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भ्रातृश्च ज्येष्ठश्च पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याया अल्पीयस्याः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

34. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus हस्त + न्यग्रोध = हस्तन्यग्रोधो ; and धवखदिरपलाशाः ॥

When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As शंखकुन्दुभिर्वीणाः or वीणाशंखकुन्दुभयः.

Vart:—Names of seasons and stars consisting of equal number of syllables should be arranged in the compound according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः ; चित्रस्वाती ; कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ.

When they do not consist of equal syllables, the shorter should be placed first; as मीनवसन्तो.

Vart:—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first. As, कुशकाशः ; शरशावम्.

Vart:—The more honorable of the two is placed first; as, मातापितरौ 'mother and father,' श्रद्धावेधे 'faith and intelligence' वीक्षातपसी 'initiation and austerity'.

Vart:—The castes are placed according to their order: as, ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविद्बुद्धाः 'Brâhmaṇa Kshatriya Vaiśya and Sudra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vart:—The name of the elder brother is placed first; as युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ 'Yudhishthira and Arjuna.'

Vart:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्वित्रा 'two; and three'; त्रिचतुरा 'three and four.'

सप्तमी विशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी , विशेषणे , बहुव्रीहौ , (स०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनामसंख्ययोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा प्रियस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्याः पूर्वनिपाते प्राप्ते गङ्गादिभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तं परम् ॥

35. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrîhi compound.

In a Bahuvrîhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्ठेकालः 'who is black in the throat.' So also उरसिलोमा , चित्रगुः , शबलगुः .

Vart:—The sarvanāmas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वश्वेतः , सर्वकृष्णः , द्विशुक्लः , द्विकृष्णः . In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a saṅkhyâ word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वयन्यः , त्रयन्यः &c.

Vart:—The word प्रिय may optionally stand first; as गुडप्रियः or प्रियगुडः .

Vart:—After the words गङ्गा &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गङ्गाकण्ठः 'a hump-necked'; गङ्गाशिराः &c.

How is then the word बहेगङ्गा 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vârtika.

निष्ठा , ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा , (स०बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्ठायाः पूर्वनिपाते जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रहरणार्थेभ्यश्च परे निष्ठासप्तम्यौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

36. What ends with a Nishthâ (I. 1. 26) shall stand first in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus युक्तयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकदः 'one who has made the mat'; भिक्षितभिक्षिः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, शाङ्गजग्धी, मासजातः, and सुखजातः &c.

Vart:—The words ending in Nishthâ or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking'; as अस्युद्यत् 'ready with sword'; वण्डपाणिः 'holding sceptre in hand.'

वाहिताग्न्यादिषु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आहित-अग्नि-आदिषु
(निष्ठा पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहिताग्न्यादिषु निष्ठान्तं पूर्वं वा प्रयोज्यम् ॥

37. In the compounds Ahitâgni and the like, the Nishthâ-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

1. आहितान्नि . 2. जातपुत्र . 3. जातवन्त . 4. जातश्वश्रु . 5. तैलपीत .
6. घृतपीत . 7. मद्यपीत . 8. ऊढभार्य . 9. गतार्थ .

आकृतिगणोऽयम् .

1. गडुकण्ड . 2. अस्युद्यत् . 3. (अरमुद्यत्) . 4. वण्डपाणिप्रभृतयोऽपि .

This आहितान्नि class is ākṛitigaṇa; so that words like गडु &c., must be looked for in this class.

कडाराः कर्मधारये ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कडाराः, कर्मधारये,
(समासे पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारादयः शब्दाः कर्मधारये समासे वा पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

38. The words kaḍārah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhâraya.

Thus कडारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकडारः Kaḍārajaiminiḥ or jaiminikaḍārah. 'The tawny Jaimini.'

1. कडार . 2. गडुल . 3. खज्ज . 4. खोड . 5. काण . 6. कुण्ड .
 7. खलति . 8. गौर . 9. वृद्ध . 10. भिक्षु . 11. पिङ्ग . 12. पिङ्गल . 13.
 (पिङ्गल) . 14. तद्ध . 15. तनु . 16. जठर . 17. बधिर . 18. मठर . 19.
 कञ्ज . 20. बर्बर .

This sūtra enjoins an option where by general rule guṇa words being attributes would have invariably stood first.

Why do we say 'in the karmadhāraya compound'? Observe कडार-
 पुरुषो ग्रामः 'a village of tawny men,' which is Bahuvrīhi. Here ends the force
 of I. 4. 1 and II. 1. 3.

—:0:—

ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER III.

अनभिहिते ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-अभिहिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनभिहित इत्यधिकारोऽयं वेदितव्यः । यदित उर्ध्वबन्धुक्रान्त्यानेऽनभिहित इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word.

Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned or exhibited. The force of a case-affix may be so denoted either by first, the conjugational affixes तिङ्; secondly, by the Primary affixes or कृत्, thirdly, by the secondary affixes तद्धित; or lastly by compounds. Thus sūtra 2 declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कटं करोति 'he makes the mat'; ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But the object can otherwise be denoted. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as कृतः कटः 'the mat is made.' Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. So also by the kṛit affix, as कृतः कटः 'the mat is made,' see Sūtra III. 4. 70. So also by a Taddhita affix as शतम् or शतिकः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन क्रीतः. Similarly by samāsa, as प्राप्तुवकं ग्रामम् = प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः ॥

कर्मणि द्वितीया ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि कारके या संख्या तत्र द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

शक्तिः ॥ उभयवर्तयोः कार्यो धिगुपर्यादिषु त्रिषु ।

द्वितीयाऽत्रेडितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अभितः-परितः-समया-निकषा-हा-प्रति-योगेषु च दृश्यते ॥

2. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, i.e. when the verb does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

The terms *dvitīyā* &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini; they apply to the triads of *सुप्* affixes. *कटं करोति* 'he makes the mat,' *ग्रामं गच्छति* 'he goes to the village.'

The words *उभयतः*, *सर्वतः*, *धिक्* and the double forms *उपर्युपरि*, *अधोऽधो*, *अध्वधि*, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative. Sometimes other cases also, as *उभयतो ग्रामं* 'on both sides of the village'; *सर्वतो ग्रामं* 'on all sides of the village'; *धिग्देवदत्तं* 'fie to Devadatta'; *उपर्युपरि ग्रामम्* 'just over the village'; *अध्वधि* or *अधोऽधो ग्रामम्* 'just below the village.'

Vart:—The words *अभितः*, *परितः* both meaning 'round', *सभया*, *निकषा* both meaning 'near', and *हा* 'woe be to,' and *प्रति* 'to,' govern the accusative case; as, *अभितो ग्रामम्* 'round the village,' *ग्रामं सभया* 'near the village'; *हा देवदत्तं* 'woe be to Devadatta'; *बुभुक्षितम् न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित्* 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind.' See I. 4. 49 &c.

तृतीया च होश्छन्दसि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, च, होः,
छन्दसि, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये जुहोते: कर्मणि कारके तृतीया विभक्ति भवति द्वितीया च ॥

3. In the *chhandas* (veda), the object of the verb *hu* 'to sacrifice' takes the affix of the third case, and of the second as well

This ordains the third case-affix, and by force of the word *च* 'and' the second case-affix is also employed as *यवाग्वाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति* 'he satisfies or pleases Agni with barley-powder,' or *यवागुमग्निहोत्रं जुहोति* 'he throws barleypowder into the fire as oblation.'

Why do we say 'in the vedas?' In the classical Sanskrit, the accusative only must be used and not the instrumental.

अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, युक्ते,
(द्वितीया)

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तराऽन्तरेणशब्दो निपातो सादृश्यार्थं दृश्यते । आभ्यां योगे द्वितीया विभक्ति भवति

4. A word joined with (or governed by) the word *antara*, or *antareṇa* takes the second case-affix

The *anuvṛtti* of *dvitīyā* is understand here and not that of *trītiyā*. Both these words *antarā* and *antareṇa* are *Nipātas*. They govern the accusative. This debarbs the genitive case. The word *antarā* means 'between' while *antareṇa* means 'besides that,' 'without,' 'exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding'. As, *अन्तरेण पुत्रवकारं न किञ्चित्कथ्यते* nothing can be

gained without exertion. अन्तरा or अन्तरेण त्वां च मां च कर्मण्युः 'the bowl is between thee and me.' कोऽन्यस्त्वां मां तरेण यत्तः प्रतिकर्तुं च 'who else but thee is able to retaliate.'

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अन्तरा तच्चयिलां च पाटलिपुत्रं च नस्य प्राकारः.

कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-अध्वनोः, अत्यन्त-संयोगे, (द्वितीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काल शब्देभ्योऽध्वन्यशब्देभ्यश्च द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति अत्यन्त संयोगे गण्यमाने ।

5. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

नासन्नधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' नासं काश्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), संवत्सरं पुष्पाः 'flowers during the year continually,' क्रोशं कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रोशं पर्वतः 'the hill through one full kos.' सभा वैश्रवणी राजन् यतयोजनमायता 'O king the hall of Viśravana is 100 yojanas in length.

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity'? Observe नासस्य द्विरधीते or क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

अपवर्गे तृतीया ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपवर्गे, तृतीया, (कालाध्वनो रत्यन्तसंयोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपवर्गे गण्यमाने कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

6. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

नासेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvâka in a month,' क्रोशेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvâka by going over a kos.

The word अपवर्ग means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरेणानुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvâka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as नासन्नधीतेऽनुवाकः 'learnt for a month, but not yet completed, the Anuvâka.'

सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी-पञ्चम्यौ,
कारक-मध्ये, (कालाध्वनोर०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारकयोर्मध्ये यौ कालाध्वनौ ताभ्यां सप्तमी पञ्चम्यौ विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

7. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and another action (or implies an interval of time and space between two kārakas).

Ex. अद्य भुक्ता देवदत्तो द्वये द्वाद्वाभोक्ता 'having dined today, Devadatta will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also दृष्ट्व्योऽयमिषदाचः कोद्यात् कोट्यो वा तद्वयं विधेत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos. Here kos is the interval between the agent and the object or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule 1. 3. 10 does not apply here.

कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीय-
युक्ते, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

8. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a karmapravachanīya (I. 4. 83).

Ex. शाकल्यस्य संहितामनुप्रावर्षत् 'It rained on (hearing) the reading of the Veda by Sākalya.' So also आगस्त्यमन्त्रसिंचत् प्रजाः ॥

यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्माद्-
अधिकं, यस्य, च, ईश्वर-वचनं, तत्र, सप्तमी, (कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्युक्ते तत्र सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

9. Where a word is governed by a karmapravachanīya in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the 7th case-affix (locative) is employed.

Ex. उपत्यार्याम् द्रोणः 'A Droṇa is more than a Khāri,' अधिब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चालाः 'Brahmadatta is the lord of Panchālas.' The phrase यस्यचेश्वर वचनं indicate that both the thing owned and the owner may be in the locative. See I. 4. 97.

This aphorism debars the accusative.

पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, अप-आङ्-परिभिः, (कर्मप्रवचनीययु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप आङ् परि इत्येतेः कर्मप्रवचनीयेभ्योऽपञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

10. The fifth case-affix (Ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the following karmapravachaniyas i.e., *apa*, *āṅ* and *pari*.

Ex. अप or आ or परि पाटलिपुत्रादावुष्टो देवः 'It rained off or upto or with the exclusion of, Pataliputra.

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप, therefore, not here इह परि विद्योतते विद्युत् (I. 4. 90).

प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-निधि-प्रतिदाने, च, यस्मात् (कर्मप्र०) (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात्प्रतिनिधिर्यतश्च प्रतिदानं तत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

11. The 5th case-affix (ablative) is employed after what soever is governed by a karmapravachaniya in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

Ex. अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति 'Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna.' आपानस्यैतिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति 'he exchanges māsās for this sesamum.' See I. 4. 92 for an explanation of प्रतिनिधि and प्रतिदान.

गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वानि ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-कर्मणि, द्वितीया-चतुर्थ्यौ, चेष्टायाम्, अनध्वानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां धातूनां चेष्टाक्रियाणां परिस्पन्दक्रियाणां कर्मणि कारकेऽध्वनिर्बिभे द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ भवतः

12 In the case of roots implying motion, the place to which motion is directed takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

Ex. ग्रामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But not so in जनसा हरिं व्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari' अनध्वानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way'). But not so in ओदनं पचति 'he cooks rice;' (the verb not denoting 'motion') nor in अश्वेन व्रजति (the verb not denoting 'the object.')

Note.—The word *adhvan* includes the synonyms of road (I. 1. 68) as *पथानं, गच्छति, मार्गं गच्छति*.

Note.—The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the fourth case-affix will be employed as *पथे गच्छति*.

चतुर्थी संप्रदाने ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रदाने कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्थी विधाने तादृश्यं उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्लृप्संप्रदाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्पातेन चाप्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हितयोगे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

13. In denoting the *sampradāna-kāraka* (I. 4. 32.) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

Ex. उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति 'He gives a cow to the teacher' देवदत्ताय रोचते 'it pleases Devadatta' (I. 4. 33) पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृश्यति (I. 4. 36) 'he desires flowers.

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof' as वृषाय दाव 'wood is for making posts,' कुण्डलाय हिरण्यं 'gold used for the purpose of making ear-ring,' रन्धनाय स्याली 'pot for the sake of cooking,' अन्नद्वननायोऽलूखलं 'mortar for the sake of threshing.'

Vart.—The verb क्लृप् and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, जूत्राय कस्यते यवागूः 'the barley gruel tends to produce urine.' So also जूत्राय संप्रदाते जावते वा यवागूः.

Vart.—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as.

वाताय कपिला बिद्म दातपायाति लोहितं

पीता वर्षाय विद्येया दुर्भिषाय शिता भवेत् ॥

'The reddish lightening portends wind, extremely red indicates heat, yellow portends rain and white lightening prognosticates famine.'

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word हितः as गोभ्योहितं 'good for cows.'

**क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रिया-
अर्थ-उपपदस्य, च, कर्मणि, स्थानिनः, (चतुर्थी) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च स्थानिनोऽप्रपञ्चमानस्य धातोः कर्मणि कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

14. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthāni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) there-with another verb, denoting an action, performed for the sake of the future action (kriyârthe III. 3. 10.).

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III. 3. 10.) is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

फलेश्यो वृजति=फलान्याहृतुं वृजति 'he goes for fruits i. e., to bring fruits.' This debars the accusative case. So also we have दधेभ्यः वृजति 'he goes for fuel.' The words क्रियार्थोपपदस्य and दधानिनः are in apposition. The first is a Bahuvrīhi compound of क्रियार्थ + उपपद and means 'a verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action (kriyârtha).' Thus in दधानाहृतुं च 'to bring fuel'; the infinitive verb आहृतुं च is क्रियार्थोपपद, the object of this verb is दधः when this verb is suppressed it becomes दधानिनः; the object of this verb takes the fourth case-affix.

Why do we say 'of the verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action? Observe प्रविश पिंडीच .

Why do we say 'in denoting the object.' Witness दधेभ्यो वृजति वृजतेन 'for fuel he goes with a cart.'

Why do we 'when suppressed'? Observe दधानाहृतुं वृजति .

तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम-अर्थात्, च भाव-वचनात्, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमर्थभाववचनप्रत्ययान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाच्चतुर्थी विनक्ति भवति ॥

15 The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III. 3. 11) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

Ex. यागाय वृजति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' — वष्टु वृजति. So also दधायाय वृजति, भूतये वृजति .

The word तुमर्थ means 'means' having the same significance as the affix तुम'.

नमःस्वस्तिस्वहास्वधालंबवद्योगाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमः-स्वस्ति-स्वाहा-स्वधा-अलम्-वद्यद्-योगात्, च, (चतुर्थी) ॥

विधिः ॥ नमः स्वस्ति स्वाहा स्वधा अलं वद्यद् इत्येतेषां चतुर्थी विनक्तिर्भवति

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कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणयोः तृतीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि करणे च कारके तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तृतीया विधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

18. In denoting the agent (I. 4. 54) or the instrument (I. 4. 42), the third case-affix is employed.

Ex. देवदत्तेन कृतं 'done by Devadatta,' दात्रेण क्षुराति 'he cuts with the sickle.' So also यच्चदत्तेन भुक्तम्, परशुना क्षिपति ॥

Vart.—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्राय 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्विद्वेण, पंचक and साहस्य as प्रायेण द्वात्रिंशः, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण धावति, द्विद्वेयेन क्रीणाति &c.

सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहयुक्ते, अप्रधाने (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहाय्येन युक्तेऽप्रधाने तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

19. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

Ex. पुत्रेण सहगतः पिता 'the father has come with the son.'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह as, पुत्रेण साद्वे 'with the son'. So also when the word सह is understood, as Pāṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 वृद्धो युष्मा &c.

Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, विश्वेण सहोपाध्या-
चरन्मनोः .

येनाङ्गविकारः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, अङ्ग-विकार, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गिना विकारो लभ्यते ततस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

20. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अक्षया क्रावः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खंजः 'lame of foot.' पाणिना कुपटः &c. The word aṅga in this sūtra applies to the whole body, whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here.

इत्थंभूतलक्षणे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूत-लक्षणे, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश्चित्प्रकारं प्राप्त इत्थंभूत, तस्यलक्षणमित्यं भूतलक्षणं, ततस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

21. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

जटाभिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.'
अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना छात्रपद्रासीत् 'your honor might see the student by the
fact of his having a kamandalu.' So also छात्रेणोपाध्यायस् 'a teacher by the
fact of having students.' शिखया परिव्राजकस् 'a Parivrājaka by a tuft of hair.'
But not so here, कमण्डलुपाणिहातः 'a student has kamandalu in his hand.'
Because here in the compound, कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark

Why do we say ittha-bhuta? Observe वृद्धं प्रति विद्योतनं.

संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-ज्ञः, अन्यतरस्यां,
कर्मणि, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वस्य जानातेः कर्मणि कारके द्वितीयायां प्राप्तायामन्यतरस्यां तृतीया विभक्ति
र्भवति ॥

22. After the verb sam-jñâ the third case-affix is option-
ally employed in denoting the object.

पिता or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.' यात्रा or यातरं संजानीते ॥

हेतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतौ, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलहाद्यनयोग्यः पदार्थो लोके हेतुरूप्यते; तद्वाचिनस्तृतीया विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

23. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case-
affix.

विद्यया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame.' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth,
family;' कन्यया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammati-
cal hetu (I. 4. 55). Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is
called hetu.

अकर्तृर्बुधो पञ्चमी ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्तरि, ऋणे, पञ्चमी,
(हेतौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पार्थ्वजितं गृह्यं हेतुस्ततः पञ्चमी विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

24. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but
not as a kartri or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

Ex. यताद्धः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred
pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?'—Observe *यतेन बन्धितः*; 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here *यत* being considered as a *prayojaka* *hetu*, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

विभाषा गुणेऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गुणे, अस्त्रियाम्, (हेतौ पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणे हेतावस्त्रीलिङ्गे विभाषा पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

25. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of an action, and not being of the feminine gender.

Ex. जाड्यने जाड्यताम् वा बद्धः 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.'
पांडित्येन or पांडित्याद् मुक्तः 'saved through learning.'

Guṇa-vachana nouns are generally abstract nouns. Therefore not here *यनेन* *कुलम्*. If an abstract noun is of feminine gender, this rule will not apply, as *बुद्ध्या* or *अवयवा* मुक्तः 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill or wisdom.'

षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोग ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, हेतु-प्रयोगे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुशब्दस्य प्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

26. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word *hetu* is used along with such a word.

Ex. अन्नस्य हेतौ वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.'

सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः तृतीया, च, (हेतुप्रयोगे) (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्नो हेतुशब्दप्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति षष्ठी च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तकारणहेतुषु सर्वासां प्रायदर्शनम् ॥

27. After a *sarvanāman* (I. 1. 27) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word *hetu* is used with it, the third case-affix is employed, as well as the sixth

Ex. कस्य or केन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?'
यस्य or येन हेतुना वसति ।

Vart :—When the words *निमित्त* or *कारण* are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed; as *किं निमित्तं* or *केन निमित्तेन* or *कस्य निमित्ताय* or *कस्मान्निमित्ताद्* or *कस्य निमित्तस्य* or *कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति*. Similarly with

the words kârana and hetu. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68) but its synonyms also; as किं प्रयोजनं or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाय &c., वसति .

अपादाने पञ्चमी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, पञ्चमी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपादाने कारके पञ्चमी विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पञ्चमीविधाने ह्यवलोपे कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मरणाख्याययोश्च पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यतश्चाभ्यकालनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तदनुकूलकाले सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अध्वनः प्रयत्ना सप्तमी च वक्तव्या ॥

28. When the Apâdâna-kâraka (I 4. 24) is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. ग्रामादागच्छति 'he comes from the village' (I. 4. 24); वृक्षेभ्यो विभेति (I. 4. 25), अध्यवनात् पराजयते (I. 4. 26) &c.

Vart:—The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ह्यप् is elided; as मासादनादह मेवते = मासादात् मेवते 'he sees from a palace.'

Vart:—And under similar circumstances in denoting the location the place where an action is performed is put in the ablative case, as, आसने उपविश्य मेवते = आसनात् मेवते 'he sees from a seat.'

Vart:—In questions and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:—कुतो भवान्? पाटलिपुत्राद् 'whence is your Honor coming? From Pataliputra'

Vart:—That point of time or space from which distance in time or space is measured is put in the ablative case:—as, गवीधूमतः सङ्कारयं चत्वारि योजनानि 'Sankâsya is from Gavîdhuma four yojanas.' कार्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे 'Agrahâyana is one month from Kârtika. The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case, as मासे

Vart:—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative; as गवीधूमतः सङ्कारयं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनेषु ।

अन्यारादितरत्तादिकंशब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाज्जाहियुक्ते ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥

अन्य--आरात्-इतर-अते-दिक्शब्द-अञ्चु-उत्तरपद-आच्-आहियुक्ते,
(पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्य आरात् इतर अते दिक्शब्द अञ्चुत्तरपद आच् आहि इत्येतेषां पञ्चमी विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

29. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with ârât 'near or remote' or itara 'different from' or rite 'without,' or words indicative of the 'directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. अन्धो, भिन्नो, इतरो, अर्यान्तरं, विलक्ष्यो वा देवदत्तात् 'different from Devadatta' आराद् देवदत्तात् 'remote from or near to Devadatta.' The word ârât meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sūtra 34, but this enjoins 5th case-affix. अन्ते देवदत्तात् 'excepting Devadatta.' पूर्वो ग्रामात् 'east of the village,' उत्तरो ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् षडन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer' प्राक् प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village' दक्षिणा दक्षिणादि वा ग्रामात् 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb añchu are also दिक्प्रत्ययः; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the next sūtra does not come after them.

षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, अतसर्थप्रत्ययेन ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतसर्थेन प्रत्ययेन युक्ते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

30. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28).

The affix अतसुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28.

Ex. ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्तात् उपरि वा 'to the south or north, foremost, in or above the village.'

एनपा द्वितीया ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एनपा, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एनप्यन्तरस्यानद्वारे षष्ठ्या इति वक्ष्यति । तेन युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

31. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

Ex. दक्षिणेन ग्रामश्च ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.'

पृथग्विनामानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृथग्-
विनः-नामाभिः, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम्, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथक् विना नामा इत्येते येनि तृतीया विभक्ति र्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

32. When joined with the words *prithak* 'without', *vinā* 'without' and *nānā* 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

Ex. रामाद्वानेष रामं वा विना पृथग् नामा वा 'without or different from Rāma.'

This sūtra may be divided into two parts:—(1) पृथग् विना नामाभिः (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम्. By this arrangement we can read dvitiya into the aphorism.

विना घातं विना धर्मं विद्मः तृप्रपतनं विना ।

विना इति कृतान्दोषात् केनेनौ पातितौ द्विती ॥

करणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥
करणे, च, स्तोक्-अल्प-कृच्छ्र-कतिपयस्य, असत्त्ववचनस्य, (तृतीया-
पञ्चमी-अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोक् अल्प कृच्छ्र कतिपय इत्येतेभ्योऽसत्त्ववचनेभ्यः करणे कारकोऽन्यतरस्यां तृतीया भवति पञ्चमेव ॥

33. When expressing an instrument-kāraka, optionally after the words *stoka* 'little,' *alpa* 'little,' *kṛichchhra* 'difficulty,' and *katipaya* 'some,' the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects.

Ex. स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा युक्तः and अल्पान्मुक्तः or अल्पेनमुक्तः &c, 'he got off easily &c. But स्तोकेन विषेन इतः, अल्पेन मधुना मत्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance. So also स्तोकां यु चति 'he loosens a little.' Here स्तोका is used as an adverb and not as an instrument (करण).

दूरान्तिकार्यैः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्ति-
क-अर्थैः, षष्ठी, अन्यतरस्याम्, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्यैः शब्दैरेते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां षष्ठ्यनी च ॥

34. when in conjunction with words having the sense of *dūra* 'distant,' and *antika* 'near,' the sixth case-affix is optionally employed.

Ex. ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा धर्मं दूरं विप्रकृष्टं, अन्तिकं, अभ्यासं, निकटं वाग्निं वा 'the forest is distant from or near, or to the village.'

The force of the word *अन्यतरस्यां* is to indicate that the 5th case-affix employed in the alternative, would have run into this sūtra, had we not used 'anyatarasyam.'

दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदायि ॥ दूर-अन्तिक-अर्थेभ्यः, द्वितीया, च, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्पञ्चमीतृतीयापि सञ्चयीयते ॥

35. After the words having the sense of *dūra* 'distant,' and *antika* 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

Ex. दूरं हृषाद् दूरेण वा ग्रामस्य and अन्तिकत्वात्, or अन्तिकेन अन्तिकं ग्रामस्य.

This rule applies only when these words have their original signification and do not denote a substance. Otherwise the proper case-affix should be employed, as दूरः पन्थाः, दूराय पथे देहि.

सप्तम्यधिकरणे, च, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, अधिकरणे, च, (दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवत्यधिकरणे कारके चकारा दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तमीविभागे क्तस्येतिवचनस्य कर्तव्यमुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ साध्वसाधुप्रयोगे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कारकाद्वाङ्मात्रं वा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अकारकाद्वाङ्मात्रं वा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तद्विपर्यासे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तात्कर्तृसंयोगे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

36. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location (I. 4. 45) as well as after the words meaning 'distant' or 'near'.

Ex. कटे आस्ते 'he sits on the mat' अन्तिके दूरे वा ग्रामस्य 'near or distant from the village.' ह्यालयां पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' Thus the words *दूर* and *अन्तिक* take four case-affixes, namely the second, third, fifth and seventh.

Vart.—Words like *अधीति* 'who has learnt,' *पृहीति* 'who has comprehended;' i. e., words formed by adding *इत्* to the past participle in क्त, govern the locative of that which forms their object:—as *अधीती उवाकरणे* 'versed in grammar,' *परिगृहीती यज्ञिके* 'well versed in sacrificial rites,' *आप्ताप्ती वेदवि* 'well read in the Vedā.' See V. 2. 88.

Vart:—The words चायु and अचायु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown ; as चातरि चायुरचायु वा 'well behaved or ill-behaved towards his mother.'

Vart:—The Locative absolute is used in cases other than those specified in the next sūtra, namely, in cases where the action done or suffered does not indicate the time of another action; as शूद्रेषु भुञ्जानेषु दरिद्रा आसते 'the poor are sitting, while the rich are eating,' दरिद्रेषु आसीनेषु शूद्राभुञ्जते 'the rich are eating, while the poor being seated.' So also *vice versa*.

Vart:—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done; as.

चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति, दंतशैर्हन्ति कुंजरम् ।

क्षेत्रेषु चमरीं हन्ति शोभि पुष्कलको इतः ॥

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, for chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, भावेन, भाव-लक्षणम्, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावः क्रिया यस्य च भावेन यस्य च क्रिययाक्रियास्तरं लक्ष्यते ततो भाववतः सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

37.- By the action (bhāva) of whatsoever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दूयमानासु गतः 'the cows being milked, he went away' दुग्धास्वागतः 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु पुण्यानेषु गतः, पुतेष्वागतः.

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe यो जटाभिः च भुञ्जे. Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यो भुञ्जे च देवदत्तः.

यष्टी चानादरे ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यष्टी, च, अन्-आदरे, (सप्तमी, भावेन भावलक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनादराधिके भावलक्षणे भाववतः यष्टीसप्तम्यो विभक्ती भवतः ॥

38. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after that by whose action the time of another action is indicated

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदतः रुदतिवा प्राज्ञाजीत् 'in spite of her weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English word 'notwithstanding' 'in spite of' 'for all,' &c., जन्दाः पश्यन् ह्य हताः पश्यन्तो राजपश्यन् 'the

Nandas were killed like so many beasts Rakshasa looking on,' (not-withstanding that Rakshasa was looking on).

स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥
स्वामिन्-ईश्वर-अधिपति-दायाद-साक्षिन्-प्रतिभू-प्रसूतैः, च, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिन् ईश्वर अधिपति दायाद चाविन् प्रतिभू प्रसूत इत्येतेषां षष्ठी सप्तमी विभक्तीभवतः ॥

39. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after words when they are joined with svâmin 'master,' îśvara 'lord,' adhipati 'ruler,' dâyâda 'an heir', sâkshin 'witness,' pratibhû 'a surety,' and prasûta 'begotten'.

गवां गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वर 'master of cows' So also गवानधिपतिः or गोष्वधिपतिः, गवां दायादः or गोषु दायादः, गवां or गोषु चाक्षी प्रतिभूः &c.

These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sūtra ordains Locative as well.

आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुक्त-
कुशलाभ्यां, च, असेवायाम्, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुक्तो व्यापारितः कुशलो निपुणः ताभ्यां योने आसेवायां गन्धमानायां चर्मा यस्यां विभक्तीभवतः ॥

40. In conjunction with the words âyukta 'engaged,' and kuśala 'skilful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

Ex. आयुक्तः कुशलो वा कटकरसे कटकरस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in mat-making.'

When not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different; as आयुक्तो नौ शक्ते 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

यतश्च निर्दोरणम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, च, निर्दोरणम्,
(षष्ठी-सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यतो निर्दोरणं ततः षष्ठीसप्तमी विभक्तीभवतः ॥

41. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class).

Ex. गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुवीराः 'among cows the black one gives much milk., ननुष्याणां or ननुष्येऽनु चन्निभः द्युतनः .

A nirdhârana or specification is made by separating one from the many by reason of its genus, quality and action (II. 2. 10).

पञ्चमी विभक्ते ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, विभक्ते, (यतय निर्द्धारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्निर्द्धारणाय विभक्तमस्ति ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥ विभागो विभक्तं ॥

42. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रेभ्यः सुकुमारतराः 'Mathura is more beautiful than Pâtaliputra.'

साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधु-निपुणाभ्यां, अर्चायम्, सप्तमी-अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधु निपुण इत्येताभ्यां योगेऽर्चायां गम्यमानायां सहजी विभक्तिर्भवति न चेत्, प्रतिः प्रयुज्यते ॥

43. In conjunction with the words sādhu 'good,' and nipuna 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case-affix is employed; provided that the word prati is not used.

मातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother'? But साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्भृत्योराज्ञः 'the servant is good towards the king. Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

The exception applies not only to प्रति but to other prepositions, like परि, अतः &c., as, मातरं परि साधुर्देवदत्तः ॥

प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च, ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रसित-उत्सुकाभ्यां, तृतीया, च, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रसित उत्सुक इत्येताभ्यां योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्सप्तमी च ॥

44. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

Ex. निद्रायां निद्रया वा उत्सुकः 'longing for sleep.' क्रयेः or क्रेशेषु प्रसितः

नक्षत्रे च लुपि ॥ ४५ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रे, च, लुपि, (तीया
सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुपन्ताण्यत्रयदात्तृतीयासप्तम्याः त्वमका भवतः ॥

45. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Ex. पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पायसमश्नीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV 2. 5. So also नषाभिः पल्लौदनं नषासु पल्लौदनम्. But not so here पंचालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchâla'. Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe नषासु ग्रहः 'the planet in the Maghâ.' Here there is no elision. But why not in अद्वयपुष्पः, अद्वयकृत्तिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचन मात्रे प्रथमा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्रातिपदिक-अर्थ-लिङ्ग-परिमाण-वचन-मात्रे, प्रथमा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे लिङ्गमात्रे परिमाणमात्रे वचनमात्रे प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

46. Where the sense is that of the Nominalstem (I. 2. 45) or of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. उच्चैः 'aloft,' नीचैः 'below,' कुमारी 'virgin,' वृक्षः 'tree,' कूङ् 'owl,' द्रोणः 'a measure'. By 'number' grammatical number is meant; as एकः 'one,' द्वौ 'two,' बहवः 'many'.

The sense of a Prâtipadika is to denote mere existence. Genders are three, masculine, feminine and neuter. Measures are such as droṇa, khâri, âdhaka &c. Numbers are singular, dual and plural. The Nîpatas which do not denote anything are also Prâtipadika.

संख्योधने च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च (प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने च प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

47. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. हे राम 'O Ram' हे राज्ञी, हे राजाः ॥

साञ्जमन्त्रितम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सञ्जमन्त्रितम् (सम्बोधने प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने वा प्रथमा तदन्तं शब्दरूपमामन्त्रितसंज्ञं भवति ॥

48. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or vocative (VIII. 2. 78).

एकवचनं संबुद्धिः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः,
(आमन्त्रितम् प्रथम) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितप्रथमाया यदेकवचनं तत्संबुद्धिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

49. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

The vocative singular is called sambuddhi, when it is employed in the vocation. Thus VI. 1. 69 declares 'after an inflection base ending in एङ् or in a short vowel, a consonant is elided if it be that of Sambuddhi' as
हे राम ॥

षष्ठी शेषे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मादिभ्योऽन्यः प्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वानिसंबन्धादिः शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

50. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining case, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c. different from that of a Nominal-stem.

Ex. राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beast's foot' पितुः पुत्रः father's son.'

ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञः, अविदर्थस्य, करणे,
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञानातेरविदर्थस्याज्ञानार्थस्य करणे कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

51. Of the verb ज्ञा jñā, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुने जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice with honey'. So also सर्पिषो जानीते. The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of

'to act, or to engage in ;' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as सर्पिषि रक्तः प्रतिहतावा. Compare I. 3. 45.

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

अधीगर्थदयेशां कर्मणि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-इक्-अर्थ-दय-ईशां, कर्मणि, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधीगर्थाः स्मरणार्थाः । दय दानगतिरवश्येय । ईय ऐश्वर्ये । एतेषां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhik) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of ईसा 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मातुः अध्येति 'he remembers the mother,' सर्पिषो दयते 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं गात्राणामीष्टे 'he can not rule his limbs.' But not so here मातुर्गुणैः स्मरति because गुण here is not the object. The word शेष is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that मातरं स्मरति is also allowed.

कृजः प्रतियत्ने ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, प्रतियत्ने, (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतिः कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते प्रतियत्ने गन्धनामे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

53. The object of the verb kri takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue (I. 3. 32).

Ex. एषोदकस्योपस्कुरुते 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, उ is inserted).

When प्रतियत्न is not meant, the second case-affix is employed : as कटं करोति.

The word शेष is also understood here. So that we have also एषोदकमुपस्कुरुते ॥

रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुज-अर्थानां, भाववचनानाम्, अज्वरे, (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजार्थानां धातूनां भाववचनानां भावकर्तृकाणां ज्वरिर्वर्जितानां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अज्वरि संताप्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. The object of verbs having the sense of ruj 'to afflict', with the exception of the Causative verb jvaraya 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (*i. e.*, when the subject is an Abstract noun).

Ex. चौरस्य व्रजति रोगः 'the disease afflicts the chief' चौरस्यानवति आनयः ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कुलानि व्रजति 'the river breaks the banks.' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संतापयति is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ।

The word शेष is also understood here. Thus चौरं व्रजति रोगः ॥

आशिषि नाथः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, नाथः (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाथ् नाथ् वाङ्मोपतापैश्वर्याशीःषु पठ्यते, तस्याशीः क्रियस्य कर्मणि कारके शेष एवेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

55. Of the verb nâth when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. ननुने नाथते 'he blesses the honey.' But नाथवकनुपनायति, ज्ञं नुत्री-काशीष्व 'he solicits mânavaaka saying (child) son, study.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

जासिनिप्रहणनाटक्रायपिषां हिंसायाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जासि-निप्रहण-नाट-क्राय-पिषां, हिंसा-याम्, (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जासि निप्रहण नाट क्राय पिष् इत्येतेषां चाहूनां, हिंसा क्रियायां कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

56. The object of the verbs jâsi 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' han 'to strike' preceded by नि and म, nât 'to injure,' 'krâth,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्य योऽज्ञायति, निप्रहन्ति, निहन्ति, प्रहन्ति, प्रणिहन्ति, उन्नाटयति, क्राययति, पिनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root जसु belonging to the Churadi class should be taken, and not Divâdi. इन with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken in any order. The root क्राय takes in the causative vridhhi irregularly. The verb is Bhvâdi and falls into the subdivision ghatâdi, and is called there a निट् verb; all निट् verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix विच् (VI. 4. 92). Thus क्राय is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe चानाः चिनटि 'he pounds the barley.'

The word येष is also understood here as चौरपुञ्जावयति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं दिनस्ति. चौरं विदन्ति ॥

व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहृ-पणोः, समर्थयोः (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृ पण इत्येतयोः समर्थयोः समानार्थयोः कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

57. The object of the verbs vyavahri and pan when they are synonymous, that is when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. अतस्व व्यवहरति or पणते 'he deals in, or stakes! hundred.'

Why does not the verb पण take the affix आच्? It takes आच् when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Not so here अलाकां व्यवहरति 'he throws the dice,' ब्राह्मणं पणयते 'he praises the Brâhmanas.' The word येष is also here understood, so that we have अतं पणते 'he stakes a hundred.'

दिवस्तदर्थस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, तदर्थस्य । (व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृपणित्वमनार्थस्य दीव्यतेः कर्मणि षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

58. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. अतस्य दीव्यति 'he stakes or deals in a hundred.' But not in ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति 'he jokes with the Brahmana.'

The yoga vibhâga when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtras, in which the anuvṛitti of दिव runs, and not of others.

विभाषोपसर्गे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपसर्गे, (दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गं सति दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

59. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga (or preposition).

Ex. यतस्य यत् वा प्रति दीव्यति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.' But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, यत्ताकां प्रति दीव्यति 'he throws the missile.'

द्वितीया ब्राह्मणे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया. ब्राह्मणे,
(द्विवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणाविषये प्रयोगे द्विवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

50. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking' takes the second case-affix in the Brāhmaṇa literature.

Ex. नामस्य तदहः सभायां दीव्येयुः (Maitr. S. 1. 6. 11) In the Vedic literature the simple verb div takes the accusative instead of the genitive. And with upasargas it is optional. The anuvṛitti of the word जेव does not extend to this sūtra, or the following.

प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासंप्रदाने ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष्य-ब्रुवोः,
हविषः, देवता-सम्प्रदाने (षष्ठी कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषः कर्मणः षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति देवता संप्रदानेति ॥

61. The object of the verb preshya and brūhi (imperative singular of Divādi verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient.

Ex. अग्नये छागस्य हविषोवपाया नेदसेऽग्नूद्ब्रुहि प्रेष्य वा 'send to fire as oblation, the goat, the fat, and the marrow.' But not here.—अग्नये छागं हविष्यं नेदो ब्रुवहि. Because the verb is not preshya or bruhi. So also not here अग्नये गोमयाद् प्रेष्य. Because it is not an oblation. Not here too नाणावकाय पुरोडाशं प्रेष्य. Because the recipient is not a deity. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

Vart:—This rule does not apply when the word प्रस्थित 'set out' qualifies the word हविः as; इन्द्राग्निभ्यां छागं हविष्यं नेदः प्रस्थितं प्रेष्य 'send to Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c,

चतुर्थ्यर्थे बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी-अर्थे, बहुलं,
छन्दसि (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति बहुलम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्थ्यर्थे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

62. In the chhandas the sixth case-affix is employed diversely with the force of the fourth case-affix.

Ex. पुष्यपुष्यचन्द्रमसः or चन्द्रमसे 'to the moon, a male deer.' गोधा कालका दारवा चाटस्ते वनस्पतीनाम् or वनस्पतिभ्यः, to you lords of the forest, are lizard, kâlaka bird, &c. So also वायुरस्ना उपा नन्धत् (R. Ved X. 136. 7).

Why do we say 'diversely?' Observe कृष्णोराग्ये, दिनवतो इत्या ।

Vart :—In the Veda, the 4th case-affix is employed in the sense of the sixth : as वा खर्वेण पिबति तस्यै खर्वो जायते 'who soever woman drinks with a woman in her courses, gets herself in menstua. So also वा दतो धावति तस्यै श्वापदश्च 'who cleans her teeth, her teeth become black.' वा नखानि कृन्तति तस्यै कुनखः 'who pairs her nails, her nails become ugly.' So on, in याऽङ्क्तेतस्यै काशः वाऽभ्यङ्क्तेतस्यै दुग्धर्भा, वा केशान् प्रलिखति तस्यै खलति ॥ अइत्याद्यै आरः (T. S. 2. 5. 1. 7.)

यजेश्च करणे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि यजेः, च, करणे, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजेर्धातोः करणे कारको कन्दसि बहुलं षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

63. The sixth case-affix is diversely employed in the chhandas in denoting the instrument of the verb yaj 'to sacrifice.'

Ex. घृतस्य or घृतेन यजते 'he sacrifices with butter.' सोमस्य or सोमेन यजते ॥

कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्वो-अर्थप्रयोगे, काले, अधिकरणे (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्वोऽर्थानां प्रत्ययानां प्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

64. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (adhikarana) after a word denoting time (kāla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V. 4, 17) 'so many times.'

Ex. पंचकृत्वोऽह्नोभुक्ते 'he eats five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.' As द्विरह्नोऽधीते 'he studies twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वबुच् ? Observe अह्नि शेते 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अह्नि भुक्तश्च. Nor when the time is not meant, as द्विः कंसिवाचाभ्यां भुक्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when

location is not meant : as द्विरङ्गो भुङ्क्ते. The *षष्ठी* being understood we have द्विरङ्ग्यधीते.

कर्तृ-कर्मणोः कृति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः, कृति ।
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतप्रयोगे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

65. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a *kṛit* affix (III. 1.93).

Ex. क्रियां कालिदासस्य 'the composition of Kālidāsa.' आहता ऋतूनां 'the performer of sacrifice.' So also भवतः शयिका 'your turn of lying down.' अस्त्रं छट्वा, पुरां भेत्ता वज्रस्य भर्ता. But not in शस्त्रेण भेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.'

Why do we say 'kṛit?' Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्वीकटं. In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि ॥ ६६ ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ, कर्मणि, (कृति षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयोः प्राप्त्यर्थस्मिन्कृति शेषयुभयप्राप्तिस्तत्कर्मण्येव षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रकाकारयोः स्त्री प्रत्यययोः प्रयोगे नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शेषे विभाषा ॥

66. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the words formed by *kṛit*-affixes, are both used in a sentence, in the object only, the sixth case-affix is employed, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

आश्चर्यो गवां दोहोऽनोपालकेन 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते मे ओदनस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन. 'The eating of rice by Devadatta pleases me;' पयसः पानं यज्जदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Yajñadatta.'

Vart:—'When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, when, as some say, the *kṛit* terminations are of the feminine gender, or as others say, when the terminations are of any gender; as, विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.' शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्येण आचार्यस्य वा 'the dissertation on words by the āchārya' बलिदाहि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः or पाणिनिना 'beautiful is the structure of sūtra by Pāṇini.' Apte.

कृतस्य च, वर्तमाने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृतस्य, च, वर्तमाने
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतस्य वर्तमानकालविहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नपुंसके भावउपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शेषविधानात् सिद्धम् ॥

67. The past participle ending in क्त when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

Ex. राज्ञो वृजितः 'honored by kings,' अहमेवमनो नदीपतेः 'I alone am regarded by the king.'

Why do we say 'क्त'? Observe ओदनं पचमानः 'rice is cooked.' Why do we say 'when denoting the present tense'? Observe ग्रामं गतः 'gone to the village.'

Vart:—When used as abstract neuter nouns, past participles are used with the genitive, as मयूरस्य नृत्यं 'the dancing of a peacock' शास्त्रस्य हसितं 'the laughing of the student', कोकिलस्य व्याहृतम् 'the screaming of the cuckoo.' When, however, agent is desired to be particularised, the instrumental case is employed: as छात्रेण हसितम्.

This sūtra debars sūtra 69 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishthā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

अधिकरणवाचिनश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणवाचिनः, च, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्लोपिकरणे चेति वक्ष्यति तस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

68. The past participle in क्त is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishthā contained in II. 3. 69. As इदमेवमाश्रितम् 'this is their seat.' इदमेवां शयितं 'this is their sleeping.'

In connection with verbs taking two objects, both take the genitive case, when a word ending in क्त-affix denotes the agent, as they would have taken the accusative: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामस्य चैत्रः 'Chaitra is the leader of the horse of the village.' When, however, one is the principal, then the object takes the genitive: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामं चैत्रः, 'Chaitra leads the horse to the village.'

न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृणाम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल-उ-उक-अव्यय-निष्ठा-खलर्थ-तृणाम्, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल उ उक अव्यय निष्ठा खलर्थ तृन् इत्येतेषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उक प्रतिषेधे कसेर्भाषायामप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययप्रतिषेधे तामुक्कमुनोरप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः षटुर्भाषावचनम् ॥

69. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle ending in the affix ल, or उ, or उक्, or by an Indeclinable, or by a Past Participle in क्त and क्तवु, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of ल् or by a Noun of agency formed by वृत् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the Agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debar Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक is formed by ल + उ + उक् = ल + उक् = लोक .

1. The word ल means the substitutes of ल i.e., the Present Participles in वृत्, शानच् (III. 2. 124), कानच् (III. 2. 106) क्ववु (III. 2. 107) कि and किन् (III. 2. 172). Thus ओदनं ववन्, पचमानः, पेचानः or पेचिवान्, पविः पोषन्, इदिर्गः ॥

2. The affix उ is enjoined by III. 2. 168, as, कटं चिकीर्षुः, ओदनं बुभुक्षुः ॥ The prohibition applies when a word ending in इच्छुच् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term; as, कन्यामलंकरिच्छुः ॥

3. The affix उक् is ordained by III. 2. 154 : as आगात्रुकं चाराचर्वी रज आहुः ॥

Vart :— But the word कात्रुक in the classical Sanskrit, governs the Genitive, as दास्याः कात्रुकः 'lusting for the slave.'

4. Indeclinables formed by कृत् affixes, as, कटं कृत्वा, ओदनं भुक्त्वा ॥

Vart :—This prohibition, however, does not apply to the indeclinables formed by तेभ्युन् (III. 4. 16) and क्तुन् (III. 4. 17), as, पुरा सूर्यस्योदेतेराधेयः पुरा क्रूरस्य विरूपो विरूपिन् (I. 1. 40).

5. Nishṭhā i.e., क्त and क्तवु; as ओदनं भुक्त्वान् देवदत्तेन कृतम् .

6. The words formed by लृत् affixes (III. 3. 126), as, ईषत्करो भवता नटः, ईषत्पानः लोभो भवता .

7. The वृत् in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the वृ of वृत् (III. 2. 129) and the final वृ of वृत् (III. 2. 135), meaning the affixes शानच् (III. 2. 128), चानच् (III. 2. 129), वृत् (III. 2. 130) and वृत् (III. 2. 135). As ओदनं पचमानः, नटमाचनानः, अधीयन्, चाराचर्वन्, कर्ता कटान्, इदिता जनापवादात् .

Vart :—Optionally so, when the root द्विप् takes the affix वृत्, as, चौर्द or चौरस्य द्विप् ॥

अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्त्ययोः ॥ ७० ॥ यदानि ॥ अक-इतोः, भविष्यद्-आधमर्त्ययोः (वृत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकस्य भविष्यति काले विहितत्वेनस्य भविष्यति आधमर्त्यं च विहितस्य प्रवेने वृत्ती विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

70. The sixth case-affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in **चक** denoting futurity, or in **इ** denoting 'futurity and indebtedness.'

The affix **चक**, such as **चकुल**, **चकु** &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix **इ** such as **णिनि** (III. 3. 3 and 170) denotes both. Thus **कटं कारको वृजति** 'he goes to make a mat.' **खोदं भोजको वृजति** 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with **इ**, as **ग्रामंगमी** or **गात्री** 'he has to go to the village.' **सत्तं दायी** 'he owes hundred.'

Why do we say 'when denoting futurity or indebtedness'? Observe **चवानां चावकः** 'the cutter of barley.' **चतूनां पावकः**, अवश्यं करी कटस्व ॥

Why is the Genitive employed in the following **वर्षयतस्य पूरकः**, **पुत्रयोस्तस्या दर्थकः**? The words **पूरक** and **दर्शक**, though formed by **अक** (III. 1. 133), are not formed by that **अक** which denotes futurity, viz., III. 3. 10. The present sūtra relates to this latter **अक**, and not every **अक** in general.

कृत्यानां कर्तरि वा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यानां, कर्तरि, वा, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानां प्रयोगे कर्तरि वा षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्त्तुम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयप्राप्ते कृत्ये षष्ठ्या प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

71. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive-Participle (kṛitya).

By II. 3. 65, verbal nouns, (kṛit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agent only, in the case of those verbal nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus **भवतः** or **भवता कटः कर्तव्यः** (II. 1. 95).

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent'? In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As **नेवो नानवकः वाङ्मा ॥**

Vart:—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus **कृतव्या ग्रामं यात्रा देवदत्तेन**, **नेतव्या ग्रामनवा देवदत्तेन ॥**

तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-अर्थैः, अतुल-उपमाभ्यां, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यार्थैः शब्दैरेणे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवत्यन्यतरस्यां, पदे षष्ठी च, तुलोपमा शब्दो वर्जयित्वा ॥

72. The third or the sixth case-affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to or resemblance'; excepting **तुलां** and **उपमा**

Thus तुल्यो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य, सदृशो देवदत्तेन, or देवदत्तस्य ॥ But with तुला and उपमा the Genitive must necessarily be employed. As तुला देवदत्तस्य नास्ति, उपमा कृष्णस्य न विद्यते ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of च was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्यतरस्याच् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याच् into that sūtra; but had the word अन्यतरस्याच् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word तृतीया instead, which is not desired.

On this sūtra, Professor Apte says:—‘Pāṇini says that the words तुला and उपमा can not be used with the Instrumental. But this is against good usage: as तुलां, यदारोहति दंतवाससा (Kum. Sam. V. 24), नभसा तुलां यमारोह (Raghuvamsa VIII. 15), स्फुटोपनं भूतिवितेन यंभुना (Māgh I. 4).’

चतुर्थी चाशिव्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥
चतुर्थी, च, आशिवि, आयुष्य-मद्र-भद्र-कुशल-सुख-अर्थ-हितैः, (अन्यतर-स्याच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिवि मय्यमानायाच् आयुष्य मद्र भद्र कुशल सुख अर्थ हित इत्येतेर्योगे चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति । चकारो विकल्पादुक्त्यर्थः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्रायुष्यादीनां पर्यायशब्दं कर्तव्यम् ॥

73. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words āyusha ‘long life,’ madra ‘joy,’ bhadra ‘good fortune,’ kuśala ‘welfare,’ sukha ‘happiness,’ artha ‘prosperity,’ and hita ‘good.’

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional: in the alternative we have Genitive.

Varī:—In this sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं देवदत्ताय भूयात् or आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥ Similarly चिरं जीवितं, मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरानयं, सुखं, यं, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पथ्यं देवदत्ताय or देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥

Why do we say when ‘benediction is intended’? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तपः ‘the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.’ Here there is no option allowed: and the Genitive case is only employed.

ओ३म्

॥ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IV.

द्विगुरेकवचनम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः । एक-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुः समासः एकवचनं भवति ॥

1. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samâhâra Dvigu i. e., an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. As, पञ्चपत्नी 'an aggregate of five cows,' पञ्चपत्नी (IV. 1. 21.). The sense of Dvigu being that of one, it follows that it retains the singular number even when further modified by other affixes, and used as an attributive and though no longer a Dvigu; as, पञ्चपत्नीयं योभना ॥

द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वः, च, प्राणि-
तूर्य-सेना-अङ्गानाम् (एकवचनं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणयङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवचनं भवति, तथातूर्यङ्गानां सेनाङ्गानां च ॥

2. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, पाणिपादश्च 'the hand and foot' शिरोग्रीवं 'the head and neck' मर्दङ्गिकापाणविकश्च 'players on the mridaṅga and panava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्चरोहश्च 'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' घोषावादकपरिवादकश्च, रथिक-
पादादकश्च ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samâhâra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29.)

In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses, &c., the singular is optional; (II. 4. 12.) The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samâhâra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samâhâra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14.) are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samâhâra Dvandva; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12.) are optionally either Samâhâra or Itaretara Dvandva.

अनुवादे चरणानाम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुवादे, चरणानाम् ।

(द्वन्द्वः, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्ववति अनुवादे गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्थेयोरद्वयतन्वां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools When the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and hence means such a person. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvâdâ.

This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and इङ् only; as उदगात् कठकालापम् 'kâṭha and kâlâpa arose (again, further demonstrating their doctrines)'; प्रत्यह्नात् कठकौयुनम् 'kâṭha and kâuthuma established again.

Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उदगुः कठकालापाः or प्रत्यह्नुः कठकौयुनाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and इङ् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्दिषुः कठकालापाः and उदयन्ति कठकालापाः

Note:—This sūtra is translated thus by Mr. Iyengar, 'Aggregation alone is admissible between words denoting persons belonging to the different charaṇas of the Vedas, when they are used along with the aorist derived from the roots sthâ and iṅ in the sense of recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt, as distinguished from learning them the first time.' Prof. Bohtlingk's translation is. 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.

अध्वर्युऋतुरनपुंसकम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्युः, ऋतुः अ-नपुंस-
कम् । (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युऋतुवाचिनां शब्दानामनपुंसकलिङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

4. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided they are never used in the neuter gender.

As, अर्काश्वमेधश्च 'the Arks and Aśvamedha sacrifices,' सायाहनातिरात्रश्च 'the Sâyâhna and Atirâtra sacrifices.

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda' sacrifices? Observe इषुवज्री 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' उद्भिद्वलभिदी ॥

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter' gender? Observe राजसूय-वाजपेयी 'the Râjasûya and Vâjapeya sacrifices.'

Why have we दर्शपौर्णमासी? Because the word ऋतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifices in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Paurṇamâsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule, does not apply.

अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टारूपाणाम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्ययनतः, अवि-
प्रकृष्ट-रूपाणाम्, (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्ययनेन निमित्तेन येषामविप्रकृष्टा प्रत्यासन्ना आरूपा तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

5. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement; so, also क्रमकवार्तिकम्.

Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्री 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवेद्याकरो 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

जातिरप्राणिनाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिः, अप्राणिनाम्,
(द्वन्द्व, एकव०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति, प्राणिनो वर्जयित्वा ॥

6. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jâti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus **आराधस्त्रि** 'the probe and the knife'; **धानाद्यक्षुलि** 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe **नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यो** 'Nandaka and Pāñchajanya.'

Why do we say 'not of living'? See **ब्रह्मण्यश्रियो** "Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas."

This rule applies to the *jāti* or genus names of substances (**द्रव्यजाति**) and not the *jāti* names of qualities and actions. (**गुणक्रियाजाति**). Thus **रसस्पर्शगन्धस्पर्शः** 'colour, savour, odour, and tangibility'; **गमनाकुक्षनप्रसारणानि** 'going, contraction and expansion.'

Even with *jāti* names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, **इह कुण्डे बदरामलकानि तिष्ठन्ति** 'in this bowl are the badari and āmalaki fruits.'

The words **जाति** 'genus,' **द्रव्य** 'substance,' **गुण** 'quality' and **क्रिया** 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. *Jāti* has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion, and going.

विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदी देशोऽग्रामाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशिष्ट-लिङ्गः, नदी, देशः, अग्रामाः, (द्वोगो) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशिष्टलिङ्गानां भिन्नलिङ्गानां नदीवाचिनां शब्दानां देशवाचिनां च ग्रामवर्जितानां द्वयं एकवद्भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अग्रामा इत्यत्र नगराणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयतश्च ग्रामाणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. A Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus **गंगायोगक्ष** 'the Ganges and the Sona.' **कुरुवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं** 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.' **उद्व्येरावती कुरुक्षेत्रं जाह्नवः ॥**

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe **गंगायमुने** 'the Ganga and the Yamuna.' Both being feminine gender, so also **नङ्गकेकवाः ॥**

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुक्कुटनद्युर्यौ 'the hen and the pea-hen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town? See जाम्बवशालूकिन्यौ 'Jāmbaba and Sālukinī, which are the names of two villages or grama.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलाशगन्धमादने the Kailasa and the Gandhamadana.'

Vart:—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathura and Pataliputra.'

Vart:—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यक्षेत्रवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

सुद्रजन्तवः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुद्र-जन्तवः, (द्वन्द्व एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुद्रजन्तु वाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

8. A Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus घृक्षालिवश्च 'the louse and the nil'; दंशमशकश्च 'the bug and the mosquito.' The word सुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called सुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size; others say, all below the mongoose are kshudrajantu.

येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ येषां, च, विरोधः, शाश्वतिकः (द्वन्द्वः, एकवच०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येषां शाश्वतिको विरोधस्तद्वाचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

9. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only among whom there is permanent enmity i. e., natural and eternal antipathy or quarrel, is singular.

The word विरोध means enmity : and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, मार्जारभूषकश्च 'the cat and the rat; श्वशृगालश्च 'the dog and the jackal'; सर्पिनकुलं. 'the snake and the mongoose.'

Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गौपालिशालंकायनाः कलहायन्ते 'Gaupali and Salankayana are quarrelling.'

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds.

Thus rule 12 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4, 2.) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as अश्ववनिषवश्च. 'the horse and the buffalo'; काकोलूकश्च. 'the crow and the owl.'

शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ शूद्राणाम्, अनिरव-
सितानाम्, (द्वन्द्वः, एकवचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिरवसितशूद्रवाचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

10. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Sûdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तक्षायस्करश्च 'the carpenter and the blacksmith'; रजकतनुवायश्च 'the washerman and the weaver.'

The word अनिरवसित means one not expelled (from the dish).

A Sûdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvasita Sûdra.

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृतपाः 'the Chandala and the Mritapa.'

गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि । गवाश्वं-प्रभृतीनि, (एक-
वचनम्, द्वन्द्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि कृतैकवद्भावानि द्वन्द्वरूपाणि साधुनि भवन्ति ॥

11. The word gavâśva; and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वश्च 'the cow and the horse.' So also गवायिकश्च.

गवाश्वादिः

1. गवाश्वश्च. 2. गवायिकश्च. 3. गवैडकश्च. 4. अजायिकश्च. 5. अजै-
डकश्च. 6. कुञ्जवामनश्च. 7. कुञ्जकेरातकश्च. 8. पुत्रपौत्रश्च. 9. श्वचण्डालश्च.
10. स्त्रीकुमारश्च. 11. दासीमाणवकश्च. 12. शाटीपिच्छकश्च. 13. उष्ट्रश्च.
14. उष्ट्रयश्च. 15. सूत्रशकृत. 16. सूत्रपुरीषश्च. 17. यकृन्मेदः. 18.
मांसशोणितश्च. 19. दर्भयश्च. 20. दर्भपूतीकश्च. 21. अर्जुनशिरीषश्च. 22.
तृचोलचश्च. 23. दासीदासश्च. 24. कुटीकुटश्च. 25. भगवतीभागवतश्च.

Vart:—In this list, the forms as given, are singular; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोश्वश्च or गोश्वी. In this form of गो and अश्व the next 'rule applies and option is allowed.

विभाषा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्त-
राणाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वृक्ष-मृग-तृण-धान्य-व्यञ्जन-पशु-
शकुनि-अश्ववडव-पूर्व-अपर-अधर-उत्तराणाम्, (६०९०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृक्ष मृग तृण धान्य व्यञ्जन पशु शकुनि अश्ववडव पूर्वापर अधरोत्तर इत्येतेषां
द्वन्द्वो विभाषैकवद्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुप्रकृतिः फलसेना वनरूपतिमृगशकुनिमुद्रजन्तुधान्यतृणानाम् ॥

12. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of trees, wild animals, grass, corn, condiment, domestic beasts and birds, and the compounds aśva-vaḍava, purvā-para and adharottara, are optionally singular.

12. Thus, मृक्षन्यग्रोधश्च or मृक्षन्यग्रोधाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees'; रुरुपृषतश्च or रुरुपृषताः 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes'; कुशकाशश्च or कुशकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kāśa grass'; ब्रीहियवश्च or ब्रीहियवाः 'the rice and the barley' दधिघृतश्च or ते 'the curd and the butter' गोनहियश्च or पाः 'the cow and the buffalo'; तित्तिरिक्पिञ्जलश्च or लाः 'the Tittiri (a kind of partridge) and the Kapinjala birds'; अश्ववडवश्च or वाः 'the horse and the mare'; पूर्वापरश्च or रे 'the first and the last'; अधरोत्तरश्च or रे 'the upper and lower.

Vart:—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals grain and grass, is singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as, बदरामलके तिष्ठतः 'a badari and an āmalāki fruit are here'; रथिकाश्चारीहो 'a charioteer and a horseman'; मृक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; रुरुपृषतौ 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; हंसचक्रवाको 'a Hansa and a Chakravaka bird'; मूकालिषे 'a louse and nit'; ब्रीहियवौ 'a brīhi and yava grain'; कुशकाशौ 'the kuśa and kāśa grass.

विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धं,
च, अनधिकरण-वाचि, (विभाषा ६०९१) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धार्थानां शब्दानामनधिकरणवाचिनामद्रव्यवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति
विभाषानुकर्षणार्थं चकारः ॥

13. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णश्च or शीतोष्णौ 'cold and heat'; सुखदुःखं or सुखदुःखे 'pleasure and pain'; जीवितमरणं or जीवितमरणे 'life and death.'

The word विप्रतिषिद्धं means words of contrary significations, च indicates the anuvṛtti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, कापक्रोधी 'lust and anger,' which are not of contrary significations.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णे उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances.

न दधिपय आदीनि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दधिपयः, आदीनि (द्व०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिपय आदीनि शब्दरूपाणि नैकवद्भवन्ति ॥

14. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipāya' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; सर्पिर्नधुनी or नधुसर्पिणी 'the clarified butter and the honey.'

With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number which previous sūtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी. 2. सर्पिर्नधुनी or नधुसर्पिणी. 3. ब्रह्मप्रजापती. 4. शिव-वैश्वण्वौ. 5. स्कन्दविशाखौ. 6. परिव्राट्कौशिकौ. 7. प्रवर्ग्योपसदौ. 8. शुक्ल-कृष्णौ. 9. इध्मावर्हिणी ॥ निपातनादीर्घः ॥ 10. दीक्षातपसी. 11. सदातपसी. 12. मेधातपसी. 13. अध्ययनतपसी. 14. उलूखलमुसले. 15. आदावसाने. 16. अदावसाने. 17. श्रुक्साने. 18. वाङ्मनसे.

अधिकरणैतावत्वे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-एता वत्वे, च, (न द्व०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणं वर्त्तिपदार्थः. स हि समासस्यार्थस्याधारः तस्यैतावत्वे परिमाणे गण्यमाने द्वन्द्वौ नैकवद्भवन्ति ॥

15. A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etavatva) of concrete things (adhikarna) is not singular.

As, दश दन्तोष्ठाः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; दशमार्दङ्गिकापानविकाः 'ten sets of drum and panavika players.' Compare II. 4. 2.

विभाषा समीपे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा समीपे, (अधिकरणैता-वत्वे, द्वन्द्वः एकव०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य समीपे विभाषा द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

16. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

As, उपदश दन्तोद्युः or उपदशा दन्तोद्याः 'nearly ten i.e., nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'; उपदश मर्दङ्गिकापाणविकम् or उपदशा मर्दङ्गिकापाणविकाः nearly ten (nine or eleven) mṛidaṅga and paṇava players.'

An indeclinable, when compounded with a numeral, may either be a Bahuvrīhi or an Avyayībhava compound. When the compound is singular in form, it is Avyayībhava, and when it takes proper number-terminations, it is Bhuvrīhi compound. As, उपदश; उपदशाः (II. 2. 25).

स नपुंसकम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, नपुंसकम् (एकवचनम्, द्वन्द्वः, द्विगुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्यायमेकवद्भावे विहितः स नपुंसकलिङ्गे भवति द्विगुर्द्वन्द्वश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकारान्तोत्तरपदे द्विगुः स्त्रियां भाष्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाऽऽबन्तः स्त्रियामिष्टः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनो नलोपश्च वा च द्विगुः स्त्रियाश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पात्रादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

17. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules, is always a neuter gender

As, दशगवश्च 'an aggregate of ten cows,'; पाणिपादश्च 'hands and feet,' शिरोग्रीवश्च 'head and neck.'

This sūtra debarb the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26.

Vart :—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only; as पञ्चपुत्री, दशरथी.

Vart :—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in आप् affix, is optionally feminine; as, पञ्चखट्वश्च or पञ्चखट्वी.

Vart :—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in अश्च, is optionally feminine and the न is elided: as पञ्चतवश्च or अञ्चतवी,

Vart :—A Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पात्र &c., पञ्चपात्रश्च; चतुर्गुणश्च; त्रिभुवनश्च.

अठ्ययीभावश्च ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि. ॥ अठ्ययी भावः, च, (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अठ्ययीभावश्च समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुण्यसुदिनाभ्यामङ्गः स्त्रीवतेत्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पथः संख्याव्यायादेः स्त्रीवतेत्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाविशेषेण तानां कर्तृत्वं नपुंसकलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

18. An Avyayibhâya (II 1. 6.) compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अश्विनि 'pertaining to a woman'; so also, उपकुमारि, उन्मत्तमंगल &c.

But for this rule, an Avyayibhava compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

Vart :—Neuter gender is employed after the word अह्न् preceded by पुष्य or सुदिन; as पुष्याह्न् 'sacred day'; सुदिनाह्न् 'lucky day.'

Vart :—The word पय is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Avyaya; as त्रिपयस्, चतुष्पयस्, विपयस्, दुपयस्.

Vart :—Adverbs, qualifying verbs, are put in the neuter gender and accusative case; as मृदु पचति 'he cooks mildly,' शोभनं पचति 'he cooks well.'

तत्पुरुषोऽनङ्कर्मधारयः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, अनङ्कर्मधारयः (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नङ्कर्मधारयं च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यस्तरपुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवतीत्यतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

19. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ, and of the Karmadhâraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sūtras.

This is a governing sūtra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be neuter. Thus, ब्राह्मणसेन or. ना (II. 4. 25); but हडसेनो राजा (the compound not being Tat-purusha); असेना (it being a compound with नङ् = अ); and परमसेना (it being Karma-dharaya).

संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, कन्था, उशीनरेषु, (तत्पुरुषः नपुंसकं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये कन्थान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् कन्था उशीनरेषु भवति ॥

20. When denoting an appellative, a Tatpuru-sha compound ending with the word kanthâ 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Uśīnaras.

As, *सौसमिकन्यम्* 'the town of Sauśami'; *आह्वारकन्यम्* 'the town of Ahwara.'

When not an appellative, the form is different; as, *वीरकन्या*. So also if the town is not in the country of the Uśīnara; as *दाशिकन्या*.

This debars the rule (II 4. 25.) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

**उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिख्यासायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञा-
उपक्रमं, तद्-आदि-आचिख्यासायाम् (तत्पुरुषः, नपुंसकम्) ॥**

*वृत्तिः ॥ उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति तदद्याचिख्यासायां तयो
उपज्ञोपक्रमयोराचिख्यासायां नपुंसकानायाञ् ।*

21. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñā' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work which is first invented or commenced.

As, *पाणिन्युपज्ञनाकास्तापकं व्याकरणम्* 'the grammars Kalāpa &c., had their commencement with Panini's invention'; *व्यादुपपन्नं दुष्करणम्* 'Vyadi, invened Dushkarana'; *आडयोपक्रमं मासादः* 'the palace is an invention of rich folks'; *नन्दोपक्रमणि मासानि* 'the measures are the invention of king Nanda.'

Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as *देवदत्तोपज्ञो रथः* 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' *यज्जदत्तोपक्रमो रथः* 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as *वाल्मीकिसंस्कृताः* 'the slokas invented by Valmīki.' N. P. Prof. Bohtlingk gives *पाणिन्युपज्ञनाकालकं व्याकरणम्* 'The Grammar omitting the time of day is the work invented by Panini, (VI. 2. 14).

**छाया बाहुल्ये ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छाया, बाहुल्ये, (तत्पुरुषः,
नपुंसकम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छायास्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति बाहुल्ये नपुंसकाने ॥

22. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word *chhâyâ* 'shadow' is neuter in gender when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, *शूलभण्डावयम्* 'A crowd of locusts darkening the sky.' *बहुवायवम्* 'the sugarcane shade i. e., groves of sugarcane.' Otherwise, *कुम्भच्छाया* 'the shadow of a wall.' (VI. 2. 14, accent.)

The sūtra 25 gives optional neuter; this rule enjoins invariable neuter when chhaya has the sense of profuseness.

सभा राजामनुष्यपूर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभा, राजा-मनुष्य-
पूर्वा (तत्पुरुषनपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् सभा राजद्वर्षा मनुष्यपूर्वा च भवति ॥

23. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhâ 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Rājā, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court.' ईश्वरसभम् 'Lord's Court.'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' the word is not neuter; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राजा; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68.

So also रक्षससभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas' पिशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Pisachas.'

But in काष्ठसभा, दैवदत्तसभा &c., the word is not neuter; for the word non-human has a technical significance meaning Rakshasa or a monster.

अशाला च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशाला, च, (तत्पुरुष-
नपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशाला च या सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

24. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhâ, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, स्त्रीसभम्, दासीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies and slaves;' otherwise अनाथसभा 'the poor-house.'

विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥
विभाषा, सेना-सुर-छाया-शाला-निशानाम्, (नपुंसकं, तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेना सुरा छाया शाला निशा इत्येवमन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति विभाषा ॥

25. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words senâ 'army' surâ 'wine,' chhâyâ 'shadow,' śâlâ 'house,' and nisâ 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhâraya compound.

As ब्राह्मणसेना, ब्राह्मणसेनस् 'the Brāhmaṇa army,' यवसुरस्, यवसुरा 'the barley wine,' कुडपच्छायस्, कुडपच्छाया 'the shadow of the wall,' गोशालस्, गोशाला 'the cow house.' रवनिशस्, रवनिशा 'to-morrow night.' But असेना 'non-army,' परवसेना good army,' the former being negative and the latter karmadharaya compound. For accent see VI. 2. 14. 123.

परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परवत्-लिङ्गम्,
द्वन्द्व-तत्पुरुषयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य वल्लिङ्गं तदभवति द्वन्द्वस्य तत्पुरुषस्य च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विगुमासपन्नालं पूर्वगतिस्मासेषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The gender of Dvandva or Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction कुक्कुटनय्याविनौ 'those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen' नय्यीकुक्कुटाविनौ 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samāhara Dvandva is always neuter. So also in Tat-purusha compound not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As अर्द्धपिप्पली, अर्द्धपिप्पली 'half a pippali' अर्द्धकोशतकी.

Vart :—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with प्राप्त, आपन्न and, अलं, and (3) compounds with Gati words; as, पंचकपालः 'Purodasa prepared in five cups'; प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्त + जीविका) 'has obtained living,' आपन्नजीविकः, अलंजीविकः; निष्कौशाच्चिः 'gone beyond Kauśambi.

पूर्ववदश्ववडवौ ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववद्, अश्व-वडवा,
(लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्ववडवयोः पूर्ववल्लिङ्गं भवति ॥

27. The gender of the compound of the word aśva 'horse' and vadava 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 12; in that case it will be neuter, अश्ववडवाविनौ; अश्ववडवान्, अश्ववडवैः &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

हेमन्तेशिशिरावहोरात्रे च छन्दसि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्ते-
शिशिरौ, अहो-रात्रे, च, छन्दसि, (पूर्ववत्, लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तेशिशिरौ अहोरात्रे इत्येतयो रछन्दसि विषये पूर्ववल्लिङ्गं भवति ॥

28. Of the compounds 'hemantāsīsirau' and 'ahoratre' the gender is like that of the first word; in the Chhandas, (vedas).

हेमन्तशिशिवावृत्तनां मीणामि, अहोरात्रे ददं ब्रूयः ॥

This aphorism debars the general rule given in II. 4. 26.

This applies to these words in all cases and numbers, not being confined to them in the dual number, though exhibited in the sūtra in the dual number, as:—पूर्वपहाद्वितयः, अपरपहाः पुरीषम्, अहोरात्राणीष्टकाः 'The white fortnight is fuel-wood, the black fortnight is the dung-cake, and days and nights are bricks (of the altar of sacrifice).'

Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe दुःखे हेमन्तशिशिरे, अहोरात्राविनी उपयो. In the Vedas the ordinary rules of gender are often set aside; this an individual example of the universally exceptional nature of the Vedic language.

रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्र-अह्न-अहाः, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्र अह्न अह इत्येते पुंसि भाष्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुवाक्यादयः पुंसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Dvandva and Tatpurusha compound ending with rātra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

These words refer to kṛit and Samāsanta affixes. Thus the word रात्र is formed by रात्रि + अच् (V. 4. 87) अह्न is formed by V. 4. 88 and अह by V. 4. 91. The general rule II. 4. 26 also does not apply here.

द्विरात्रः, त्रिरात्रः 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वाह्नः, अपराह्नः, मध्याह्नः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon', द्वयः 'two days' त्रयः, 'three days.'

Vart :—The words अनुवाक &c., are masculine, as अनुवाकः, शंयुवाकः, वृक्षवाकः &c.

अपथं नपुंसकम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपथम्, नपुंसकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपथ शब्दे नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

30. The Tatpurusha word अपथम् 'a bad road' is neuter.

अपथमिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road' अपथानि गच्छते बहूः 'the fool roams on wrong roads.' But अपथोदेशः a (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrīhi the word is masculine so; also अपथो नगरी ॥

अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धर्चाः, पुंसि, च
(नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धर्चादयः शब्दा पुंसि नपुंसके च भाष्यन्ते ॥

31. The words 'ardharcha &c., are spoken of in masculine and neuter.

As, अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चश्च 'half a verse,' गोमयः and गोमयश्च 'cow-dung.' These twofold genders sometime, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पद्मः 'treasure,' पद्मः or पद्मश्च 'lotus,' शंखः 'treasure,' and शंखश्च or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतश्च 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सैन्धवः or सैन्धवश्च 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सारः 'best' सारं 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मश्च.

1. अर्धर्च. 2. गोमय. 3. कषाय. 4. कार्पाषण. 5. कुतप. 6. कुसप.
7. (कुसप). 8. कषाट. 9. शङ्ख. 10. गृध्र. 11. घृध्र. 12. ध्वज. 13. कवच.
14. पद्म. 15. गृध्र. 16. सरक. 17. कंच. 18. दिवस. 19. घृध्र.
20. अन्धकार. 21. दण्ड. 22. कनकडण्ड. 23. नण्ड. 24. भूत. 25. द्वीप.
26. द्यूत. 27. चक्र. 28. धर्म. 29. कर्म. 30. नोदक. 31. शतमान. 32. यान.
33. नल. 34. नखर. 35. चरण. 36. पुच्छ. 37. दाडिम. 38. हिम.
39. रजत. 40. सक्त. 40. पिधान. 41. सार. 42. पात्र. 43. घृत. 44. सैन्धव.
45. औषध. 46. आहक. 47. चर्षक. 48. द्रोण. 49. खलीन. 50. पालिव.
51. बभ्रुक. 52. बारवाण. 53. (बारवारण) 54. प्रोय. 55. कपित्थ.
56. शुष्क. 57. शाल. 58. शील. 59. शूक. 60. (शूक). 61. शीघ्र. 52. कवच.
63. रेणु. 64. (शूल) 65. कषट. 66. शीकर. 67. सुसल. 68. सुवर्ण.
69. वर्ण. 70. पुर्व. 71. चमस. 72. चीर. 73. कर्ष. 74. आकाश. 75. अष्टापद.
76. नङ्गल. 77. निधन. 78. निर्यास. 79. जून्म. 80. वृत्त. 81. पुस्त.
82. युस्त. 83. ध्वेडित. 84. शृङ्ग. 85. निगड. 86. (खल). 87. मूलक.
88. नपु. 89. मूल. 90. द्यूत. 91. शराव. 92. बाल. 93. नम. 94. विमान.
95. जुष. 96. अग्नीव. 97. शूल. 98. बज्र. 99. कट्टक. 100. कण्टक.
101. (कर्पट). 102. शिखर. 103. कलक. 104. (वत्कल). 105. नटमक. 106. (नाटमस्तक).
107. बलय. 108. कुसुम. 109. तुण. 110. पङ्क. 111. कुण्डल.
112. किरीट. 113. (कुसुद) 114. अर्बुद. 115. अङ्गुश. 116. तिमिर. 117. आश्रम.
118. भूषण. 119. हलकस. 120. (हलवास). 121. जुकुल. 122. वसन्त.
123. तटाक. 124. (तडाग). 125. विटक. 126. विटङ्क. 127. विडङ्ग. 128. पिपयाक.
129. भाव. 130. कोश. 131. फलक. 132. दिन. 133. दैवत. 134. पिताक.
135. समर. 136. स्थाणु. 137. अनीक. 138. उपवास. 139. शाक. 140. कर्पास.
141. (विशाल.) 142. चणाल. 143. (चखाल.) 144. खण्ड. 145. दर.
146. विटप. 147. (रज). 148. (वल). 149. (नक). 150. मृणाल. 151. वस्त.
152. आर्द्र. 153. हल. 154. (मूत्र.) 155. तापडव. 156. गण्डीव.

157. नवद्वय. 158. पट्ट. 159. सीध. 160. योध. 161. पार्श्व. 162. शरीर. 163. फल. 164. (फल). 165. पुर. 166. पुरा. 167. राष्ट्र. 168. अश्वर. 169. इष्य. 170. कुट्टिम. 171. मण्डल. 172. (कुट्ट). 173. कुडप. 174. ककुद. 175. खण्डल. 176. तोनर. 177. तोरण. 178. नञ्ज. 179. पञ्ज. 180. पुङ्ख. 181. नध्य. 182. (बाल). 183. छाल. 184. वल्मीक. 185. बर्ष. 186. वख. 187. वसु. 188. देह. 189. उद्यान. 190. उद्योग. 191. स्वेद. 192. स्तेन. 193. (स्तेन). 194. (स्वर). 195. संगम. 196. निष्क. 197. सेन. 198. शुक. 199. सत्र. 200. पवित्र. 201. (यौवन). 202. (कलह). 203. मालक. 204. (पालक). 205. मूषिक. 206. (मण्डल). 207. (वल्कल). 208. कुज. 209. (कुज). 210. विहार. 211. लोहित. 212. (विषाण). 213. भवन. 214. शरण. 215. पुलिन. 216. दृढ़. 217. आसन. 218. रौरावत. 219. शूर्प. 220. तीर्थ. 221. लोमन. 222. (लोमश). 223. तनाल. 224. लोह. 225. दण्डक. 226. शपथ. 227. प्रतिमर. 228. दाह. 229. शत्रु. 230. नाग. 231. बर्षक. 232. कूर्च. 233. तण्डक. 234. मद. 235. सदस. 236. ओदन. 237. प्रवाल. 238. शकट. 239. श्वराक्ष. 240. नीह. 241. शकल. 242. तण्डुल ॥

इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽशनुदात्त तृतीयादौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदम्,
अन्वादेशे, अश, अनुदात्तः तृतीयादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदमोऽन्वादेशे विषयस्यदेशो भेदत्यनदसस्तृतीयादौ विभक्तौ परतः ॥

32. 'In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvādeśa) there is the substitution of aś which is anudātta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

The word अन्वादेश means literally 'saying (ādesa) after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvādeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इदम् by 55 and not only the final इ. Anvādeśa means repeating in a second sentence with reference to the preceding in which it has already been used. Both pronouns, the antecedent and the subsequent, must refer to the same object. As, आभ्याम् छात्राभ्याम् रात्रिरधीता, सधे आभ्यामहरप्यधीतम् 'These students studied in the night and they have read in the day also.' The substitute अश् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix ककुप् (V. 3. 71.)

अस्ने छात्राय कम्बलं देहि, अथो अस्ने शंकटमपि देहि 'Give this student a blanket and give him also a cloth'. अस्य छात्रस्य शोभनं शीलम्, अथो अस्य प्रभूतं स्वम्, 'this student's conduct is excellent, and his wealth is great.'

So also when the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71) comes after the Pronominal as इनकाभ्यां छात्राभ्यां रात्रिरधीता, अथो आभ्यामहरप्यधीतम्.

The mere mentioning in a subsequent sentences is not anvādesa : it is the employment again of what has been employed to direct one operation, to direct another operation. Therefore the rule does not apply here :—देवदत्तं भोजय, इमं च यज्जदत्तम् 'feed Devadatta and this Yajñadatta.'

एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसौ चानुदात्तौ ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतद्ः, अ-तसौः
त्र तसौ, च, अनुदात्तौ, (अन्वादेशे, अश्, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतदोऽन्वदेशविषयस्य अत्रादेशो भवति अनुदात्ततसोः परतः ॥ तो चापि
अत्रावनुदात्तौ भवतः ॥

33. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes त्र (V. 3. 10) and तश् (V. 3. 7) follow, and the affixes त्र and तश् are anudatta also (gravely accented.)

Thus अत्र 'here,' and अतश् 'hence' in the following :—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे
सुखं मज्जामः ; अथो अत्र सुखा अधीनहे । 'We live in this (etasmin) village, hap-
pily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).' एतस्माच्छात्राणां दो
ऽधीनश्च, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीनम् । 'Learn from this student Prosody and
also learn from him Grammar.' By rule V. 3. 5. अश् is declared to be
the substitute of एतद् ; its repetition here is to indicate that this अश् of
anvādesa is anudatta.

द्वितीयादौस्त्वेनः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया-टा-ओस्त्सु, एनः,
(इदम्, एतद्, अन्वादेशे, अनुदात्ते)

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया टा ओ । इत्येतेषु परत इदमेतदोऽन्वादेशविषययोरेनशब्दादेशो भवति
अनुदात्तः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ एनदिति नपुंसकैकवचने वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. When an affix of the 2nd case or टा (Ins. Sing.) or ओश् (Loc. dual) follows, एन which is anudatta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

The word **इदम्** is also understood in this sūtra though it was not so in the last. This skipping is technically called 'frog-leap.' Thus:—**इदं** or **एतं** छात्रं द्वादोऽध्यापय, अथो एनं व्याकरणमप्यध्यापय 'teach this pupil Prosody, and teach him Grammar also. अनेन or एतेन छात्रेण रात्रिरधीता 'अथो एने नाह्वयधीतम्' this pupil studied in the night and he studied in the day also.' अनयोः or एतयोः छात्रयोः योभनं धीमन् धीमन्, अथो य ययोः प्रभूतं दम् 'the family of these two students is respectable and their wealth great.'

Var.—The word **इदम्** neuter and singular, is also used in anvādeśa: as—**इदम् कपटं नानय प्रक्षालयेत्** 'bring this bowl and wash it.' The above three Sūtra regulate the accent only of certain pronouns.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ३५ ॥ पदम् ॥ आर्द्ध धातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदितं अर्द्धध्वन्यनुकल्पितं न सत् सार्द्धं अनुदीयेदित्यस्य ॥

35. The clause 'when the affix is Ardhadhātuka' is understood in the following aphorisms up to aphorism 58 of this chapter.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 42, 'that **बभू** is the substitute of **इन्** when **लिट्** follows.' The words 'when the affix is ārdhadhātuka' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The result will be that in the ārdhadhātuka **लिट्** namely the **आधीर्लिट्** or the Benedictive mood, **इन्** is replaced by **बभू**, but not so in the Sārvadhātuka **लिट्** i. e., the Potential mood (**विधिलिट्**). Thus, Benedictive **बभ्यात्** 'may he kill' but Potential **इन्वात्** let him kill.'

The word **आर्द्धधातुके** is in the 7th case; the force of this case-affix here is not that given in I. 1. 66. i. e., the sūtra does not mean 'when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows.' But the 7th case has the force of indicating the subject, the meaning of the sūtra being 'when the subject is an ārdhadhātuka affix.' The result of this explanation is, that the various substitutions enjoined hereafter should be made first, and then the respective affixes should be applied. Thus whenever we want to affix any ārdhadhātuka-affix to **अस्** 'to be,' we must first substitute **भू** for it, and then take the proper ārdhadhātuka-affix which would come with regard to **भू**. Thus we can apply **यत्** to **भू** by rule III. 1. 97 which says: 'after verbs ending in vowels **यत्** is applied.' But this affix could never have been applied to **अस्** which ends in a consonant. Thus we have **भवत्यस्**. So the substitution does not depend upon any particular affix, but ārdhadhātuka-affixes as a class.

अदो जग्धिर्ल्यप्ति किति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, जग्धिः, ल्यप्-
ति, किति, (आर्द्ध-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदो जग्धिरादेशो भवति ल्यप्ति परतो तकारादौ च किति प्रत्यये ॥

36. The word जग्धि is the substitute of अद् 'to eat,' when the affix ल्यप् (VII. 1. 37) or an Ārdhadhātuka किति affix beginning with त follows.

प्रजग्ध 'Having eaten.' (प्र + अद् + ल्यप् = प्र + जग्ध् + व). So also जग्ध 'eaten' (अद् + क्त = जग्ध् + त).

The व in जग्धि is merely for the sake of articulation and is not an anubandha, otherwise there would have been the insertion of the nasal ञ (जुव्). So also the व in वप्ति &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. But अद् + क्त = अन्नः 'food' is an irregularity.

The employment of ल्यप् in this sūtra indicates the existence of this Paribhāṣā. 'A bahiraṅga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaraṅga rules' Because in case this maxim did not exist, the substitution of जग्ध् for अद् before ल्यप् which is taught in this sūtra, would follow already from the word किति (before that which is distinguished by an indicatory क्) in this rule, i. e., जग्ध् would (by maxim 'that which is bahiraṅga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is antaraṅga has taken effect') first be substituted for अद् before क्त and ल्यप् afterwards for क्त.

Why do we say before affixes beginning with त? Observe अदस्ते 'is eaten.'

Why do we say 'before affixes having indicatory क्'? Observe अस्तव्यम्.

लुङ्सनोर्घस्लु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्-सनोः, घस्लु (अदः,
आर्द्धधातुके) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि सनि च परतोऽदो घस्लु आदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घस्लु भावेऽभ्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

37. When luṅ (aorist) or san (desiderative) follows घस्लु is the substitute of अद् 'to eat.'

अघस्लु, अघसताम्, अघस्वत् 'he ate.' The लु in घस्लु is servile and indicates the substitution of अद् for स्लु of the Aorist (III. 1. 55.) So also in desiderative, as, जिघस्वति, जिघस्वतः जिघस्वन्ति 'wishes to eat.'

Part :—The verb अद् is replaced by घल् when the affix ल्यप् follows. Thus प्र + अद् + ल्यप् = घल् + ल्यप् = प्रघल् 'voracious.'

घमपोश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चञ्-अपोः, च, (अदः, चस्लृ, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञि अचि च परतोऽदो चस्लृ आदेशो भवति ॥

38. And when the affix चञ् and अप् follow चस्लृ is the substitute of अद.

चांसः 'food, grass,' अद् + चञ् = चाव + च (III. 3. 19). प्रचरः 'voracity.'
प्र + अद् + अप् = प्र + चर.

बहुलं कन्दसि ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलं, कन्दसि, (अदः, चस्लृ, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्दसि विषये बहुलनदो चस्लृ आदेशो भवति ॥

39. In the chhandas (Vedas), चस्लृ is diversely substituted for अद.

चस्ताग्ननम् । सग्विरचने । (Yajur Veda Vaj S, XVIII. 9). Sometimes it does not take place; as आतामदा नभ्यतो मेदे उद्भुतम्

The word बहुलं is used in this sūtra and the word अन्यतरस्याम् in the next. There is evidently difference between the senses of these words; otherwise Pāṇini would not have employed them in such juxtaposition, had they been synonymous. For then the anuvritti of बहुलं in the next sūtra would have been sufficient. The following verse indicates that difference.

क्वचित् प्रवृत्तिः क्वचिदप्रवृत्तिः, क्वचिदविभाषा क्वचिदन्यदेव ।

विधेर्विधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य, चानुविधं बाहुल्यं वदन्ति ॥

'Sometimes they are, where there is no express rule for their application; sometimes they are not applied, in spite of an express rule for their application; sometimes they are optionally employed or not, and sometimes there is some other result, licence permitted by the rule.' Thus in चस्ताम् there is not elision of the penultimate.

लित्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अदः, चस्लृ, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतोऽदोऽन्यतरस्यां चस्लृ आदेशो भवति ॥

40. When लिट् (Perfeet) follows चस्लृ is optionally the substitute of अद.

त्रयाव or आद 'he ate,' जचतुः or आदतुः 'they two ate,' जतुः or आतुः 'they all ate.' The word जचतुः is thus formed:—चस् + अतुश्च = चस् + चस् + अतुश्च

(VI. 1. 8) = व + वत् + अतुस् (VII. 4. 60) = व + वस् + अतुः (VII. 4. 62)
 = ज + वस् + अतुस् (VIII. 4. 53) = ज + वस् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98.) = जवतुः (VIII.
 3. 60).

वेजो वयिः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेजः, वयि, (लित्यन्यतरस्याम्,
 आहुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेजो वयिरादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां लिटि परतः ॥

41. When लिट् follows, वयि is optionally the substitute of 'वेज् to weave.'

In the Perfect tense thus we have two roots: Let us first take वेज्. Then we have regulary वे + लिट् = वे + वल् = ववी. The roots in ए, ऐ and ओ are treated like roots ending in आ thus :—

Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	} In this case samprasâraṇa ordained by VI. 1. 17 does not take place by VI. 1. 40
1. ववी	वविव	वविम	
2. वविय or ववाय, ववयुः	वव	वव	
3. ववी	ववतुः	ववुः	

When however we take the base वय्, the इ being for the sake of articulation only, we have the following forms:— वय् + वल् = वय् + वय् + अ (VI. 1. 8) = उय् + वय् + अ (VI. 1. 17) = उवाय; the य is not changed into व by VI. 1. 38. In this dual we have वय् + अतुस् = उय् + अतुः (VI. 1. 15) = उ + उय् + अतुः (VII. 4. 60) = ऊवतुः. The affix अतुस् being क्ति affix by rule I. 2. 5 there is samprasâraṇa before reduplication. Thus we have उवाव, ऊवतुः, ऊवुः. Further by rule VI. 1. 39 before क्ति affixes व may be optionally substituted for य, i. e., ऊवतुः or ऊवतुः and ऊवुः or ऊवुः.

हजो बध लिङि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, बध, लिङि (आहु
 धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोर्वधइत्ययमादेशो भवति लिङि परत आहुधातुके ॥

42. वध् is the substitute of हन् 'to kill' when the Ardhadhâtuka लिङ् (Benedictive) follows.

वध्यात् 'may he kill,' वध्यास्तात् 'may|they two kill,' वध्यातुः 'may they all kill.'

The substitute वध्, ends with short अ|this अ is elided. This elision being like the original (sthânavat I. 1.56), in forming the Aorist, लुङ्, we have अवध् + ० + ईत् = अवधीत्. Here zero being sthânavat prevents the vriddhi of अ of व which otherwise would have take place by VII.2. 7.

लुङि च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङि, च (हनो, बध, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि च परतो हनो बध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

43. And when लुङ् (Aorist) follows, च् is the substitute of इत्.

अवधीत् 'he killed,' अवधीताम् 'they two killed.' The division of this aphorism from the last sūtra (yoga-vibhāga) indicates that the next rule applies to Aorist only and not to Benedictive as well. There is no option in Benedictive Atmanepada.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्य-
तरस्याम्, (हनो, बध, लुङि, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेषु नित्ये प्राते विकल्प उच्यते । आत्मनेपदेषु परतो हनो लुङ्यन्यतरस्यां बध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

44. When Atmanepada affixes follow, च् is optionally the substitute of इत् in the लङ् (Aorist).

Thus आवधिष्ट or आविष्ट; आवधिषाताम् or आविषाताम्; आवधिषत or आविषत.

The verb इत् becomes Atmanepadi when preceded by आ (I. 3. 28) By sūtra I. 1.14, the Aorist-affixes in the Atmanepada are कित् after इत् and by VI. 4. 37 the न is elided before कित् affixes then by VIII. 2. 27 the च् is elided. Thus आविष्ट + सिच् + त = आविष्ट.

इणो गा लुङि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, गा, लुङि, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणो गा इत्ययमादेशो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इरावदिक इति यक्तव्यम् ॥

45. गा is the substitute of the root इण् when लुङ् follows:

अगात् 'he went' (II. 4. 77) अगाताम् 'they two went' अगुः 'they all went. The repetition of the word लुङ् in this sūtra though is anuvṛiti was coming from the last aphorisms, indicates that there is no option allowed even in the Atmanepada, गा being the invariable substitute in all the Padas. Thus अगायि भवता you, went.' The form अगन् is thus evolved अ + गा + सिच् + त =, अगात् (II. 4. 77.)

Vart:—गा is the substitute of इण् 'to remember' in the Aorist as it is of इत्. Thus अय्यगात् 'he remembered.' अय्यागाताम्, अय्यगुः. The root इण् belongs to Adādi class.

गौ गमिरबोधने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गौ, गमिः, अबोधने.

(इणः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गौ परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्य गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

46. When the affix णि (Causal) follows, गमि is the substitute of इण् when the sense is not that of 'informing' but that of 'going'.

गमयति 'makes him go' गमयतः, गमयन्ति &c. But प्रस्थापयति 'causes to believe.' अधिगमयति. The इ of गमि is for articulation. So also इक् to 'remember'; as, अधिगमयति ।

सनि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, च, (इणः, अबोधने

गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्य गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

47. And when च् (Desiderative) follows, गमि is the substitute of च् when the sense is not that of 'informing.'

जिगमिषति 'wishes to go' जिगमिषतः, जिगमिषन्तः. But अर्थान् प्रतीयति 'he wishes to inform the meaning.' So also with इक्, as अधिजिगमिषति. The *yogavibhāga* indicates that the *anuvṛitti* of च् only runs in the next *sūtra* and not of णि. The form is thus evolved in the *Parasmaipada*; च् + गम् = गम् + गम् + च (VI. 1. 9) = ग + गम् + च (VII. 4. 60) = ज + गम् + च (VII. 4. 62) = ज + गम् + इट् + च (VII. 2. 50) = जिगमिष, and then we add the personal terminations.

इडश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडः, च, (सनि, गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडश्च सनि परतो गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

48. And of इड् 'to study,' गमि is the substitute when च् follows.

अधिजिगमिषते, ० चेते, ० चन्ते 'he wishes to study.' The root इड् is always preceded by the preposition अधि. This will be *Atmanepadi* by 1. 3. 12 and I. 1. 56. The form is similarly evolved by the application of rules VII. 2. 58. and VI. 4. 16.

गाड् लिटि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाड्, लिटि, (इडः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाडादयो भवतीत्ये लिटि परतः ॥

49. गाङ् is the substitute of इङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The substitute being like its original (I. 1 68.) गाङ् would have been Atmanepadi, even without the indicatory, इ. Why has then this इ been added to it? The object is that in the sūtra 1. 2. 1. गाङ् there should mean this substitute गाङ् and not the verb गाङ् 'to go.'

Thus we get अधिजगे 'he studied'. अधिजगाते, अधिजगिरे. See VI. 4. 64 and III. 4. 8.

विभाषा लुङ्लङोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लुङ्लङोः (इङ्, वि, गाङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि लृङि च परत इङो विभाषा गाङ्देशो भवति ॥

50. गाङ् is optionally the substitute of इङ् when लुङ् (Aorist) and लृङ् (Conditional Future) follow.

Let us take the case when गाङ् replaces इङ्. The affixes of लुङ् and लृङ् are treated as डित् by I. 2. 1. and then by the Rule VI. 4. 66 (When an ardhadhatuka affix, beginning with a consonant and distinguished by an indicatory क or इ follows; then let ई be the substitute of long आ of the verbs termed लु and of मा, स्वा, ना पा, हा, सी), we get अध्यगीष्ट (अधि + अ + गी + स्त), अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत. In the alternative we have अध्यैष्ट, अध्यैषाताम् and अध्यैषत.

So also in लृङ्; as अध्यगीष्यत, अध्यगीष्येताम्, अध्यगीष्यन्त, or in the alternative, अध्यैष्यत, अध्यैष्येताम् and अध्यैष्यन्त.

शौ च संशङ्को, ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौ, च, सन्-चङो, (इङ्, गाङ्, विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शौ सन्परे चङ् परे च परत इङो विभाषा गाङ्देशो भवति ॥

51. गाङ् is optionally the substitute of इङ् in the causative णि, when that causative takes the affix san (desiderative) and chan (Aorist:)

अधिजिगापयिषति or अध्यापयिषति 'he desires to teach.' The form is thus evolved : गा + णिच् = गापि (VII. 3. 36); then by the rules already stated, we get the above form with the affix सन्. अध्यजीगपत् or अध्यापिषत् 'he taught.' The ई is changed into आ by VI. 1. 48. Thus इ + णिच् = गा + णिच् = आ + णिच् = गापि. This rule applies to the desideratives and aorists of causatives.

अस्तेर्भू ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तेः, भूः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेर्चातोर्भू इत्ययमादेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ॥

52. भू is the substitute of the verb अस् 'to be,' when an ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

नबिता 'he will be,' नबितुश्च 'in order to be,' नबितव्यश्च 'must be.' Now the Perfect tense affixes are also ârdhadhâtuka affixes (III. 4. 115). The Perfect of अस् is therefore the same as that of भू, namely, बभूव &c. There is, however, an important exception to this rule, namely, when अस् is employed as an auxiliary verb in forming Periphrastic Perfect of other verbs. In that case अस् forms its Perfect tense regularly, आच आचतुः आतुः &c. This apparent breach of the present sūtra is explained by taking the term वृज् in III. 1. 40 as a Pratyâhâra including कृ, भू and अस्, and if अस् could not form its Perfect in the regular way, its inclusion in this Pratyâhâra would be useless; hence we conclude, that as an auxiliary verb, अस् forms its Perfect regularly.

ब्रूयो वचिः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रूयः, वचिः, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रूयो वचिः आदेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके विषये ॥

53. वचि is the substitute of ब्रू 'to speak' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

वक्ता 'he will speak,' वक्तुश्च 'in order to speak.' The व् of वचि is for the sake of articulation only. The substitute being like the principal, वच् is Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, as ऊचे 'he spoke,' वक्ष्यते 'he will speak.'

चक्षिडः ख्याज् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चक्षिडः, ख्याज्, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चक्षिडः ख्याज् आदेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खयादिरप्ययमादेश इत्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्जने प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ असनयोश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाह-सोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. ख्याज् is the substitute of चक्षिड् 'to perceive, to tell,' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

आख्याता 'he will perceive or tell'; आख्यातुश्च 'in order to tell'; आख्यातव्यश्च 'must be told.' The substitute being like the principal, चक्षिड् being always Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12), ख्याज् would have also been always Atmanepadi. But in that case the letter ज् would have no scope; it therefore follows that ख्याज् is not always Atmanepadi, but under conditions mentioned in I. 3. 72

Vart :—This substitute is also said to begin with कृ instead of लृ. Thus आकृशाता, आकृशातुस्, आकृशातव्यं

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when meaning 'exclusion'; as दुर्जनाः संचर्याः bad men should be excluded.'

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when the affixes अक्ष and अन follow : as नृक्षरा राक्षसः the Rākshasas are cruel.' - This is Vedic Sanskrit; modern नृक्षः. The meaning of the root क्ष here, is 'to injure.' So also विचक्षः पण्डितः; here the affix is अन.

Vart :—Substitutes are made diversely in denoting appellatives and not qualities and in the Vedic Sanskrit; as अन्नश्च 'food' (here the substitute जन्धि does not replace अद्); वधकश्च 'killer' (वध being substituted for हन् before यङ्); गात्रं 'body' (गा is substituted for हन् before the unâdi affix हन्); विचक्षणः (here चक्ष is not replaced by रुया before अन); अजिरश्च 'a court yard' (here अज is not replaced by रुये as the next sūtra 56 requires.)

वा लिटि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, लिटि, (चक्षिङः, रुयाञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतद्ध लिङः रुयाञादेशो वा भवति ॥

55. रुयाञ् is optionally the substitute of चक्षिङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The लिट् also is an ârdhadhâtuka affix and by the last sâtra रुयाञ् would always have been the substitute of चक्ष्; the present sūtra makes this substitution optional, as आचख्यौ, आचख्यतुः and आचख्युः. In the alternative we have आचख्ये, आचख्यते and आचख्यिरे 'he told &c.

अजेर्व्यञ्जपोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजेः वी, अयञ्-अपोः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजेर्धातोर्ध्वान्तादेशो भवत्याहुं धातुके परतो चञपो वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चञपोः प्रतिषेधे व्यय उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दक्षादावाहुं धातुके विकल्प इष्यते ॥

56. वी is the substitute of the verb अज् 'to drive,' to lead, when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows, with the exception of the affixes चञ् (III. 3. 18.) and अप् (III. 3. 69).

प्रवायकः 'driver,' प्रवायणीयः.

Why do we say 'with the exception of चञ् and अप्'? Observe चञ् + अज् + चञ् = चञाजः 'society'; उदाजः 'driving out.' So also with अप्, as वज्रजः 'a multitude or herd of animals &c., उदजः 'driving out of cattle.' See III. 3. 69

Why have we used वी with a long ई? For the sake of forms like प्रवीताः &c

Vart :—Prohibition must also be stated (along with *वेज्* and *अप्*) of the affix *हयच्*, as *वज्रया* 'a meeting, fame.'

Vart :—The substitution is optional before *ârdhadhâtukas* beginning with a letter of *बल्* *Pratyâhâra* (all consonant except *य*) as *प्रवेता* or *प्राजिता* *प्रवेतुच्* or *प्राजितुच्*. See VI. 2. 144 for accent.

वा यौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, यौ, (अजे: वी, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यौ परभूते अजेर्वा वी इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

57. *वी* is optionally the substitute of *अच्*, when the affix *उ* (III. 3. 15 &c.) follows.

This declares an option in case of the affix *रुयुद्*, the word *उ* in the *Sûtra* referring to this affix; as, *प्रवयचः* or *प्राजनो दवचः* 'driving stick or whip.'

व्यक्षत्रियार्थजितो यूनि लुगणिजो ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्य-क्षत्रिय-
आर्थ-जितः, यूनि, लुग्, अल्-इजोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यवान्तात् क्षत्रियगोत्रात् आर्षादजितश्च परयोस्त्रिजोर्गुनि लुग् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्राद्यणगोत्रनाम्ना द्युवप्रत्ययस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

58. After a word ending with the Gotra affix *रय* (IV. 1. 151) and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi (seer), and after a word a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicatory *ञ्*, the affix *अच्* and *इच्* employed in forming *युवन्* (IV. 1. 163) descendants, are elided by the substitution of *लुक्* ॥

1. Thus by *sûtra* IV. 1. 151 (the affix *रय* comes after *कुर्* &c., in denoting descendent) we get *कुर्* + *रय* = *कौरव्यः* (VII. 2. 117) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendent than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus *कौरव्य* + *इच्* (IV. 1. 95). Now this *इच्* is elided by the present *sûtra*, and we get the form *कौरव्यः* which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) descendent of Kuru. So that *कौरव्यः* is the name both of the father and the son.

Now it may be objected: 'the word *कौरव्यः* belongs to the *तिकादि* class and by IV. 1. 154, it will take the affix *किञ्*. Do we, what we may, the form will be *कौरव्यायणिः* (VII. 1. 2.) To this we reply, the word *कौरव्यः* which we see in that list of *तिक्* &c., is not the word *कौरव्यः* which we formed by adding *रय* under rule IV. 1. 151; that *Tikâdi* word is formed by adding *रय* under rule IV. 1. 172, and is confined to Kshatriya. The *कौरव्यः* which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendent of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114. which tells us that 'the affix अव् may be added to the words which are the names of Rishis, or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishinis or Kuru.' The Andhaka family, is a Kshatriya family, and स्वफल्कः is a person of that family. Then $\text{स्वफल्क} + \text{अव्} = \text{स्वाफल्कः}$ 'a descendent of Svaphalka' This is a Gotra descendent. In forming Yuvan descendent we have $\text{स्वाफल्क} + \text{इज्}$. Now this इज् must be elided by the present sūtra. So that स्वाफल्कः means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishis family. The sūtra last mentioned IV. 1. 114. will also hold here. We take the word वसिष्ठः ; and $\text{वसिष्ठ} + \text{अव्} = \text{वासिष्ठः}$; the Yuvan affix इज् will similarly be elided after his; and thus the word वासिष्ठः means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicative ञ् . Thus sūtra IV. 1. 104. declares 'the affix अञ् comes after the words विद् &c., in denoting Gotra descendents.' Thus $\text{विद्} + \text{अञ्} = \text{वैदः}$; Then add इज् to denote Yuvan descent; and we have $\text{वैदः} + \text{इज्}$. By the present rule this इज् is elided and thus we have वैदः both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix इज् . Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix अव् . Now rule IV. 1. 154 says 'the affix किञ् comes after the words विद् &c., in denoting descendent.' Thus $\text{विद्} + \text{किञ्} = \text{वैकायनिः}$ (VII. 1. 2.) Then to form the Yuvan descendent we add अव् by IV. 1. 83. Thus $\text{वैकायनि} + \text{अव्}$. By the present sūtra, this अव् is elided, and we have वैकायनिः both applicable to the father and the son. Other examples can be multiplied.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 says:—'The affix अव् comes after कौहड &c., in forming Gotra.' $\text{कौहड} + \text{अव्} = \text{कौहडः}$. Now this is neither a word formed by अव् nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having ञ् goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix इज् will not be elided after this. Thus $\text{कौहड} + \text{इज्}$ (IV. 1. 96) कौहडिः 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendent is elided? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendent will not be elided. Thus the pupils of वामरथ्य are called वामरथ्याः which word is thus formed: $\text{वामरथ} + \text{अय} = \text{वामरथ्यः}$ 'a descendent of Vāmaratha' (IV. 1. 115). Then to denote pupils we add अव् by IV. 2. 111. Thus $\text{वामरथ्य} + \text{अव्} = \text{वामरथ्यः}$ 'a pupil of Vāmarathya.'

Why do we say 'Yuvan affix अव् and इज् are elided? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan

descendent of दाक्षि (grandson of दक्ष) will be दाक्षायणः. Here the affix कृत् (IV. 1. 101) is not elided.

Vart:—All Yuvan affixes are elided after Gotra words not denoting Brahmin Gotras; as वौधिः applies equally to father and son; जाबालिः father, जाबालिः son; औदुम्बरीः father, औदुम्बरीः son; माण्डोदरः father, माण्डोदरः son. Here, first इङ् is added by IV. 1. 173, then कृत् to denote Yuvan descendent. Then this कृत् is elided by the present Vartika.

पैलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पैल-आदिभ्यः, च (युनि, लुग-शिञीः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पैल इत्येषनादिभ्यश्च युवप्रत्ययस्य लुङ् भवति ॥

59 And after the words पैल &c. there is the लुङ् elision of the युवन affix.

पैला + अच = पैलः (IV. 1. 118). 'The Gotra descendent of Paila.' पैलः + फिञ् (IV. 1. 156). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix फिञ् is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word. Some say that the पैला &c. words are formed by the affix इङ्; (IV. 1. 95) and then the luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 60. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prachyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. आलङ्कि. 3. सात्यकि. 4. सात्यकानि. 5. राक्षि.
6. राक्षि. 7. औदञ्जि. 8. औदञ्जि. 9. औदनेचि. 10. औदण्यचि.
11. औदनञ्जि. 12. औदशुञ्जि. 13. देवस्थानि. 14. पैङ्गलायनी. 15. राक्षति.
16. औलिङ्गि. 17. राक्षि. 18. औदन्यि. 19. औद्राहनानि. 20. औलिङ्गहान.
21. औदशुङ्गि. 22. तद्राक्षायणः. 23. तद्राक्ष.

इजः प्राचाश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इजः, प्राचाश्च; (युनि, लुग) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे य इङ् तदन्ताय्च वद्वत्त्वस्य लुङ् भवति ॥

60. After a word ending with the Gotra affix इङ् (IV. 1. 95) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prachya (Eastern) is denoted.

पान्नागरं + इङ् = पान्नागारिः 'the Gotra descendent of Pannâgara'; after this the Yuvan affix कृत् (IV. 1. 101) is elided by the present rule, and so पान्नागारिः is both the father and the son. So पान्नागारिः father and son. The word प्राचाश्च here qualifies the word Gotra understood and does not show that it is an optional rule in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. When the Gotra of Prâchyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus दाक्षिः 'and. दाक्षायणः' 'son of Dākshi.'

न तौल्वलिभ्यः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तौल्वलिभ्यः, (यूनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौल्वल्यादिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य न लुग् भवति ॥

61. After the words तौल्वलि and the rest there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौल्वलिः is the name of the father and तौल्वलायनः is the son of the former; formed by the Yuvan affix क् (IV. 1. 101).

1. तौल्वलि. 2. धारणि. 3. पारणि. 4. रावणि. 5. दैलीपि.
6. दैवति. 7. धार्कलि. 8. नैवति. 9. नैवकि. 10. दैवमिन्नि. 11. दैवमति.
12. दैवयन्ति. 13. धाकटकि. 14. वैल्वकि. 15. वैकि. 16. वैह्वि. 17.
आनुहारति. 18. आनुराहति. 19. पौष्करमादि. 20. आनुरोहति. 21. आनुति.
22. प्रदोहनि. 23. नैमिन्नि. 24. प्राडाहति. 25. बान्धकि. 26. वैशीति.
27. आसिनाधि. 28. आदिधि. 29. आसुरि. 30. नैमिषि. 31. आसिबन्ध कि
32. पौष्पि. 33. कारेणुपालि. 34. वैकर्णि. 35. वैरकि. 36. वैहति ॥

तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्राजस्य, बहुषु,
तेन-एव, अस्त्रियाम्, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्राजसंज्ञस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्तमानस्य अस्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति, तेनैव
चेदगोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

62. There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV. 1. 174) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that the plural number is taken by the base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that the base is not used in the feminine.

आङ्गः = अङ्ग + अण् (IV. 1. 170) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural अङ्गाः the princes of Aṅga.' The affix अण् is elided by present rule, and the Vriddhih vanishes with it too (I. 1. 63); but आङ्ग्यः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of आङ्गी 'a princess of Aṅga.' But प्रियवाङ्गः 'he to whom the prince of Vanga is beloved' forms its plural प्रियवाङ्गाः 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vaṅga,' there being no elision.

यस्कृदादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्कृ-आदिभ्यः, गोत्रेः
(बहुषुः तेनैवास्त्रियाम्ः लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्कृ इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग्
भवति तेनैव चेदगोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

63. After the word यस्कृ &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and

not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural; but not in the feminine.

यस्क + अण् = यास्कः 'a descendent of Yaska not nearer than grandson.' In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यस्काः 'the decedents of Yaska.'

॥ यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क. 2. लक्ष्म. 3. वृद्ध. 4. अयस्क्युण. 5. अयः स्युण. 6. वृणकर्ण. 7. सदान्त. 8. कम्बलहार. 9. बहिर्याग. 10. कर्णाढक. 11. पर्णाढक. 12. पिपडी जङ्घ. 13. वकसस्य. 14. वकसक्य. 15. विम्रि. 16. कुद्रि. 17. अजवस्ति. 18. निम्रयु. 19. रसोमुख. 20. जङ्गारय. 21. उत्कास. 22. कटुक. 23. मयक. 24. मय्यक. 25. पुष्करट्. 26. पुष्करसद्. 27. विषपुट. 28. उपरिखल. 29. क्रोष्टुमान. 30. क्रोष्टुमान. 31. क्रोष्टुपाद. 32. क्रोष्टुनाय. 33. शीर्वनाय. 34. श्वरप. 35. पदक. 36. वपुक्ष. 37. भलन्दन. 38. भडिल. 39. भविडल. 40. भडित. 41. भविडल.

यज्जोश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्-अजोः, च, (बहुषु, तेनैवालुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजोऽजश्च गोत्रप्रत्ययरूप बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ यजादोनामेकद्वयोर्वा तत्पुरुषे षष्ठया उपसंख्यानम् ॥

64. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यज् (IV. I. 105) and अज् (IV. I. 104) when the word is itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + यज् = गार्ग्यः; plural गर्गाः 'the male descendents of Garga'. So also वत्साः 'the male descendents of Vatsa'; the singular being, वात्स्यः. Similarly, विद + अज् = वैदः (IV. I. 104); plural विदाः and not वैदाः; similarly शीर्व singularly; शीर्वाः plural.

But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gārgya is beloved;' प्रियवैदा 'those to whom Baida is beloved.'

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्याः, वैदा, feminine plurals.

Of course these affixes must be Gotra or patronymic affixes, otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप + यज् = द्वेयः 'living on the island,' plural द्वेयाः; here the affix यज् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स + अज् = ओत्सः 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural ओत्साः.

Vart:—In forming Tat-purusha compound of the singular and dual genitive, the affix यज् and अज् are optionally elided. Thus गार्ग्यस्व कुलं = गार्ग्यकुलं or गार्ग्यकुलं. गार्ग्यजोः कुलं = गार्ग्यकुलं or गार्ग्यकुलं.

Similarly वैदस्य or वैदयोः कुलं = वैदकुलं or विदकुलं.

Why do we say 'the affixes यञ् or अञ्'? Because other affixes will not be elided in forming तत्पुङ्गव compound; such as आङ्गकुलं ।

Why do we say 'singular or dual,?' Because in the plural तत्पुङ्गव compounds, these affixes must necessarily be elided and not optionally; thus गर्गाणां कुलं = गर्गकुलं.

Why do we say 'in forming तत्पुङ्गव compound'? Because in forming other compounds, these affixes will not be elided. Thus, उपगार्ग्य which is an अङ्गययीभाव compound, meaning गार्ग्यस्य समीपं. Of course, it is only in the Genitive तत्पुङ्गव that this rule is applicable; it will not therefore apply in कर्मधारय तत्पुङ्गव &c., as परमगार्ग्यः ।

अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्रि-भृगु-कुत्स-वसिष्ठ-गोतम-आङ्गिरोभ्यः, च, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

65. And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ गोतम आङ्गिरस there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in feminine.

Thus the plural of अत्रेय (अत्रि + ङ् IV. 1. 122.) the descendent of अत्रि, is अत्रेयः, the regular plural of अत्रि. So also, singular भार्गवः, plural भृगवः; singular कौत्सः, plural कुत्साः; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमाः, आङ्गिरसः. In all these the affix has been elided. Thus भृगु + अञ् = भार्गवः 'the descendent of Bhrigu. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes ङ्क् and अञ् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आत्रेयः भार्गवः; dual आत्रेयौ भार्गवौ; plural आत्रेयः भृगवः &c

But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus प्रियात्रेयाः or प्रियभार्गवाः ।

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus:—आत्रेय्यः चियः ।

बह्वच इज प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः, इजः प्राच्य-भरतेषु, (बहुषु लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वच प्रातिपदिकाद् य इज विहितः प्राच्यगोत्रे भरतगोत्रे च वर्तते तस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

66. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इज् (IV., I. 95) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of पन्नागारिः is पन्नागारः, there being elision of वङ्: so also संघरेषणाः plural of चान्धरीदण्डिः; so the plural of यौधिष्ठिरिः is युधिष्ठिरा 'the descendents of Yudhishtira. But वैकिः and यौष्टिः not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैक्यः and यौष्ट्यः.

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prâchyas and Bhâratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाङ्गयः plural of बालाङ्गिः, हस्तिदास्यः plural of हस्तिदासिः.

Though the Bhâratas are Prâchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prâchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhâratas as in V. 4 60. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhâratas will not be elided. Thus आर्जुनिः father, आर्जुनायनः son.

न गोपयनादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गोप-वन-आदिभ्यः (लुग्), ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपवनादिभ्यः परस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग् न भवति ॥

67. After the words गोपवन, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64. Thus गोपवन + अञ् = गोपवनः; plural गोपवनाः; singular यैद्वः, plural यैद्व्याः. The गोपवन &c., belong to Vidâdi class, vide IV. 1. 104, and are the following:—गोपवन, शिगु, विन्दु, नजग्, अश्च, अंबतान, श्वापक and श्वापर्ज. The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by Rule 64. Thus हरिताः किंदासाः &c.

तिक्कितवादिभ्यो ह्रन्द्हे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि । तिक्-कितव-

आदिभ्यः, ह्रन्द्हे; (बहुल्लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिक्कादिभ्यः कितवादिभ्यश्च ह्रन्द्हे गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुल्लुग् भवति ॥

68. After the words तिक् कितव &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक् + फिज् = तैक्कायनिः (IV. 1. 154). Its plural is तैक्कायनयः तैक्कायनयः + तैक्कायनयः = तैक्कितवाः. There is elision of फिज्. So also बांखरिः plural बांखरयः (IV. 1. 95) + भारडीरयः = बांखरभंडीरयाः; there is elision of वङ् (IV. 1. 95). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिक्कितवाः 2. बांखरभंडीरयाः 3. उपकलनकाः (औपकायनाः + काभकायनाः. IV. 1. 99, elision of फक्) 4. पककनरकाः (पाककयः + पारकयः.

IV. 1. 95, elision of हञ्). वक्तव्यगुदपरिणद्धाः, 6. उञ्जककुभाः (औञ्जयः IV. 1. 95. + काकुभाः IV. 1. 112, then the elision of हञ् and अण्). 7. लङ्घ्यान्त-
जुषाः (the elision of हञ् IV. 9. 95 as in 4). 8. उरसलंकटाः (औरसायनयः IV. 1. 154 + लंकटयः IV. 1. 95, elision of फिञ् and हञ्. 9. भ्रष्टक कपिष्टलाः
(elision of हञ् as in 4). 10. कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुदराः (elision of हञ्). 11.
अग्नेवेश—दासेरकाः (आग्निवेशयः IV. 1. 105 + दासेरकयः IV. 1. 95, elision of both
यञ् and हञ्).

उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपक-अदिभ्यः,
अन्यतरस्याम्, अद्वन्द्वे, (बहुषु लुग् द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपक इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोलप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति अन्यतरस्यां द्वन्द्वं वा
द्वन्द्वे च ॥

69. After the words उपक &c., there is optionally
luk-elision of the Gotra affix when the words take the plural
whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used
separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enu-
merated in the group of Tika-kitavâdi of the last sūtra. The elision is
invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used
separately the elision is optional. As, उपकलमकाः, भ्रष्टककपिष्टलाः, कृष्णाजिन-
कृष्णसुदराः. But the plurals of औपकायनयः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक
(IV. I. 99) is उपकाः or औपकायनाः; of लामकायनः is लमकाः or लामकायनाः; of
भ्रष्टक is भ्राष्टकाः or भ्राष्टकयः. The plural of कपिष्टलाः is कपिष्टलाः or कपिष्टलयः.
The plural of काष्णाजिनिः is कृष्णाजिनाः or काष्णाजिनयः. The plural of कृष्णसुदराः
is कृष्णसुदराः or कर्णसुदरायः.

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option
allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone.
They are as follow :—

1. पण्डारक. 2. अण्डारक. 3. गडुक. 4. सुपर्यक. 5. सुपिष्ट.
6. मसूरकर्ण. 7. खारीजङ्घ. 8. शलाघल. 9. पतञ्जल. 10. कठेरणि. 11.
- कुपीतक. 12. काशकृत्स्न. 13. निदाघ. 14. कलशीकण्ठ. 15. दामकण्ठ.
16. कृष्णपिंगल. 17. कर्णक. 18. पर्यक. 19. जटिलक. 20. यधिरक.
21. जन्तुक. 22. अनुलोभ. 23. अर्द्धपिंगलक. 24. प्रतिलोभ. 25. प्रतान.
26. अनभिहित. (27. घृत्तारक. 28. उदङ्क. 29. सुधायुक. 30. अयन्धक.
31. पदञ्जल. 32. अनुपद. 33. अप्रजग्ध. 34. कमक. 35. लेखाध्र. 36.
- कनन्दक. 37. पिप्पल. 38. मसूरकर्ण. 39. मदाघ. 40. कदाञ्ज. 41.
- दामकण्ठ) ॥

आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्ति कुण्डिनच् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥

अगस्त्य-कौण्डिन्ययोः, अगस्ति-कुण्डिनच्, (बहुषु लुग्, अणो यञः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरणो यञश्च बहुषु लुग् भवति परिशिष्टस्यैव प्रकृतिभागात्
यथा संख्यमगस्ति कुण्डिनच् इत्येतावादेशो भवतः ॥

70. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes अण् and यञ् of the words आगस्त्य and कौण्डिन्य, when they take the plural; and the words अगस्ति and कुण्डिनच् are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of आगस्त्य is अगस्तयः (as if it was the plural of अगस्ति) and of कौण्डिन्यः is कुण्डिनाः. The affix अण् (IV. I 114) after आगस्त्य and the affix यञ् (IV. 1. 105) after कौण्डिन्य are elided.

The च in कुण्डिनच् is indicatory and regulates the accent (IV. 1. 103); the word कुण्डिन has udâtta on the middle vowel; and its substitute will also have the same accent. There is no elision however in आगस्तीयारक्षात्ता (IV. 1 89) कौण्डिनारक्षात्ताः (IV. 2. III.)

सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि सुपः, धातु-प्रातिपदिकयोः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपो विभक्तेर्धातुसंज्ञायाः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाश्च लुग् भवति ॥

71. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or as a crude form.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III. 1. 8) he wishes for a son of his own. A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (1. 2. 46); as कष्टश्चितः 'having recourse to pain.' राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुत्रच् इच्छति = पुत्रीयति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कष्टश्चितः = कष्टश्चित &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of : धातु or प्रातिपदिक ?

Because when it gets any other name, such as अङ्ग &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृषः, मूषः ।

अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदि-प्रभृतिभ्यः, शपः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदिप्रभृतिभ्य उत्तरस्य शपो लुग् भवति ॥

72. After the verb अद् 'to eat' and the rest, there is luk-elision of the Vikarāṇa यप् (III. 1. 68).

Thus अद् + यप् + ति = अस्ति 'he eats'; हन्ति 'he kills'; द्वेष्टि he envies. The Adādi verbs belong to the second conjugation. In this class of verbs, therefore, the terminations are added direct to the root.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये शपो बहुलं लुग् भवति ॥

73. In the Chhandas (Vedas) there is diversely the luk-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

There is elision in other conjugations than Adadi; and there is sometimes even no elision in Adadi verbs. As वृत्रं हनति 'he kills Vritra.' हन् + शप् + ति = हनति instead of हन्ति। So also, अग्निः श्वसे instead of श्वेते. (Rig. V. I. 32. 5). In these cases the Vikarāṇa शप् has not been elided.

In some cases the शप् is elided as त्रायध्वं नी देवाः instead of त्रायध्वम् ॥

यज्ञोऽग्नि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञः, अग्नि, च, (लुग् बहुलम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञो लुग् भवति अग्नि मत्स्ये परतः, पकारेण बहुलं यज्ञस्य लुग् भवति नत छन्दसि इति ॥

74. And there is diversely the luk-elision of यङ् (III. 1. 22) when the affix खच् (III. 1. 134) follows.

By using 'diversely' there is elision of यङ् when other affixes than खच् follow, both in the sacred and profane literature; as लोलुबः 'much cutter' (लोलुय + खच्); पोषुषः 'much purifier' सनीत्रसः from लस 'to drop.' इनीच्छसः from च्वस 'to fall,' the नी being added by (VII. 4. 84).

So also यङ् is elided before other affixes than खच्: thus बाहुनिष्ठी शाससीति दुग्धुभिषीषदीति ॥ See also I. 1. 4.

जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुहोति-आदिभ्यः, श्लुः, (शपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुहोत्यादिभ्य उत्तरस्त्व शपः श्लु भवति ॥

75. After the verbs ह 'to sacrifice' and others, there is ślu-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

These verbs belong to the Juhotyadi class. जुहोति 'he sacrifices' (VII. 1. 10). श्लु causes the reduplication of the root. So also विभेति 'he fears.' विभेति from निष् 'to purify,' he purifies.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः श्लुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं शपः श्लु भवति ॥

76. In the Chhandas there is ślu-elision of शप् diversely.

Elision does not take place where ordained, and takes place where not ordained. दाति प्रियाणि (instead of ददाति) 'he gives pleasant objects,' पाति instead of दपाति ।

So also there is ślu-elision of the vikarāṇas after roots other than those belonging to the Juhotyādi class. Thus; पूर्णं विचटि, जनिम विवक्ति.

गातिस्याघुर्पाभूम्यः सिचः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥

गाति-स्या-घु-पा-भूम्य, सिचः, परस्मैपदेषु, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाति स्या घु पा भू इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य सिचो लुग् भवति परस्मै पदेषु परतः ॥

धार्तिकम् ॥ गापो ग्रहणे ह्यपिबत्यो ग्रहचक्ष ॥

77. There is luk-elision of the affix सिच् (III. 1. 44) in the Parasmaipada, after the verbs ग 'to go,' स्था 'to stand,' the verbs called घु (I. 1. 20), पा 'to drink' and भू 'to be.'

ग is the substitute of दृक् (II. 4. 45). सिच् the affix of the Aorist is elided after these verbs in the Parasmaipada as अगात् 'he went,' अस्थात् 'he stood,' अदात् 'he gave,' अघात् 'he held,' अपात् 'he drank,' अभूत् 'he was.'

Vart :—The verbs ग and पा in the aphorism mean the ग 'to go' (which is the substitute of दृक्, and not गै 'to sing,') which also assumes the form गा, and पा 'to drink' and not पा 'to protect.' The verbs ग 'to sing' and पा 'to protect' will form their Aorist with सिच् without its elision; thus अगासीत् 'he sang,' अपासीत् 'he protected.'

In the Atmanepada the सिच् is not elided; thus अगावातां प्राप्नो देववत्तन.

बिभाषा घ्राघेट्शादास; ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिभाषा, घ्रा-घेट्-शा-
दासः, (सिचः परस्मै बिभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्रा घेट् शा दा सा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचः परस्मैपदेषु बिभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

78. After the verbs घ्रा 'to smell,' घेट् 'to drink,' शा (घो) 'to pare,' दा (दो) 'to cut,' and सा (सो) 'to destroy,' there is optionally the elision of सिच्, when the parasmaipada terminations are employed.

Thus अघ्रात् or अघ्रासीत् 'he smelled,' अघात् or अघासीत् 'he drank,' अशात् or अशासीत् 'he pared,' अदात् or अदासीत् 'he cut' and असात् or असासीत् 'he destroyed.'

There is no option allowed in Atmanepada; thus, अघ्रावातां पुनप्राप्नो देववत्तन ॥

The root घृद् is a Ghu verb, and in its case, the सिच् would have been elided by the last rule also. The present declares an option.

तनादिभ्यस्तथासोः, ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदिभ्यः, त-थासोः,
(सिचःविभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनादिभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचस्तथासोः परतो विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

79. After the verbs तन् to expand and others there is optionally the luk-elision of सिच् when the Atmanepada affixes त and याच् of the second person follow.

Thus अ त (VI. 4. 37) or अतनिष्ट 'he expanded,' अतयाः or अतनिष्टाः 'thou didst expand.' Similarly अयात or अयनिष्ट he gave.' अयायाः or अयनिष्टाः 'thou didst give.'

The roots तन् and सन् must both belong to the Atmanepada, and not to Parasmaipada. Hence in the Parasmaipada there is no elision of सिच्. Thus, अतनिष्ट वृयस् 'you did expand.'

मान्त्रे घसन्ह्वरणशवृदहाद्, कृगमिजनिभ्यो लेः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥
मान्त्रे-घस ह्व-रणश-वृ-दह-आत्-वृव-कृ-गमि-जनिभ्यः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान्त्रविषये घस ह्व रणश वृ दह आत् वृच् कृ गमि जनि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य ले लुग् भवति ॥

80. In the Mantra portion of the Vedas there is luk-elision of the sign of the Aorist (& Perfect), after the verbs घस् 'to eat' ह्वस् 'to be crooked,' रणस् 'to destroy' वृस् 'to choose,' 'to cover,' दहस् 'to burn,' verbs ending in long आ, वृच् 'to avoid,' कृ 'to make,' गमि 'to go' and जनि 'to be produced.'

The word लि is the name given by ancient grammarians to the affixes of Perfect tense as well as the Aorist, or it might be common term for all tense-affixes, Thus from घस we have अघन in the sentence, अघन् पितरो ऽनी सन्त पितरो ऽनीतृपन्त पितरः पितरः शुन्धध्वस् (Yajurveda XIX 36 so also Rig. I. 82. 2).

From the verb ह्व् we have माहूर्नितस्य तवस्. From नश् we have प्रणह् in the following verse मानः यंसो अरुषो धूर्तः प्रणह्मर्त्यस्य । रक्षा णोव्रह्मणस्पते ॥ (Rig. I. 18. 3.)

The word वृ in the sūtra includes both वृह् and वृज्, as the word वेन in the following व्रह्म ज्ञानं प्रयत्नं पुरस्ताद्विती मतः सुरो वेन आवः । सप्त धन्या यन्मा अत्य विद्वाः सतश्च योनि सतश्च वि वः ॥ (Yajurveda 13. 3).

From दह we have आधक् as in सरस्वत्यभिर्नो नेदिवस्यो मापस्फरीः पयसा भान् आधक् ॥ (Rig. VI. 61. 14). The word आत् means verbs ending in long आ as प्रा 'to fill.' Thus, निलः देवानामुदगादनीकं चक्षुर्नितस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः । आप्रा द्यावा पृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं सूर्य आत्मा जगत्तस्य ह्य ॥ (Rig. I. 115. 1.)

The root वृच् gives us वर्त as in the following verse:—मा नो अस्ति-न्महावने परा वगू भारभृदाया । संवर्गं चरयिं जयः ॥ (Rig. VIII. 75. 12).

From कृ we have अकृत् as in the following verse अकृत् कर्त्तुं कर्त्तुं कृतः सद्यः वाचा नयते भुवः । दे वेभ्यः कर्त्तुं कृत्वास्तं मेतं सचाभुवः ॥ (Yajurveda III. 47)

From गन् we have अगन्तुः as in the following verse: दृतेष्वं वतं वपुर्भिरवसवो स्वेरन्ति जायुवांसो अगुगन्तुः । द्युतमग्निं द्युतः द्युतं विद्युदा दीद्विवांसं ॥ (Rig. VI. 1. 1)

From जन we have अजन्त as अजन्त वा अजन्त दन्ताः This is an example from the Brāhmaṇ literature, as the word जन्त in the sūtra refers also to the Brāhmaṇ literature.

आमः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, (लेः, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमः परस्य ले लृग् भवति ॥

81. There is luk-elision in the room of that tense-affix (लि) which comes after आत् of the Perfect.

आत् is used in forming Periphrastic Perfect ईहाचक्रे 'he endeavoured. Here, after the verb ईहाच all tense-affixes are elided, and the Perfect of कृ is added to form its Perfect. Similarly ऊहाचक्रे, ईहाचक्रे ॥

अव्ययादाप्सुपः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्, आप्-सुपः, (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययादुत्तरस्यापः सुपश्च लृग् भवति ॥

82. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) after an Avyaya or Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र शालावाच् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there, does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्याच् 'in that.' So also कृत्वा 'having done' हित्वा &c. Here the case-affix is elided.

नाव्ययीभावादतोऽमृत्वपञ्चम्याः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्ययीभावात्, अतः, अम्, तु, अपञ्चम्याः, (सुपः लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदन्तादव्ययीभावादुत्तरस्य सुपो न लृग् भवति, अमादेयस्तु तस्य सुपो भवत्यपञ्चम्याः ॥

83. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayi-bhâva compound that ends in अ, आच्, is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not went it is the fifth case-affix.

This debarb luk-elision which was to have taken place by the last sūtra; instead of luk-elision, we have आच् added to the words ending in short अ; for examples of this, see sūtra II. 1. 6; as उपकुम्भं तिष्ठति 'upakumbha is standing'; उपकुम्भं पश्य 'see the upakumbha.'

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ'? Because after Avyayibhāva compound ending in any other vowels there is not substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes; as अधिस्त्री, अधिभुजारी.

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayibhāva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अस् substitution; as उपकुम्भादानय.

तृतीया सप्तम्योर्वहुलम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-सप्तम्योः, बहुलम्, (अम् अठ्ययीभावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीया सप्तम्योर्विभक्तयोर्वहुलनम्भावो भवति अठ्ययीभावे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्या अट्ति नदी समास संख्यावयवभ्यो नित्यमिति चत्तयस् ॥

84. The change to अस् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayibhāva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

उपकुम्भेन or उपकुम्भम् कृतं 'done by upakumbha'; उपकुम्भे निषेहि or उपकुम्भम् निषेहि 'put it in the upakumbha.'

Vart.—The अस् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayibhāva compound denotes prosperity (II, 1. 6.) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19); as, सुमद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas'; similarly उपमत्तगङ्गम् । सुलोहितगङ्गम् । एकविंशतिभारद्वाजम् । The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vartika.

लुटः प्रथमस्य डारौरसः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटः, प्रथमस्य डा-रौरसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुडादेशस्य प्रथमपुरुषस्य परस्मैपदस्यात्मनेपदस्य च डा रौ रस इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥

85. डा, रौ and रस् are substituted respectively in the room of the three-affixes of the third person of लुट् (First-future), both in the Parasmaipada and the Atmanepada.

Thus in the Parasmaipada कर्ता 'he will do,' कर्तारौ 'they two will do;' कर्तारः 'they will do.' So also in the Atmanepade we have अध्येता, अध्येतारौ, अध्येतारः ।

Why do we say 'in the 3rd person'? Observe ह्यः कर्तासि । रवोऽध्येतावे ॥

श्री३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

—:0:—

प्रत्ययः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ पञ्चमाध्यायपरिवर्तनार्थेनित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमितवानः प्रत्ययसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः,
प्रकृत्युपपदोपधियङ्कारागमान्वर्जित्वा ॥

I. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get this name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix, except the 'prakṛiti' or base (such as युप्, तिच्, कित् in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix, being च्च्), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as स्तन्व श्रुत in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the upādhi' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as षु in III. 2. 25 is an upādhi); in the sūtra, III. 2. 25, the word हरति is a prakṛiti, वृत्ति and नाय are upapadas, षु is an upādhi, the affix being च्च्, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes तव्यत्, तव्य, अनीयत् taught in III. 1. 96, as कर्तव्यम्, करणीयम् 'to be done'

परश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्च च भवति चातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाद्वा यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

2. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms ; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣhā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātū' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form ; as कर्तव्यम् and तैत्तिरीयम्.

The force of the word 'च' 'and' in this sūtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed *after* a root &c ; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyāya. These latter, such as Unādi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-उदात्तः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तश्च च भवति यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

3. That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

The sūtra may also be treated as 'a Paribhāṣhā or an Adhikāra sūtra. The udātta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix तव्य has udātta on the first च्च्, as in कृत्यत्. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special

rule laid down. Thus, rule VI, 1. 163, declares that affixes having an indicator च will have udâta on the final ; those having an indicator र have accent on the middle (VI. 1. 217) ; those that have an indicator ष are anudâta ; those having an indicator झ throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193) ; the affixes having an indicator ज्ञ and न throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. 1. 197) ; the taddhita affix having an indicator क takes acute accent on the final (VI. 1. 165) ; and the affix having an indicator ण is svarita (VI. 1. 185).

अनुदात्तौ सुप्पितौ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तौ, सुप्-पितौ, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुप् पितश्च प्रत्यया अनुदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicator च (pit) are anudâta.

This is an exception (apavâda) to the last aphorism. As द्वन्द्वौ 'two stones' ; the case-affix औ is anudâta ; so also द्वन्द्वः ; so also षचति ; The third person singular affix तिप् has an indicator च, and is anudâta. But not पचतः.

गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः सन् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्-तिज्-किद्भ्यः, सन् (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप् गोपने, तिज निश्चाने, कित निवासे, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निन्दाहमाव्याधिप्रतीकारेषु सन्निह्यतेऽन्यत्र यथाप्राप्तं प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

5. After the verbs गुप्, तिज and कित् comes the affix सन्.

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to 'despise', 'to endure' and 'to heal' respectively, though they ordinarily mean 'to hide', 'to whet' and 'to dwell'. As जुगुप्सते 'he censures or despises' ; तितिक्षते 'he endures patiently' ; चिकित्सते 'he heals'. But गोपायति 'he protects' ; तेजयति 'he sharpens' ; संकेतयति 'he makes sign'.

When सन् is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. 1. 9. Thus, गुप् + सन् = जुगुप् + च (VII. 4. 62.) = जुगुप्स to which is added the third person singular termination अते = जुगुप्सते.

मान्बधदान्शान्भ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मान्-बध-दान्-शान्भ्यो, दीर्घः, च, अभ्यासस्य, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान पूजायाम्, बध बन्धने, दान अवरुणने, शान अवतर्जने, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति, अभ्यासस्य चेकारस्य दीर्घादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्रापि सन्मर्थविशेष इत्यते ॥

6. The affix **ञन्** comes after the verbs **मान** 'to honor', **बध** 'to bind', **दाग** 'to cut' and **शान** 'to whet', and long **ई** is the substitute of the **इ** (VII. 4 79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1. 4) syllable.

The **ञन्** is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below: **मीमांसते** 'he investigates', **वीमृच्छते** 'he loathes', **दीदांसते** 'he straightens', **शीशांसते** 'he sharpens'. The verbs given in this and the preceding sūtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word 'optionally' in the next sūtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of **ञन्** becomes optional. Thus **मानयति वाचयति, दानयति** and **निशानयति** are also valid forms.

धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा ॥ ३ ॥ वदानि ॥

धातोः, कर्मणः, समान-कर्तृकाद्, इच्छायाम्, वा (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मको यो धातुं रिषिषेव समानकर्तृकस्तस्मादिच्छायामर्थे वा सन् प्रत्ययो भवति वार्तिकम् ॥ आशङ्क्यामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इच्छावन्नन्तात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

भवति ॥

7. The affix **ञन्** is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished for, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, **कृ** 'to do'; **चिकीर्षेति** = **कृतुमिच्छति** 'he wishes to do. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix **ञन्** is to be added. Thus **प्रकृतुमिच्छत्** = **प्राचिकीर्षत्**.

Why do we say **कर्मणः** 'after (a root 'expressing) an object'? The affix will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus **गमनेनेच्छति**; here there is no affix. But **गन्तुमिच्छति** will be **जिगृक्षति**.

Why do we say **समानकर्तृकात्** 'when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished'? Observe **देवदत्तस्य भोजनमिच्छति यज्ञदतः**. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb **इच्छति**; but he is not agent of the action **भोजनं**; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say **इच्छायाम्** 'when the sense is that of wishing'? Observe **कर्तुं जानाति** 'he knows how to make'; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word **वा** 'optionally' shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus **कृतुमिच्छति** or **चिकीर्षति**

The word धातोः being especially used in this sūtra, shows that this सन् is an ārdhadhātuka affix, while the सन् taught in the two preceding sūtras, will not get this designation.

Vart:—The affix सन् is added, when the sense is that of 'in imminent danger'; as गङ्गे पतिस्यति कूलम् = पतिस्यति कूलम् 'the bank is in imminent danger of falling down'. So also श्वाश्रूयति.

Vart: There is no affixing of सन् after a verb which has already taken सन् in the sense of wishing. As चिकीर्षितुमिच्छति. But the सन् of III. 1. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have जुगुप्सिषते नीतांसिषते.

सुख आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, आत्मनः, क्यच्,
(धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मण एषितुरेवात्मनसंबन्धिनः सुखन्तादिच्छायानर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकश्च ॥ क्यचि ज्ञान्ताद्वयप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकश्च ॥ छन्दसि परेच्छावानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished for as connected with the wisher's self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, i.e., verbs derived from nominal bases. As, पुत्र 'son', पुत्रीयति 'he wishes for a son of his own' (पुत्र + क्यच् = पुत्री + य = पुत्रीय) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 32).

Why do we use the word सुप्? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in ज्ञान्तात् पुत्रमिच्छति, the affix comes only after पुत्रम् and not ज्ञान्तात् पुत्रम्.

Why do we say *atmanah*? Observe राजःपुत्रमिच्छति 'he wishes a son for the king'. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is for another and not for one's own self.

The क in क्यच् is for the sake of classing *kyach*, *kyan* and *kyash* in one common group by simply using the word क्य, as in sūtra ८: क्ये I. 4. 15; while च् distinguishes *kyach* from *kyan* &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udātta by III. 1. 3.

Vart:—In affixing *kyach*, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in य् and of Indeclinables. Thus in इदमिच्छति, उच्येति, there is no affixing.

Vart:—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As वा त्वा वृक्षा अघायसो विदन्. Here अघायु (pl. अघायसः) is

formed by *kyach*, क being added by III. 2. 170, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda 1 20. 7 ; 27. 3. &c.

काम्यच्च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम्यच्, च, (सुपः, आत्मनः, धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवन्तात्कर्मण आत्मनेच्छायां काम्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. And the affix काम्यच् is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished for as connected with the wisher's self.

Thus, पुत्रकाम्यति 'he wishes for a son of his own'.

The making of this a separate sūtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sūtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, where the anuvṛitti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of *kāmyach*. The क of *kāmyach* is not indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter क indicatory, does not apply ; because no particular purpose would be served by making it indicatory. Or the affix *kāmyach* may be considered to have an indicatory च before it i.e. the affix being *chakāmya*.

उपमानादाचारे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानाद्, आचारे, (धातोः, कर्मणः, सुपः, वा, क्यच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्मणः सुवन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, पुत्रमिवाचरति छात्रं = पुत्रीयति छात्रम् 'he treats the pupil as a son'.

Varṭ : So also in a locative case. As प्रासादीयति कुड्ये 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. पर्यकीयति संचके 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead ; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.

कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, क्यङ्, सलोपः, च, (उपमानाद्, आचारे, सुपः, धातोः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्तुः सुवन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, सकारस्य च लोपो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आपारेऽवगल्भस्त्रीवहोडेभ्यः क्यङ्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चर्वमातिपदिकेभ्य इत्येके ॥

11. The affix **व्यङ्** is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa) of the final च of the noun, if it ends with a च.

Thus, **इयेनेवाचरति काकः, इयेनायते**, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; **अप्सरायते** 'she behaves like an Apsarā'; **पयस्यते** or **पयायते** it becomes milk'; (**इयेन + य = इयेना + य = इयेनाय**, VII. 4. 25).

In the words **ओजस्—ओजायते**, and **अशरस्—अशरायते** the final स् is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of **पयस्** where the elision is optional, as **पयायते** or **पयस्यते**.

The elision of स् refers to the final स् and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus **हंस—हंसायते**; **सारस्—सारसायते**; here the च is not elided as it is not final. See. I. 1, 52.

Vart:—After the words **अवगल्भ**, **क्लीब**, and **होड़**, the affix **क्लिप्** is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As **अवगल्भते** or **अवगल्भायते**, **क्लीबते** or **क्लीबायते**, **होड़ते** or **होड़ायते**. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of *kyan*.

Vart:—According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix **क्लिप्** comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As **अश्वति** or **अश्वायते**, **गर्दभाति** or **गर्दभायते**.

भृशःदिभ्यो भुव्यच्चेर्लोपश्च हलः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृश-आदिभ्यः, भुवि, ऋच्चेः, लोपः, च, हलः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृश इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽच्चेन्तेभ्यो भुवि भवत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, हलन्वानां च लोपः ॥

12. The affix **क्वङ्** in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms **भृश्** and the rest, which do not end with the affix **चि** (V. 4. 50); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words if they end in a consonant.

Thus, **अभृशो भृशो भवति = भृशायते** 'he becomes much (from a little)'; **शीघ्रायते** 'he becomes swift (from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atmanepadi (I.3.12).

The phrase **अच्चेः** 'not ending in the adverbial affix **च्**', refers to every one of the words belonging to the class **भृशादि**. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix **चि** itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has

taken the affix च्वि, will not again take क्यङ् in that very sense. The repetition of च्वि here shows that the words भृश् &c. never take the affix च्वि, in the sense of 'something becoming what it was not before'. Thus the present sūtra is an exception to sūtra V. 4. 50. which ordains च्वि-

भृशादिः ।

भृश्, शीघ्र, मन्द चपल, पण्डित, उत्सुक, उन्मत्त, अभिमान, सुमनस्, दुष्मन्, रश्, रेड्, शयत्, बहत्, वेदत् नृपत्, शुधि, खयर, शोजस्, वर्चस्, (विमनस्, रभन्, रोदत्, हन्, श्विचिस्, खरजस्) ।

लोहितादिडाज्भ्यः क्यष् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहित-आदि-डाज्भ्यः क्यष्, (भुवि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोहितादिभ्यो डाजन्तेभ्यश्च भवत्यर्थे क्यष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix क्यष् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words लोहित, &c. and after those that end with the affix डाच् (V. 4, 57), when these words do not take the affix च्वि (V. 4. 50).

Thus लोहितायते or लाहितायति 'he becomes red'; पटपटायते or पटपटायति 'he makes a noise like patapata', (लोहित + य = लोहिता + य = लोहिताय, VII. 4. 25).

The word पटपटायते is formed by adding the affix *dāch* to the word पट which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix *kyash*. The affix *dāch* is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called *lohitādi*. The Vārtika, therefore, proposes that the sūtra should read without the word *adi*. as लोहितादिभ्यः क्यष्; 'the affix *kyash* comes after *lohitā*, and words ending in *dāch*'.

This rule applies to words other than भृशादि which are always invariably Atmanepadi owing to the डित् affix क्यङ् while क्यष् is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus वर्णायति or वर्णयते, निद्रायति or निद्रायते, कृषायति or कृषायते, कृषायति or कृषायते. The *lohitādi* is an आकृतिगण, the following being some of the words of this class; लोहित, नील, हरित, पीत, नद्र, फेन, मन्द.

The indicatory क in क्यष् is not for the sake of prohibiting *guna* and *vriiddhi* (I. 1. 5). For *guna* or *vriiddhi* takes place in a *dhātu* followed by a *sār-vadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka* affix. The affix क्यष् is not added to a *dhātu* but to a nominal stem: hence there is no scope for the operation of *guna* &c. The क is for the sake of grouping क्यच्, क्यङ् and क्यष् in one class as क्य; as in sūtra नःक्ये (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in न among those enumerated above.

The affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three अस्, भू, or कृ; as पटपटाकरोति, or -भवति -स्वात्. The present sūtra teaches by implication that when क्यप् follows डाच्, the above restriction, that the verb should be कृ, भू or अस्, is not applicable. Here डाच् comes without the addition of कृ, भू or अस्ति.

The anuvritti of अच्वे: comes from the last sūtra; and hence the affix क्यप् is added in the sense of अभूततद्भावा i. e. something becoming that which it was not before.

कष्टाय क्रमणे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष्टाय, क्रमणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष्टशब्दाच्चतुर्यी समर्थात् क्रमणार्थेऽनार्जवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सत्रकष्टकषकृच्छगदनेभ्यः क्यवचिकीर्षयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

14. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कष्ट 'mischievous', when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कष्टाय क्रमणे क्रामति = कष्टायते 'he is assiduous for trouble, i. e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots'.

Vart :—The affix क्यङ् comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words सत्र, कष्ट, कष, कृच्छ, and गदने; as, सत्रायते, कष्टायते, कषायते, कृच्छायते, and गदनायते.

When the sense is not of 'evil' the affix is not added, as अजः कष्टं क्रामति.

कर्मणो रोमन्थतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणः, रोमन्थ-तपोभ्यां, वर्त्ति-चरोः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोमन्थशब्दात्तपःशब्दाच्च कर्मणो यथाक्रमं वर्त्तिचरोऽर्थयोः क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दनुचलन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तपसः परस्मैपदं च ॥

15. The affix क्यङ् is employed after the words, रोमन्थ 'ruminating' and तपस् 'austerity', when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रोमन्थं वर्त्तयति = रोमन्थायते गौः 'the cow ruminates'.

Vart :—This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here; as, कीटो रोमन्थं वर्त्तयति.

Vart :—The Parasmaipada affixes are used after the word तपस्; as, तपस्वरति = तपस्यति, 'he performs austerity'.

वाष्पोष्णभ्यामुद्धमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाष्प-ऊष्णभ्यां, उद्धमने,
(कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाष्पशब्दाद्वाष्पशब्दाच्च कर्मण उद्धमनेऽर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ केनाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix क्यङ् is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words वाष्प 'vapour' and ऊष्ण 'heat' as the object of the action.

Thus, वाष्पायते 'it emits vapour'; उष्मायते 'it sends out heat'. So also केनायते 'it ejects froth'.

शब्दवैरकलहाभ्रकरवसेचेभ्यः करणे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-वैर-
कलह-अभ्र-करव-सेचेभ्यः, करणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्द वैर कलह अभ्र करव सेच इत्येतेभ्यः करणे करोत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मुदिनदुर्दिननीहारेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अटाट्टाशीकाकोटापोटासोटाकष्टाग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz:—शब्द 'sound', वैर 'hostility', कलह 'strife', अभ्र 'cloud', करव 'sin' and सेच 'cloud'.

Thus, शब्दं करोति = शब्दायते 'he makes a noise'. So also वैरायते, कलहायते, अभ्रायते, करवायते, सेचायते ।

Vart:—It should be stated that the affix comes after मुदिन, दुर्दिन and नीहार; as, मुदिनायते, दुर्दिनायते, नीहारायते ।

Vart:—So also should be included the words अटा, अट्टा, शीका, कोटा, पोटा, सोटा and कष्टा; as अटायते, अट्टायते, शीकायते, कोटायते, पोटायते, सोटायते, and कष्टायते ।

The word करण in the sūtra is not the Grammatical Karana or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of 'doing'.

सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृवेदनायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख-आदिभ्यः,
कर्तृवेदनायाम्, (कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुखइत्येवमादिभ्यः कर्मभ्यो वेदनायामर्थेऽनुभवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति वेदयितुरचे-
त्कर्तुः सम्बन्धीनि सुखादीनि भवन्ति ॥

18. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of feeling, comes

after the words सुख 'pleasure', &c, when the pleasure &c., belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखायते 'he feels pleasure'; दुःखायते 'he feels pain'.

Why do we say 'when the feeling belongs to the agent'? Observe सुखं वेदयति प्रबाधको देवदत्तस्य 'the valet knows the happiness of his master. Deva-datta'. Here the agent, viz, a valet, is not the percipient of the 'happiness,' which belongs to his master; hence there is no affixing.

सुखादिः ।

सुख, दुःख, तृप्त, गहन, कृच्छ्र, अस्, अस्त्रीक, प्रतीप, करुण, कृपण, खोट ।

नमोवरिवचित्रङः क्यच् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-वरिवस्-चित्रङः, क्यच्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस् वरिवस् चित्रङ् इत्येतेभ्यो वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे पूजादौ ॥

19. The affix क्यच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz.—नमस् 'adoration', वरिवस् 'honor' and चित्र 'wonder'.

Thus नमस्यति देवान्, 'he worships the gods'; वरिवस्यति गुरुन्, 'he honors or serves the elders'; चित्रीयते 'he astonishes (makes it wonderful)'. The ङ् in चित्रङ् indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चित्र + व = चित्री + य (VII. 4. 33) = चित्रीय.

पुच्छभाण्डचीवराण्णिङ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुच्छ-भाण्ड-चीवरात्, णिङ्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुच्छ भाण्ड चावर इत्येतेभ्यो णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छादुदसने पर्यसन वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाण्डात्समाचयने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चीवरादर्जने परिधाने वा ॥

20. The affix णिङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz:—पुच्छ 'tail', भाण्ड 'pot' and चीवर 'rag'.

Thus उत्पुच्छयते 'he lifts up the tail', (the sense must be that of lifting or throwing about); स्रग्भाण्डायते 'he collects pots in a heap'; संचीवरायते भिक्षुः 'the beggar collects or wears rags'. Of the affix णिङ् the effective portion is ण, the other letters are servile. The ङ indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and ण serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing णि, such as णिङ्, णिच् &c.

Vart:—After the word पुच्छ the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.

Vart :—After भाण्ड the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

Vart :—After चीवर the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wearing.

सुण्डमिश्रश्लक्ष्णलवणव्रतवस्त्रहलकलकृततूस्तेभ्यो णिच् ॥ २१ ॥
पदानि ॥ सुण्ड-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्ण-लवण-व्रत-वस्त्र-हल-कल-कृत-तूस्तेभ्यः, णिच्,
(करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुण्ड मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण-लवण व्रत वस्त्र हल कल कृत तूस्त इत्येतेभ्यः णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix णिच् in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz : सुण्ड, 'shaving', मिश्र 'mixture', श्लक्ष्ण 'soft', लवण 'salt', व्रत 'vow', वस्त्र, 'dress', हल 'plough', कल 'strife', कृत 'done', and तूस्त 'matted hair'.

Thus सुण्डयति 'he shaves'; मिश्रयति 'he mixes'; श्लक्ष्णयति 'he softens or alleviates'; लवणयति 'he salts'; पयोव्रतयति 'he fasts on milk'; वस्त्रयति 'he covers with clothes, i. e., dresses'; हलयति 'he ploughs'; कलयति 'he makes war'; कृतयति 'he appreciates kindness'; वितूस्तयति 'he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin'.

The affix after the word व्रत has the sense of 'eating' or 'abstaining therefrom'; as पयो व्रतयति 'he drinks milk,' वृषलान्नं व्रतयति 'he abstains from the food prepared by low caste', after the word वस्त्र the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हल and कल the sense is that of taking; as हलिं गृह्णाति = हलयति. The words in the sūtra are हल and कल and not हलि and कलि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix चङ् (III. 1. 48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were चच्; i. e. the सन्वद्भाव does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4. 93). Thus the Aorists are अचहलत् and अचकलत्; and not अजीहलत् and अचीकलत् which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94. if there was सन्वद्भाव.

The word स्तूत means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

धात्वीरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यङ् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥
धातोः, एक-अचः, हल-आदेः क्रिया-समभिहारे यङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच् यो धातुर्हलादिः क्रियासमभिहारे वर्त्तते तस्माद्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, पौनपुन्य भूयार्थो वा क्रियासमभिहारः ।

वाचिषस् ॥ सूचिसूत्रिभूयट्त्वर्त्यशुभोतीनां ग्रहणं यङ् विधावनेकाजहलाद्यर्थस् ॥

22. The affix यङ्, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase *kriyā-samabhihāra* means repetition of the act or its intensity. As च् 'to cook', पाचयते 'he cooks again and again'; जाज्वल्यते 'he shines with great intensity'. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any *upasarga*. We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like ग्राट् 'to go', (because the root ग्राट् is preceded by the *upasarga* ग); or जागृ 'to be awake,' (because it contains two vowels); or ईक्ष् 'to see' (because it begins with a vowel).

Vart :—The intensive affix यङ् comes after सूचि, सूत्रि, सूत्रि, खादि, अर्ति, अश and अर्ष, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, सोसूच्यते, सोसूत्र्यते, सोसूत्र्यते, अटाट्यते, अरार्यते, अशाश्र्यते, and प्रोर्णान्यते.

The affix is not added in these cases भृशं शोभते or भृशं रोचते, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repetition we have रोचयते and शोभयते.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the termination of the *Atmanepada* as the root is डित्.

नित्यं कौटिल्ये गती ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यस्, कौटिल्ये, गती, (यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिवचनाद्वातोः कौटिल्ये गत्यमाने नित्यं यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix यङ् invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus क्रम् 'to move', चक्रयते 'he moves crookedly'. So also दन्दयते. After a verb of motion, the यङ् never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as भृशं क्रान्ति 'he wanders much'. This is inferred from the word नित्य used in the sūtra i. e. यङ् always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

लुपसदचरजपजभदहदंशगृभ्यो भावगर्हायास् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥

लुप-सद-चर-जप-जभ-दंश-गृभ्यः, भाव-गर्हायास्, (यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुप सद चर जप जभ दह दंश गृ इत्येतेभ्यो भावगर्हायां धात्वर्थगर्हायां यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix यङ् when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गर्हा) in respect of the sense

of the root (भाक्) comes always after the following roots, viz — छप् 'to cut off', सद् 'to sit', चर् 'to walk', जप् 'to mutter silently any sacred formula', जम् 'to gape or yawn', दद् 'to burn', दश् 'to bite' and गृ 'to swallow'.

Thus लोलुप्यते 'he cuts off badly'; सासद्यते 'he sits badly'; चञ्चर्यते 'he walks badly'; जञ्जयते 'he recites badly'; so also जञ्जयते, दन्दह्यते दन्दरयते, निजगह्यते. The affix यङ् does not come in the sense of repetition, &c., after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As भृशं लुप्यति 'he cuts off much',

Why do we say 'when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant'? Observe साधु जपति 'he recites well'. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say 'in regard to the action denoted by the root'? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus सन्त्रं जपति वृषलः 'the Sûdra recites the sacred mantras'. The word नित्य of the last aphorism is understood here also.

सत्यापपाशरूपबीणातूलश्लोकसेनालोमत्वचवर्मवर्णचूर्णचुरादिभ्यो
णिच् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्याप-पाश-रूप-बीणा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लोम-
त्वच-वर्म-वर्ण-चूर्ण-चुर-आदिभ्यः, णिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यादिभ्यश्चूर्णपर्वन्तेभ्यश्चुरादिभ्यश्च णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अर्थ वेदसत्यानामापुर्वक्तव्यः ॥

25. The affix णिच् is employed after these words, viz, :—सत्य 'truth' (which then takes the form of सत्याप as exhibited in the sūtra), पाश 'a fetter', रूप 'form', बीणा 'a lute', तूल 'cotton', श्लोक 'celebration', सेना 'an army', लोम the hair of the body, त्वच 'the skin', वर्म 'mail', वर्ण 'celebration', चूर्ण 'powder' and the verb of the Churādi class,

Thus सत्यापयति 'he speaks truly'; विपाशयति 'he unfetters or liberates'; रूपयति 'he looks'; उपबीणयति 'he sings with the lute'; अतुलयति 'he makes a brush'; उपश्लोकयति 'he praises in verse'; अभिवेणयति 'he advances with the army'; अनुलोमयति 'he rubs over the hair'; त्वचयति 'he feels of the skin'; संवर्मयति 'he puts on the mail armour'; वर्णयति 'he celebrates or colors'; अवचूर्णयति he pulverises. The roots of the Churādi class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhātupāṭha. After the verbs of the Churādi class, the affix णिच् is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरयति 'he steals'. So also चिन्तयति.

Vart:—The words अर्थ वेद and सत्य take the augment आप् before the affix णिच् ; as, सत्यापयति, अर्थपयति, वेदापयति. The whole equation is thus shown अर्थ + आप् + णिच् + क् + तिप् = अर्थ + आप् + णिच् + क् + तिप् = अर्थपि + णिच् + क् + तिप् = अर्थपयति (VII. 3. 86). The final syllable called टि is not elided in this case, i. e., of अर्थपि the syllable आप् is not elided before णिच्, as it would have been by VI. 4. 155. The reason is that if आप् was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix णिच् has the sense of 'unfettering' after the word वाज, of 'seeing' after रूप, of 'singing in accompaniment' after वीणा, of 'brushing' after हस्त, of 'praising' after श्लोक, of 'leading' after सेना, of 'rubbing' after दोन, of 'taking' after त्वच्, of 'putting on' after वर्न and of 'taking' after वर्ण.

हेतुमति च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतुमति, च, (धातोः, णिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुः स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तुः प्रयोजकः तदीयो व्यापारः प्रेषणादिलक्षणो हेतुमात्रं तस्मिन् अभिधेये धातोर्णिच् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्करोतीत्युपसंख्यानं सूत्रयत्यादायम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानान्तकृतस्तदाचष्ट इति णिच् कृत्वल्प् प्रकृति प्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आह्वलोपश्च कालात्यन्तसंयोगे मर्यादायाश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चित्रीकरणे प्रापि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नक्षत्रयोगे चि ॥

26. The affix णिच् is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The *hetu* (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent : an operation relating to the *hetu*, such as *directing*, &c., is called *hetumat* : as कृत्ययति 'he causes to prepare a mat' ; ओदनं पाचयति 'he makes the rice to be cooked. In other words, the affix णिच् forms the causative verbs.

Vart:—The affix comes also in the sense of 'he does that' after the word सूत्र &c. Thus सूत्रं करोति = सूत्रयति 'he makes sūtra.' So also सूत्रयति.

Vart:—After words ending in कृत affixes and describing legends, comes the affix णिच्, when the sense is 'he does that'. The कृत affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic (प्राकृतिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कंसवधिनाचष्टे = कंसं घातयति ; बलिवन्धनाचष्टे = बलिं बन्धयति ; राजागमनाचष्टे = राजानम् आगमयति.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्तिक, the upasarga आ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus आरात्रिष्विवाश्च आचष्टे = रात्रिष्विवाचयति ; here the आ of आरात्रि is elided.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vārtika the affix णिच् has the sense of 'making wonderful', meaning 'attaining that'. Thus

उज्जायिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिम्नत्वां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयते = सूर्योद्गमयति 'going from Ujjain he finds the sun rise in Mahismati (wonderful speed)'.

Vart :— When an asterism is in composition and the sense is that of knowing, there comes the affix णिच् after a word ending in कृत् affix, the कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic form and the base is as if the agent. Thus पुण्ययोगं जानाति = पुण्येण योजयति. So also सचाभियोजयति.

कण्डूवादिभ्यो यक् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्डू-आदिभ्यः, (यक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्डूञ् इत्येवमादिभ्यो यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

27. The affix यक् is employed after the roots कण्डू 'to itch', &c.

Thus, कण्डूयति or कण्डूयते 'he itches or scratches'. This word takes terminations indicatory. The words कण्डू; &c, are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.

कण्डूवादिभ्यः ।

कण्डूञ्, सन्तु, हृणीञ् वल्गु, अस्त्र, जनस्, महीङ्, लेट्, लोट् हरस् हरञ्, हरञ्, दुवस्, मेधा, कुपुभ, मग्ध, तन्तस्, पन्पस् सुख, दुःख, सप्तर, अर, भिषज्, भिष्मज्, ह्युध, चरण, पुरण, भुरण, तुरण, गद्गद्, एला, केला, खेला, लिट् and लोट् ।

गुपूधूपविच्छिपणिपनिभ्यः आयः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपू-धूप-विच्छि-पणि-पनिभ्यः, आयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपू रञ्णे, धूप सन्तापे, विच्छ गतौ, पण व्यवहारे स्तुतौ च, पन च, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्य आय प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix आय comes after गुप् 'to protect', धूप 'to heat', विच्छ 'to approach', पण 'to contract or praise' and पन 'to praise'.

Thus गोपायति 'he protects', धूपायति 'he heats' so also, विच्छायति, पणायति, and पनायति.

The verb पण् being read along with पन् 'to praise' has here the sense of 'praise' only ; so that the affix does not come after the verb पण् when it means 'to make a contract' ; as अतस्य पणते, सदस्य पणते.

The verb in आय do not take Atmanepada affixes, as there is no indicatory letter to show that.

ऋतेरीयञ् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतेः, ईयङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतिः सौत्रो धातुर्षणायां वर्तते तत्र ईयङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ईयङ् comes after the sūtra root ऋति 'to reproach'.

The indicatory ड shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada; as ऋतीयते 'he pities or reproaches'; so also, ऋतीयाते, ऋतीयन्ते.

कमेर्णिङ् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कमेः, णिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कमेर्धातोर्णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix णिङ् comes after the root कम् 'to desire.'

The ण indicates *vriddhi* (VII. 2. 115) and ड shows Atmanepada; as, ऋकामयते 'he desires'; so also कामयेते and कामयन्ते.

आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आय-आदयः, आर्द्ध-धातुके, वा, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकविषये आर्द्धधातुकविषयायायादयः प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

31. The affixes आय and those that follow it, (i e., आय, ईयङ् and णिङ्) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one's self with an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus ता 3rd sings of the Future is an ârdhadhâtuka affix. It is optional to retain the *āya* of *gopāya* before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोपः, 'he will protect'. So also अर्तिता or तृतीयिता; कर्मिता or कामयिता.

But for this sūtra, the affixes आय, &c, would have come always even when ârdhadhâtuka affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional. Therefore proper ârdhadhâtuka affixes should be applied when we retain आय &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the ârdhadhâtuka क्तिन् (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the feminine noun from the simple root, but the ârdhadhâtuka अ (III. 3. 102) will, be employed in forming the feminine when आय &c. are retained. Thus वृत्तिः or गोपाया.

सनाद्यन्ता धातवः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्-आदि-अन्ताः, धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनाद्यन्ताः सन्धाया धातुर्ज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

32. All the words ending with the affixes सन् and others are called Dhātu.

This extends the sphere of Dhātu or roots already defined in sūtra 1. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative root. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c., as shown in the above examples. Thus चिकीर्षा 'to wish to do', कारि 'to

cause to do'; चेक्रिय 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कृ 'to do' and thus take चप् &c.

स्यतासी लृलुटोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-तासी, लृ-लुटोः,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृकृपसुत्सृष्टानुबन्धं सामान्यनेकमेव तस्मिन् लुटि च परतो धातोर्यथासंख्य स्यतासी प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

33. When लृ and लृट् follow, then स्य and तसि are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

लृ is the common expression for लृङ् and लृट् formed by rejecting their special *anubandhas*, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses लृट् is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus करिष्यति अकरिष्यत्, कर्ता. The इ of तसि is indicatory and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this; as मन् 'to think', मन्ता 'he will think.'

सिर्बहुलं लेटि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिप्, बहुलम्, लेटि, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः सिप् प्रत्ययो भवति बहुलं लेटि परतः ॥

34. सिप् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when लेट् follows.

The tense called लेट् or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix सिप् is diversely added.

Thus जोषिषत्, तारिषत्, मन्दिषत् Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus चताति दिदुत् उदधिं ज्याययाति. Thus in Rig Veda I. 12, वसति is an example of लेट् with सिप् ॥

कासप्रत्ययादासमन्त्रे लिटि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास-प्रत्ययाद्,
आम्, असन्त्रे, लिटि, (प्रत्ययः, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कासु शब्द कुत्सायां, ततः प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्य आम् प्रत्ययो भवति लिटि परतयोऽसन्त्रविषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कास्यनेकाच इति वक्तव्यम् सुलुप्पादयर्थम् ॥

35. आम् is the affix of the verb कास् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i. e. the derivative verbs), when लिट् follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कास् will be कासास्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (II. 4 81) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb भू or अस् or कृ is added. As कासांचक्रे 'he coughed'; चोरयाभाच 'he stole'. So also सोलूयांचक्रे.

This rule, however, does not apply to the Vedas; as कृष्णो नोनाव Rig Veda I. 79. 2.

Vart:—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as चुलुष्पाञ्चकार, दग्धिञ्चार -

The final च् of आच् is not indicatory,

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्-आदेः, च, गुरुमतः, अनृच्छः, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादिर्यो धातुर्गुणान् अच्युच्छतिर्जितस्तस्माच्च लिटि परतः आप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ऊर्णोतिश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The affix आच् is used when लिट् follows, after a root beginning with a letter of इच् pratyâhâra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root अच्य 'to go'.

Thus ईद 'to try', ईहांचक्रे 'he tried'; so also ऊहाञ्चक्रे 'he guessed', एषाञ्चक्रे 'he grieved'.

But अच्य forms आनच्य 'he failed or went'. This applies to monosyllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodially long, except अ or आ. The verb ऊर्ण 'to cover' is, however, an exception; its perfect is ऊर्णवान् 'he covered'.

Why do we say 'beginning with इच् or any vowel except अ or आ'? Observe अर्द, Perfect आनर्द (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say 'heavy vowel'? Observe उल्, Perf. उवोल् (VI. 4. 78) ऊल्तुः, ऊल्तुः Why do we say 'vowel'? Observe कुर्द, Perf. चुकुर्द; पूद, Perf. चुपूद.

दयायासश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दय-अय-आसः, च, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दय दानगतिरश्चोषे, अय गती, आस उपवेशने, एतेभ्यश्च लिटि परतः आप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. After the verbs दय 'to give', 'to go' and आस 'to protect', अय 'to go', and आस 'to sit', there is the affix लट्, when लिट् follows.

Thus दयाञ्चक्रे 'he gave'; पलायांचक्रे 'he ran away'; आसींचक्रे 'he sat'.

उषविदजागृभ्योऽनृच्छकरस्याम् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष-विद-जागृभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (आम्, प्रत्ययः, लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष दाहे, विद ज्ञाने, जागृ निद्राक्षये, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतोऽन्यतरस्यानाम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix आच् is optionally employed after these, viz.—उष् 'to burn', विद् 'to know', and जागृ 'to wake', when लिट् follows.

Thus ओषाञ्चकार or उषोष, विदाञ्चकार or विवेद, जागराञ्चकार or जजागर. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विद as ending in a short अ, *guṇa* is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

भीहीभृहुवां इलुवच्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-ही-भृ-हुवा, इलुवत्.
च, (आम्, लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ जिभी भये, ही लज्जायास्, भृभृन् धारणपोषणयोः, हु दानादानयोः, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम्, इलाविव चास्मिन्कार्यं भवति ॥

39. आम् is optionally affixed, when लिट् follows, after these verbs भी 'to fear,' ही 'to be ashamed', भृ 'to nourish' हु 'to sacrifice'; and when आम् is affixed, the effect is as if there were इलु elision and the roots belonged to Hvâdi class.

The effect of इलु is to cause reduplication by rule VI. 1. 10. As विभयाञ्चकार or विभाय, जिह्वाञ्चकार or जिह्वाय, विभराञ्चकार or विभार, जुहवाञ्चकार or जुहाय.

कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि, ॥ कृज, च, अनुप्रयुज्यते, लिटि

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्य पश्चात्कृञनुप्रयुज्यते लिटि परतः, कृजिति प्रत्याहारेण कृञ्बस्तयो वृत्तान्त तत्सामर्थ्यादस्तेर्भावा न भवति ॥

40. After a verb which ends with आम्, the verb कृ 'to do' is annexed, when लिट् follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आम् the perfect tense of कृ is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word कृ includes also the verbs भू and अस्. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb अस् when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by भू (III. 4. 52) before the लिट् affixes which are ârdhadhâcuka affixes. Thus पाचयाञ्चकार, पाचयाम्बभूव, पाचयानास.

विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु, इति, अन्यतरस्याम्

वृत्तिः ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्येतदन्यतरस्याम् निपात्यते ॥

41. The form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आम् to the root विद 'to know,' when followed by लोट् or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of लोट् are then elided by लुक्; moreover there is no substitution of *guṇa*

as required by VII. 3. 86; and when we have thus obtained the form विदास्, we annex to it the लोट् of the verb कृ; thus we have विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु or विदन्तु 'let them know.' The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु in the aphorism; on the contrary, the word इति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed; as विदाङ्करोतु विदाङ्कस्तास् &c.

अभ्युत्सादयांप्रजनयांचिकयांरमयामकः पावयांक्रियाद्विदाम-
क्रन्निति छन्दसि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्युत्सादयाम्-प्रजनयाम्-चिक्याम्-
रमयामकः, पावयांक्रियाद्-विदामक्रन्, इति, छन्दसि, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्युत्सादयामित्येवमादयः छन्दसि विषयेऽन्यतरस्यां निपात्यन्ते ॥

42. The forms अभ्युत्सादयामकः प्रजनयामकः चिक्यामकः रमयामकः पावयांक्रियाद् विदामक्रन् are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (लुङ्) of the causatives of the roots ब् 'to sit' ज् 'to be born', and रस् 'to sport': to which the affix आस् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root चि 'to collect', to which आस् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into क of the root. The auxiliary अकः is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root पु 'to blow, to purify', by adding the causative affix णिच्, annexing the affix आस् before the terminations of the Potential (लिट्) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary क्रियात्. The last is the Aorist of विद् 'to know', to which आस् is added and the auxiliary अक्रन् is employed. These are the archaic forms; their modern forms are as follow:—
आयुदसीषदत्, प्राजीजनत्, अचैषीत्, अरीरन्त्, पाठ्याद्, अवेदिषुः ।

चिल लुङि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिल, लुङि, (धातोः, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः चिल प्रत्ययो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

43. When लुङ् follows, the affix चिल is added to the verbal root.

The इ of चिल is for the sake of articulation, the च is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicatory च has udātta on its final. Then remains only लि; which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact लि is the common name for all Aorist affixes.

चलेः सिच् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलेः, सिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलेः सिजादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्पृशस्पृशकृषतृपट्पां सिञ्चा वक्तव्यः ॥

44. Of च्लि, सिच् is the substitute.

The इ of सिच् is for the sake of pronunciation, the च is for accent, and the real affix is स्; as अकार्षीत् 'he did'. When सिच् is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms:—

<i>Parasmaipada.</i>				<i>Atmanepada.</i>		
	<i>sing</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural.</i>
1st pers.	सं	स्व	स्म	सि	स्वहि	स्महि
2nd pers.	सीः	स्तं, तं	स्त, त	स्याः, याः	सायां	ध्वं
3rd pers.	सीत्	स्तां, तां	सुः	स्त, त	सातां	सत

The substitution of सिच् is optional in the Aorist of the roots स्पृश् 'to touch', रुश् 'to rub', कृष् 'to plough', वृप् 'to become satisfied', and दृप् 'to light'. Thus the Aorist of स्पृश् has three forms; अस्मासीत्, अस्मासीत् or अस्पृषत्. Similarly रुश् has अस्मासीत्, अस्मासीत् or अरुषत्; कृष्, अकार्षीत् अस्मासीत् or अकृषत्; वृप्, अताप्सीत्, अताप्सीत्, or अवृषत्; दृप्, अद्राप्सीत्, अद्राप्सीत् or अदृषत्.

शल इगुपधादनिटः कसः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शलः, इग्-उपधात्, अनिटः, कसः, (च्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शलन्तो ये धातुरिगुपधस्तस्मात् परस्य च्लेरनिटः, कस आदेशो भवति ॥

45. After a verb that ends in a शल consonant, and has an इक् vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take इट् (VII. 2. 10), कस is the substitute of च्लि.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with कस are as follows:—

Parasmaipada.				Atmanepada.		
	sing.	dual	plural	sing.	dual	plural
1st pers.	सं	साव	सास्	सि	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd pers.	सः	सतं	सत	स्याः, याः	सायास्	सध्वस्, ध्वस्
3rd pers.	सत्	सतां	सन्	सत, त	सातां	सन्त

As, रुश् and कृष् in the last sūtra have their Aorist with कस as अरुषसत् and अकृषत्; so दुह 'to milk' forms अधुषत् 'he milked', लिह् 'to lick' अलिषत्.

Why do we say 'when ending in य, ष, स, and ह'? Observe अनेरसीत्, अणैत्सीत्; here सिच् is employed. Why do we say 'having for its penultimate इ, उ, ऋ or लृ'? Observe अयासीत्. Why do we say 'not having an intermediate इ'? Observe अलोषीत् and अलोषीत्. See VII. 2. 4. and VIII. 2. 28.

इल्लिष आलिङ्गने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लिषः, आलिङ्गने, (च्लेः, कसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लिषेर्धातोरालिङ्गनक्रियावचनात् परस्य च्लेः कस आदेशो भवति ॥

46. कस is the substitute of च्लि after the verb श्लिष, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.

This is a restrictive aphorism. As आश्लिषत् कन्याम् 'he embraced the girl'. But समाश्लिषज्जुकाष्ठम् 'the glue joined the wood'.

न दृशः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दृशः, (च्लेः, क्लः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशोर्धातोः परस्य च्लेः क्लदेशो न भवति ॥

47. च is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb दृश् 'to see'.

This is an exception to the sūtra III. I. 45. enjoining च. The root दृश् will form its Aorists by III. I. 57. and will take अङ् and णिच्; as अदृशत् or अद्राक्षीत् 'he saw'.

णिश्चिदुस्तुभ्यः कर्त्तरि चङ् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ णि-श्चि-दु-स्तुभ्यः, कर्त्तरि, चङ्, (च्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एयन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः शिद्भ्योऽप्येतेभ्यश्च परस्य च्लेश्चङादेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिन् लुङि परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कनेष्वसंख्यानम् ॥

48. After a root which ends in णि (III. I. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb शि 'to serve', दृ 'to run', and लु 'to drop', चङ् is the substitute of च्लि when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

The च prevents *guṇa* and *vriiddhi* and च is to distinguish it from अङ्. When चङ् is added there is reduplication (VI. I. 11) The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चङ् is used; as अचीकृत 'he caused to make'; अशिश्रियत् 'he served or went'; अदुद्रवत् 'he ran'; असुस्रुत् 'it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive; as, अकारयिषाताम्.

The root कश् 'to love' should also be included in this rule. कश् when it takes the affix णिङ् (III. I. 30) will of course be included in this sūtra, by virtue of its ending in णि; the *Vārtika* makes the additional statement that even when the root कश् does not take the affix णिङ्, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have अचकमत् 'he loved'; when it takes णिङ्, the Aorist will be अचीकमत् (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94.)

विभाषा चेट्श्व्योः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चेट्-श्व्योः, (च्लेः, चङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चेट् पानि, दुश्चोश्चि गतिशृङ्गयोः, एताभ्यामुत्तरस्य च्लेर्विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ॥

49. After the roots च 'to suck', and श्वि 'to grow', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

As, अदधत् 'he sucked.' When it takes the alternative चिच्, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have अधात् and अधासीत् 'he sucked'. So also of शिव, we have अशिरषयत् 'he grew'. It also takes the अच्. (III. 1. 58) and then its form is अरवत् or अरवयीत्.

गुपेइच्छन्दि ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपेः, छन्दसि, (चलेः, चङ्. विभाषा, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपेः परस्य छलेच्छन्दि विषये विभाषा बडादेशो भवति ।

50. After the verb गुप् 'to protect', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुप् does not take the affix आच (II. 1. 28). As इनाच् नो मित्रावरुणौ यत् वृषात् अमुगुपतच् 'Mitra Varuna protected these our houses'. The other forms are अगौप्तच्, अगोपिष्टच् or अगोपापिष्टच्. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

ऊनयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊन, ऊनयति-ध्वनयति-एलयति-अर्दयतिभ्यः, (चलेः, चङि, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊन परिहाणे, ध्वन शब्दे, इल प्रेरणे, अर्द गतौ याचने च. एतेभ्यो घातुभ्यो ययन्तेभ्यः पूर्वेषु छलेच्छङि प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषये न भवति ॥

51. After the causatives of the verbs ऊन 'to decrease', ध्वन 'to sound', इल 'to send', and अर्द 'to go or to beg', चङ् is not the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

Thus we have ऊनयीः in the Vedas; औनिनत् in the classical literature; so also ध्वनयीत्, ऐलयीः and अर्दयीत्; their classical forms being अदिध्वनत्, ऐलितत्, and आर्दिदत्. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15. and Pāṇini VII 2. 5.

अस्यतिवक्तिरुयातिभ्योऽङ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वक्ति-रुयातिभ्यो, अङ्, (चलेः, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ् चेषणे, वक् परिभाषाणे, वृज्जादेशो वा, रुया प्रकथने, वक्तिडादेशो वा, एभ्यः परस्य छलेरडादेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

52. After the verbs अङ् 'to throw', वक् 'to speak', and रुया 'to speak', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, when उङ् follows signifying the agent.

वक् may be either the root, or the substitute of वृ (II. 4. 53) and so also रुया may be the root, or the substitute of चक् (II. 4. 54.). The root अङ् belonging to the दिवादि or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the sub-division पुषादि, and therefore it would have taken अङ् in the Parasmaipada

by rule III. 1. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes अङ् in the Atmanepada also ; as पर्यास्यत् (VII. 4. 17), अवोचत् and आरुयत्. In the Passive, we have पर्यासिषाताच्.

लिपिसिचिह्वश्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिपि-सिचि-ह्वः, च, (चलेः, अङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि)

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप उपदेहे, सिच चरणे, ह्वि रूपर्द्धयां एतेभ्यश्च परस्य, चलेरडादेशो भवति.

53. After the verbs लिप् 'to paint', सिच् 'to sprinkle' and ह्वे 'to call', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when लुङ् follows signifying the agent.

Thus अलिपत् 'he painted or wrote'; अविचत् 'he sprinkled'; and आहत् 'he called or challenged'.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, (चलेः, अङ्, लिपि, सिचि, ह्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिपिसिचिह्व आत्मनेपदेषु परतः चलेरडादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

54. After the verbs लिप्, सिच् and ह्वे, अङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus अलिपत् or अलिह 'he painted'; अविचत् or अविक्त 'he sprinkled'; आहत् or अहात् 'he challenged'.

पुषादिद्युताद्यलृदितः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुषादि-द्युतादि-लृद्-इत्, परस्मैपदेषु, (चलेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषादिभ्यो द्युतादिभ्यः लृदिद्भ्यश्च घातभ्यः परस्य चलेः परस्मैपदेषु परतो अडादेशो भवति ॥

55. अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, after the verbs पुष् 'to nourish', and the rest, द्युत् 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicative लृ, when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषादि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs ; and द्युतादि, verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष्, अपुषत् 'he nourished'; द्युत्, अद्युतत् 'he shone', गच्छत्, अगच्छत् 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada ; as अद्योतिष्ट, अलोतिष्ट.

सर्त्तिशास्त्यर्त्तिभ्यश्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्त्ति-शास्ति-अर्त्तिभ्यः, च, (चलेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्यु गतौ, शास्तु अनुशिष्टौ, ऋ गतौ, इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य चलेरडादेशो भवति ॥

56. After the verbs वृ 'to go', याच् 'to order', and ऋ 'to go', ऋच् is the substitute of ऋ in the Parasmaipada as well as in the Atmanepada.

Thus अगच्छत् 'he went'; अगच्छत् 'he ordered'; अगच्छत् 'he went'. This sūtra has been separately enunciated in order to make the rule applicable to Atmanepada; as अगच्छत् (L. 3. 29). The च in the text is for the sake of drawing the anuvritti of the phrase 'in the Parasmaipada' of the last sūtra, into the present and its anuvriti will extend to future sūtras also.

इरिलो वा ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इर्-इतः, वा, (ञ्लोः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरितोष्णतेः परस्य चलेरङ्गादेशो वा भवति ॥

57. अङ् is optionally the substitute of ङि after that root which has an indicative वृ, when the Parasmaipada terminations are employed.

Thus from बिदिर् (बिद्) 'to divide', we derive अभिदत् or अभैत्सीत्. But we have अभिच in the Atmanepada. So from छिदिर्—अभिदत् or अभैत्सीत्.

जुस्तमभुञ्जन्तुचमुच्चलुच्चलुउवृश्चिभ्यश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज-

कसक-कस-कस-कसक-कसक-शिवः यः, (कलः, अह्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्र स्वस्त्वस्तु सुहृद् सुखं सुतुष्टिं सुप्रसन्नं शिव, हतेभ्यो धातुमयः परस्य ज्ञेया
अज्ञानेन भवति ॥

58. And, optionally **बुद्धि** is the substitute of **बुद्धि** after the verbs **बुद्धि** 'to grow old', **बुद्धि** 'to stiffen' **बुद्धि** and **बुद्धि** 'to go', **बुद्धि** and **बुद्धि** 'to steal', **बुद्धि** 'to go' and **बुद्धि** 'to grow', when the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed.

Thus अजरत् or अजरीत् 'he grew old'; अस्तंभत् or अस्तंभीत् 'he stiffened'; अगुचत् or अगोचीत् 'he went'; अगुचत् or अगोचीत् 'he stole'; अगुचत् or अगोचीत् 'he stole'; अगुचत् or अगोचीत् 'he went'; अगुचत्, अगुचीत् or अगिदिषत् 'he grew'. The roots अगुच् and अगुच् both give rise to the same three forms, viz.; अगुचत्, अगुचत् and अगुचत्. The use of one root would, therefore, have served the purpose. The employment of both indicates separateness of their meanings. Others say that the use of both roots indicates that in the case of अगुच्, the nasal is never elided. Thus the Aorist of अगुच् will be अगुचत् and अगुचीत्.

कृमृदूतहिम्यश्छन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ-मृ-दू-तहिम्यः,
छन्दसि (चले, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ वृ हृ वहि इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य छलेः छन्दसि विषयेऽडादेशो भवति ॥

59. After the verbs कृ 'to do', वृ 'to die', हृ 'to tear', and वहि 'to rise', अङ् is the substitute of छिन् when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकरत् 'he did'; अमरत् 'he died'; अदरत् 'he tore'; आरुहत् 'he rose'. See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकार्षीत्, अमृत, अदारीत् and अरुहत्.

चिण् ते पदः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, ते, पदः, (छले :) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पद गतौ अस्माद्धातोः परस्य छलेशिचणादेशो भवति तथ्यवदे परतः ॥

60. चिण् is the substitute of छिन् after the verb पद् 'to go', when the affix त follows.

The affix त here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as अयादि 'he went'; but not so in the dual and plural; as अपसाताम् 'they two went'; अपत्सत् 'they went', अद् + पद + चिण् + त = अ + पाद् + ह = अयादि (the affix त being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

दीपजनबुधपूरितायिप्यायिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥

दीप-जन-बुध-पूरि-तायि-प्यायिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (छलेः, चिण्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीप जन बुध पूरि तायि प्यायि एतेभ्यः परस्य छलेस्तथ्यवदे परतोऽन्यतरस्यां चिणादेशो भवति ॥

61. चिण् is optionally the substitute of छिन्, when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs दीप् 'to shine', जर् 'to be produced', बुध् 'to teach or know', पूर् 'to be full', ताय् 'to extend or protect' and प्याय 'to smell'.

Thus अदीपि or अदीपिष्ट, he shone; अजनि or अजनिष्ट 'he was produced'; अबोधि or अबुड 'he knew'; अपूरि or अपूरिष्ट 'he was full'; अतायि or अतायिष्ट 'he extend'; अप्यायि or अप्यायिष्ट 'he grew'.

अचः कर्मकर्त्तरि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्म-कर्त्तरि, (छलेः, ते, चिण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताद्धातोः परस्य छलेः कर्मकर्त्तरि तथ्यवदे परतश्चिचणादेशो भवति ॥

62. चिण् is optionally the substitute of छिन् when त the third person singular of Atmanepada follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflexive verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflexive verbs therefore, चिण् is employed after roots ending in

vowels; as अकारि कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat became made of itself. This is an optional rule (प्राप्तविभाषा). Therefore we have also अकृत कटः स्वयमेव; similarly अलावि or अलविष्ट केदारः स्वयमेव 'the embankment broke of itself.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, i. e., in those which end with a consonant, the चिन् is obligatory in the reflexive voice, and not optional; as अभेदि काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood split of itself.' So also in verbs other than reflexives; as अकारि कटो देववत्तेन.

दुहश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुहः, च, (च्लेः, चिन्, अन्यतरस्याम्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह प्रपूरणे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेदिचणादेशो न भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

63. चिन् is optionally the substitute of च्ल after the verb दुह 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and when न follows.

Thus अदोहि or अदुग्ध गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow milked of itself. In verbs other than reflexive, the चिन् is compulsory, e. g., अदोहि गौर्गोपालकेन 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'.

न रुधः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, रुधः, (च्लेः, चिन्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् आवरणे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेः कर्मकर्त्तरि चिणादेशो न भवति ॥

64. चिन् is not the substitute of च्ल after the verb रुध 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense in the third person singular of the Atmanepada.

Thus अन्ववारुध गौ स्वयमेव 'the cow was obstructed of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, चिन् is employed, e. g., अन्ववारोधि गौर्गोपालकेन.

तपोऽनुतापे च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, अनुतापे, च, (न, च्लेः, चिन्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सन्तापे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेदिचणादेशो न भवति कर्मकर्त्तरि अनुतापे च ॥

65. चिन् is not the substitute of च्ल after the verb तप् 'to suffer', when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices of the verb तप्; as अतप्त तपस्तपसः 'the ascetic performed austerity'; अन्वतप्त पापेन कर्मणा 'he repented from evil deeds'.

चिन् भावकर्मणोः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्, भाव-कर्मणोः, (च्लेः, चिन्, ते)

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः परस्य च्लेखिषणादेशो भवति भावे कर्मरि तश्च परतः ॥

66. चिप् is the substitute of च्लि when च of the third person singular Atmanepada follows, denoting the action (भाव) or the object कर्म.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally; and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. As अक्षयि भवता 'it was lain by you, i. e., you lay', अक्षरि कटो देवदत्तेन 'the mat was made by Devadatta'. The repetition of चिप् here is for the sake of distinctness.

सार्वधातुके यक् ॥६७॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुके यक्, (भाव-कर्मणोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकर्मवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोर्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix यक् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this affix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs आस्यते भवता 'you sit', जय्यते भवता 'you lie'. So in passive verbs; as क्रियते कटः and गम्यते ग्रामः. The क of यक् is servile, and prevents guṇa and vṛiddhi. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्मकर्त्तरि); as क्रियते कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat becomes made of itself.

कर्त्तरि शप् ॥६८॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, शप्, (सार्वधातुके, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोः शप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix शप् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, शप् is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called a विकरण comes after roots of the भृ class and after compound roots formed by सृन् &c. (III. 1. 32). The indicatory श makes it a सार्वधातुक affix by III. 4. 113, the प् indicates that the vowel has *anudatta* accent (III. 1. 4). As भृ + शप् + तिप् = भृ + अ + ति = भो + अ + ति = भवति. (VII. 3. 84). So also पचति.

दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिव्-आदिभ्यः, श्यन्, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix श्यन् comes after a root of the Divadi class, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows.

This debars शप्. The servile न of श्यन् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the *udatta* accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix; and the indicatory श makes the affix sârvadhâtuka; as दिव् + श्यन् +

तिप् = दीव् + य + ति (VII. 2. 77) = दीव्यति; so also वीव्यति. The *Divadi* verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

वा भ्राश-भ्राश-भ्रु-क्रु-क्रु-त्रु-ति-लषः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भ्राश-भ्राश-भ्रु-क्रु-क्रु-त्रु-ति-लषः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि, इयन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राश भ्राश भ्रु क्रु क्रु त्रु ति लष एतेभ्यो वा इयन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix इयन् is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; भ्राश् 'to shine', भ्राश 'to shine', भ्रश् 'to whirl' क्रश् 'to walk', क्रुश् to be sad', त्रश् 'to fear', त्रुट् 'to cut' and लष् 'to desire'.

Thus भ्राशते or भ्राश्यते 'he shines'; भ्राशते or भ्राश्यते 'he shines'; भ्रमति or भ्रास्यति 'he whirls'; क्रामति or क्राम्यति 'he walks'; क्रामति or क्राम्यति 'he is sad'. So also त्रस्यति or त्रसति; त्रुट्यति or त्रुटति; लष्यति or लषति.

यस्योऽनुपसर्गात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यसः, अनुपसर्गात्, (इयन्, वा, सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्योऽनुपसर्गाद्वा इयन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix इयन् is optionally employed after the verb यस् 'to strive', when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus यास्यति or यसति 'he strives'. But no option is allowed in आयास्यति, मयास्यात्. The root यस् belongs to the *Divadi* class.

संयसश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सं-यसः, च, (इयन्, वा) ॥ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयसश्च यसेर्वा इयन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix इयन् is optionally employed after the root यस् 'to strive', when it is preceded by the preposition सच्, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus सन्यस्यति or सन्यसति 'he strives'.

स्वानिभ्यः श्नुः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शु-आदिभ्यः, श्नुः, (सार्वधातुके कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुञ् अनिपदे इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix श्नु comes after the roots of Svâdi class when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

This debars षप्. As सु + रु + तिप् = सु + रु + ति = सुनोति 'he presses out'. These are roots of the Fifth class.

श्रुवः श्रु च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुवः, श्रु, च, (श्रुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रुवः श्रुप्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन श्रुवः श्रु इत्यवनादेशो भवति ।

74. And श्रु is the substitute of श्रु, and there is the affix रु after it, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus सु + रु + तिप् = श्रु + रु + ति = श्रुणीति 'he hears'; श्रुणुतः 'they two hear'.

अक्षोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (श्रुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्षू व्याप्तौ भौवादिकः अस्मादन्यतरस्यां श्रुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. The affix रु is optionally employed after the root अक्ष 'to pervade', when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अक्षणीति or अक्षति 'he pervades or obtains'.

तनूकरणे तक्षः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनू-करणे-तक्षः, (अन्यतरस्यां,

श्रुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तक्षू त्वक्षू तनुकरणे, अस्मात्तनूकरणे वर्त्तमानादन्यतरस्यां श्रु प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix रु is optionally employed after the root तक्ष 'to bore or hew' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus तक्षति or तक्षणीति क्वाष्टं 'he hews the wood'. But सन्तक्षति वाग्भिः 'he cuts with speech'.

तुदादिभ्यः शः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुद-आदिभ्यः, शः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुद व्ययने, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

77. The affix श is employed after the roots of the Tudâdi class, in denoting the agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars षप्. The indicatory श makes this affix a sârvadhâtuka affix. As तुद + श + ति = तुद + श + ति = तुदति (I. 2. 4) 'he pains or torments'.

रुधादिभ्यः शम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुध-आदिभ्यः, शम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिरु आवरणे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो शन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix शन् comes after the roots of the Rudhâdi class, in denoting an agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars यच्. The indicatory च of the affix रन्च् shows that the affix न is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see sūtra I. 1. 47. As यच् + रन्च् + ति = यच् + न + ति = य + न + य् + ति = यण्डि 'he obstructs'. So also भिनत्ति 'he splits'. The indicatory य is for the sake of sūtra VI. 4. 23.

तनादिकृञ्भ्य उः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदि-कृञ्भ्यः, उः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनु विस्तारे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कृञ्भ्य उप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix उ comes after the roots of the Tanâdi class and after the verb कृ 'to make' when a sârvadhâtuk affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars यच्. As तन् + उ + ति = तनोति 'he expands'; कृ + उ + ति = करोति 'he makes'. Though the root कृ is included in the list of the Tanâdi verbs, for which see Dhâtupâtha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sūtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root कृ is a Tanâdi root only for the purposes of taking the affix उ; all the other operations of Tanâdi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to कृ. Thus अकृत and अकृत्याः; the सिच् elision being compulsory and not optional.

धिन्विङ्कृण्वोर च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धिन्वि-कृण्वोः, अ, च;

(उः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धिन् धिन्वि जिन्वि प्रीणनायोः कवि हिंसाकरणयोः इत्येतयोर्धात्वोरुप्रत्ययो भवत्यकारद्वयान्तादेशः ॥

80. The affix उ comes after the roots धिन्वि 'to please', and कृण्वि 'to hurt' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs अ is the substitute of the final ह.

The root धिन्वि or धिन्वि belongs to the Bhuâdi class. Thus धिन्वि + उ + ति = धिन् + अ + उ + ति = धिन् + उ + ति (VI. 4. 48) = धिनोति 'he pleases'. It might be asked, why there is no *guna* of the ह of धिन् by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be *gunated* before a sârvadhâtuka or an ârdha-dhâtuka affix. The answer is to be found in sūtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of अ which is a blank, is like the former occupant (*sthānivat*), and thus prevent *guna*.

क्रयादिभ्यः श्ना ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री-आदिभ्यः, श्ना ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हुक्रीञ् द्रव्यविनिमये इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix श्ना comes after the roots of the Kryâdi class when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows denoting the agent.

This debars शप्. As क्री + णा + तिप् = क्रीणाति 'he buys'. So also प्रीणाति 'he pleases'.

[illegible]

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु स्तम्भु स्कम्भु स्कुम्भु स्कुञ् एतेभ्यः श्नाप्रत्ययो भवति श्नुश्च ॥

82. And there is the affix *हन्* after *स्तम्भ*, *स्तुम्भ*, *स्तुम्भ* or *स्तुम्भ* 'to hinder', 'to be dull or insensible' 'to support', and *स्तु* 'to go by leaps', as well as the affix *हृ*, when a *sârvadhâtuka* affix follows, in denoting the agent

As स्तम्भनाति or स्तम्भनोति, स्तम्भनाति or स्तम्भनोति, स्तम्भनाति or स्तम्भनोति, स्तम्भनाति or स्तम्भनोति, स्तम्भनाति or स्तम्भनोति, स्तम्भनाति or स्तम्भनोति. The first four of these roots are not found in the Dhâtupâtha and are to be found in the sûtras, and hence called Saûtra roots.

हलः अः शः नञ्भौ ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, अः, शः नञ्भौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इल उतरस्य इनाप्रत्ययस्य ज्ञानजादेशो भवति हा परतः ॥

83. The affix यानच् is the substitute of यना after a root ending with a consonant, when हि follows.

The affix हि is the 2nd person singular of लोड् or the Imperative mood. Thus पुषाण 'do thou nourish', गृहाण 'do thou take', from roots पुञ् and ग्रह which end with consonants. But we have क्रीणीहि 'do thou buy'; here there is no substitution of शानच्, because the root ends with a vowel. The repetition of शना in the sūtra shows that शानच् is a mere substitute and not an independent affix.

हृन्दन्ति शायन्नपि ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृन्दन्ति. शायच्, अपि,
(हलः; अः; शानच्, हौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये हनः शायजादेशो भवति शानजपि ॥

84. In the Chhandas, **झायच्** is also the substitute of **झना** after roots ending in consonants, when **हि** follows.

Thus गृभाय जिह्नुया नधु. (Rig Veda VIII. 17. 5.) The affix घानच् is also employed; as वधान पशून् 'kill the beasts'.

व्यत्ययो बहुलम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यत्ययः, बहुलम् ; (छन्दसि;
शब्दादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथाययं विकरणाः शवादेयो विहितास्तोषां छन्दसि विषये बहुलं व्यत्ययो भवति ॥

85. In the Chhandas there is diversely an interchange of the various vikaraans अ and the rest

which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word व्यत्यय means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange, taking of two vikarṇas at a time, and so on. Thus भेदति = भिद् + षप् + ति) instead of भिनत्ति from the root भिद् 'to split', belonging to the Rudhâdi class; e. g. शुष्मस्य आरुहानि भेदति (Rig. VIII. 40. 11) 'He (Indra) breaks the eggs (children) of Shushma'; so also, जरसा नरते पतिः (Rig. X. 86. 11); here there is नरते = (वृ + षप् + ते) instead of न्रियते; the root वृ belonging to the Tudâdi class. So also there are two vikarṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रो वस्ते न नेषतु 'May Indra lead by this abode'; here there is नेषतु 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative लोट् of the root नी 'to lead'; there are two vikarṇas षिप् and षप् instead of नयतु = नी + षप् + तु); इन्द्रेण युजा तरुषेन वृत्रम् (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तरुषेन (वृ + उ + षिप् + षप् + ञन) is the 1st per. sing. of the Optative (लिङ्) of the root वृ, the classical form being तरेम or वीर्यास्म 'may we cross'.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to कृत् and तद्धित affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyâhâra यङ् (III. 1. 22 to III. 1. 86).

लिङ्याशिष्यङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङि, आशिषि, अङ्, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् तस्मिन्परतरछन्दसि विषयेऽङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्वयेरवक्तव्यः ॥

86. The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (आशीर्लिङ्) follow.

This debars षप्. The affixes of the Benedictive are ardhadhâtuka by III. 4. 116; but in the Vedas they are sârvadhâtuka as well; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs ह्या, गा, गश्, वच्, वद्, शक् and रुह; as उपस्येयम्; सत्यमुपगेयम्; गमेन जानतो वृहान्, सन्न बोचेनाग्नये; विदेयमेनां मनसि प्रविष्टां; व्रतम् चरिष्वानि तच्छकेयम्; स्वर्गं लोकान्गहेयम्.

The affix अक् is employed in the Chhandas after the verb वृष् in the Benedictive. Had there been अङ्, it would have caused *gu. a* by rule VII. 4. 16; to prevent this, अक् is ordained; as पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च 'May I see the father and the mother'.

कर्मवत्कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मवत्, कर्मणा, तुल्य-क्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि क्रिया कर्म कर्मस्थया क्रियया तुल्यक्रियः कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति ॥

87. The क denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a क denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or क, denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or क denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of वच् (III. 1. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of चिच् for षिच् (III. 1. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sūtra VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus भिद्यते काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself'; खसेद्दि काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When in an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object; and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word वत् 'like' in the sūtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus भिद्यते कुसूतेन.

The word कर्मणा 'with the object' in the sūtra indicates that the *tulya-kriya* or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus बाध्वसिद्धिनक्ति 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also साधु स्याली पचति 'the pot cooks well' here स्याली is a location.

This 'karma-vad-bhāva, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

तपस्तपः कर्मकस्यैव ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, तपः, कर्मकस्य, एव, (कर्मवत्, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सन्तापे, अस्य कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति, स च तपः कर्मकस्यैव नाश्व कर्मकस्य ॥

38. The agent of the verb तप् 'to heat,' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word तपस् itself.

Thus तप्यते तपस्तापसः 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.

न दुहस्नुनमां यक्चिणी ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दुह-स्नु-नमां, यक्-चिणी, (कर्मकर्त्तरि, कर्मवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह स्तु नच हत्येतेषां कर्मकर्त्तरि यक्चिणौ कर्मबद्धावापविष्टौ न भवतः ॥

नार्त्तिकश्च ॥ यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधे णिअण्यिअत्तनेपदाकर्मकाशाशुपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. The affix यक् (III. 1. 67.) and चिण् (III. 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs दुह् 'to milk', स्तु 'to fall in drops' and नच 'to bow.'

The affixes यक् and चिण् are used in forming the reflexive verbs, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object. With regard to the root दुह्, the affix यक् is only prohibited by the present sūtra; the चिण् being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as दुग्धे, अदुग्ध or अदोहि गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself' प्रस्तुते or प्रास्नोष्ट गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself'; ननते or अनन्त दरुहः स्वयमेव 'the stick bends or bent of itself'.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes यक् and चिण् is extended to the verbs that take the affix चि (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs अन्य 'to loosen', अण्य 'to compose' and ब्रू 'to speak', and to the Atmanepadi Intransitive verbs. As कारयते 'it is caused to be made of itself'; अचीकृत 'it was caused to be made of itself'; अयनीते 'it loosens of itself'; अयन्यिष्ट 'it loosened of itself'; अयनीते or अयन्यिष्ट 'it composes or composed of itself'; ब्रूते and अबोचत् 'it speaks and spoke of itself'; आहते and आवधिष्ट नाचयत् स्वयमेव.

कुचिरञ्जोः प्राचांश्यन्परस्मैपदं च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुचि-रञ्जोः, प्राचाम्, श्यन्, परस्मैपदं, च, (कर्मकर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुच निष्कर्षे, रञ्ज रागे, अनयोर्धात्वोः कर्मकर्त्तरि प्राचामाचार्याणां चतेन श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति परस्मैपदं च ॥

90. The affix श्यन् comes after the roots कुच् 'to pull', and रञ्ज 'to colour', in the reflexive voice, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, and these verbs take the affixes of the Parasmaipada.

Thus debars the affix यक् and the Atmanepada terminations. As कुच्यति पादः स्वयमेव 'the foot draws up of itself'; रञ्जति वस्त्रं स्वयमेव 'the cloth colours of itself'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule; so that we have also the forms कुच्यते and रञ्जते.

धातोः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरित्ययमधिकारो वेदितव्यः, आ तृतीयाध्यायपरिचयार्थेयदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक-
निध्याप्नो धातोरित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

91. As far as the end of the Third Book

reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root.

This is an Adhikâra Sûtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts कृत् and कृत् affixes, which will be described later on.

तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, उपपदं, सप्तमी-
स्थम्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रैतस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तृतीये यत्सप्तमी निर्दिष्टं तदुपपदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependent word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. 1. कर्मण्यन् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + अच् = कुम्भकारः 'a potter'; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.

कृदतिङ् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृद्, अ-तिङ्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तिङ्वर्जितः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञको भवति ॥

93. In this portion of the Sūtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत्.

Thus the affixes तव्यन् &c. are कृत्. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prâtipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (1. 2 46). Thus कृ + तव्यं = कर्तव्यं. Why do we say 'except तिङ् affixes'? Observe जीयात् 'may he collect', स्तुयात् 'may he praise' which form verbs and not nouns.

वाऽसरूपोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, असरूपः, अस्त्रियाम्,
(धातोः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे ऽसन्नानरूपः प्रत्ययो ऽपवादो वा बाधको भवति स्वयंधिकारं विहितप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

94. In this portion of the Sūtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same form,

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वृत्तिः ॥ एतुल्लुचादिति वक्ष्यति प्रागत्स्नायवल्संशब्दनाद्यामित कटुर्वमनुक्रियमानः
कृत्वसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism एतुल्लुचौ (III. 1. 133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of *Kritya*.

This defines the class of affixes known as *kritya*, a sub division of *krit* affixes. These are certain affixes like तव्य, अनीय &c, which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4. 70.). The following 38 sūtras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in *udus* conveying the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word *kritya* occurs in sūtras II. I. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

तव्यञ्जयानीयरः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव्यत्-तव्य-अनीयरः,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोस्तव्यञ्जयानीयर् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसेस्तव्यत् कर्त्तरि णिच् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ केलिन् उपसंख्यानम् ॥

96. The affixes तव्यत्, तव्य and अनीयर् come after verbal roots.

The phrase 'after verbal roots' is understood in this aphorism by anuvritti from sūtra 91. The final letters त् of तव्यत् and र् of अनीयर् are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter त् indicating svarita accent (VI. 1. 185. and the letter र indicating penultimate udātta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sūtra 3 ante of this chapter.

Thus कृ + तव्यत् = कर्तव्यत्, and कृ + तव्य = कर्तव्यस् 'must be done'; कृ + अनीयर् = करणीयस् 'must be done'. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

Vart:—The affix तव्यत् when coming after the verb वस् 'to dwell' in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicatory ण. The force of ण. is to cause vriddhi. Thus वस् + तव्यत् = वास्तव्यः 'a dweller'. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4. 70).

Vart:—The affix केलिन् should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पचेलिना माषाः : kidney beans fit to be

cooked'; निरेक्षितानि काष्ठानि 'the woods are apt to be split, i. e., fragile'. This affix is to be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (i. e. in the passive and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated above, to denote also the action.

अथो यत् ॥ ९७ ॥ यदानि ॥ अथः, यत्, (यातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अथस्तादातोर्धत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तद्धितविवक्षितविवक्षीबाहुवर्धनार्थम् एनो वा वच य ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after a root that ends in a vowel.

The letter य् of this affix is indicatory showing that the udatta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus गा + यत् = गेय, noun sing, गेयम् 'what is to be sung'; so also वेयम् 'what is to be drunk'; जेयम् 'what is to be conquered'. The य् of गा and वा is changed into य by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'that ends in a vowel'? By sūtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes यत् affix instead of यद्; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix यत् comes after roots which *primarily* end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from दो 'to cut', we have the desiderative root दिष्ट्, which ends in a vowel ष. This ष is elided before Ārdha-dhātuka affixes and thus the root becomes दिष्ट्, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix यत् and not यद्. Thus दिष्टयत् 'what is wished to be cut'; चिष्टयत् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly हृ before Ārdhadhātuka affixes becomes हो, the हो is changed into ह्य before य (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is ह्ययत्. The root लब् however takes यद् and not यत्; as लब्धो, लब्धम् &c.

Vart :—The verbs उक्ष् 'to fly', लप् 'to leap', अक्ष् 'to ask', अत् 'to attempt' and जम् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take यत् and not यद्; as उक्षयत्, अक्षयत्, जामयत्, लप्पयत्, and जम्पयत्.

Vart :—And of the verb हृ 'to kill' वच is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix यत्. Thus we have वचयत् or वाचयत्. The latter form is evolved by sūtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix यत् comes only after the वच् substitute; after हृ the affix यद् comes which changes the ह into च, and व into व and causes vriddhi.

घोरदुपधात् ॥ ९८ ॥ यदानि ॥ योः, अद्-उवधात्, (यातोः यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यवर्गप्राडाघोरद्वारोपधाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short अ.

This debars **यत्**; thus **जप् + यत् = जप्यं** 'to be sworn'; **लभ् + यत् = लभ्यम्** 'to be acquired'.

Why do we say 'which ends in a labial'? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short **अ**, the root will take **यत्**; thus **कृ + यत् = कृत्यम्** 'what is to be cooked'; **वाक्य** 'speech'.

Why do we say 'when preceded by a short **अ**? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take **यत्**; thus **क्रु + यत् = क्रुध्यम्** 'to be angry'; so also **नोप्य** 'to be concealed'.

The word **अत्** is used in the sūtra in the original. The force of **त्** here is, by I. 1. 70, that short **अ** having one mātrā or prosodial length is to be taken and not long **आ**. Therefore, after the root **आप्** 'to obtain', we have **यत्** and not **वत्**; thus **आप्य** 'to be reached' i. e. 'attainable'.

शक्तिसहोश्च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति-सहोः, च, (धातोः, यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्नु, शक्ती, सह सर्वणे, अनयोर्धात्वोर्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix **यत्** comes after the roots **शक्नु** 'to be able', and **सह** 'to bear'.

Thus **शक्व** 'possible'; **सह्य** 'endurable'.

गदमदचरयमश्चानुपसर्गे ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ गद-मद-चर-यमः, च, अनुपसर्गे, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गद मद चर यमः, एतेभ्यश्चानुपसर्गेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चरेराडि चागुरौ ॥

100 The affix **यत्** comes after the roots **गद्** 'to speak', **मद** 'to be mad', **चर** 'to go, to eat', and **यम** 'to restrain', when these roots do not take any preposition.

Thus **गद्य** 'what is to be spoken, i. e. prose'; **मद्य** 'wine'; **चर्य** 'what is to be followed'; **यम्य** 'what is to be restrained'.

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a preposition'? When compounded with an upasarga, these roots will take **यत्**; thus **प्रगाद्य**; **प्रमाद्य** &c.

The root **यच्** would have taken the affix **यत्** by sūtra 98 also, as it ends in **च** and is preceded by **अ**: its separate enumeration in this sūtra is in order to show, that the compound verb **यच्** will not take the affix **यत्**. Therefore with regard to **यच्**, this is a *niyama* or restrictive rule and not a *vidhi* or original rule.

Vart:—The roots **चर** when preceded by the preposition **आङ्** takes the **यत्** affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus **आचार्यो देशः** 'an approachable or communicable country'. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes **यवत्**; thus **आचार्यः** 'a preceptor'.

अवद्यपश्यवर्या गृह्यपणितव्यानिरोधेषु ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥

अवद्य-पश्य-वर्याः, गृह्य-पणितव्य-अनिरोधेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवद्य पश्य वर्या इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते गृह्यं पणितव्य अनिरोध इत्येतेभ्यश्च यथासंख्यम् ॥

101. The words अवद्य, पश्य and वर्या are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, अवद्यं पापं 'censurable sin'. Another and regular form is अनुद्यन्. This is formed by adding the affix द्यप् to the root वद् by III. 1. 106. So also पश्यः कम्बलः 'saleable blanket'; पश्याः गौः 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is पारयच्, formed by the addition of यत्. So also शतेन वर्या 'unobstructed by hundred'; सहस्रेण वर्या 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is वृत्त्या from the root वृ 'to choose', वर्या means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वर्या in the sūtra is in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus वार्या ऋत्विजः.

वह्यं करणम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह्यं, करणम्, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह्यर्थातोः करणे यत्प्रत्यये निपात्यते ॥

102. The word वह्यं is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word वह्य is derived from root वह 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', i. e., that by which a thing is carried; as वह्यं यकटच्. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix यच्, thus दाह्यः 'an ox'.

अर्यः स्वानिवैश्ययोः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्यः, स्वानि-वैश्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अ गौ, अस्मादयति प्राप्ते, स्वानिवैश्ययोरभिधेययोर्यत्प्रत्यये निपात्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यतोऽनावृत्त्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते, स्वानिन्दन्तोदात्तत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

103. The word अर्य is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaisya'.

The root अ 'to go', would have taken यच् by sūtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes यत् when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaiśya' caste. As अर्यः स्वामी, 'honored lord', अर्यो वैश्वः 'honored Vaiśya'.

Vart:—Though by VI. 1. 213, the affix यत् makes the udātta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अर्य, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaiśya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix यच्; as आर्यो ब्राह्मणः 'the respectable Brāhmaṇa'.

उपसर्ग्या काहया प्रजने ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग्या. काहया,
प्रजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्व्येति निपात्यते काहया चेत्प्रजने भवति ॥

104. The word उपसर्ग्या is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसर्ग्या is formed by adding यत् affix to the root चृ 'to move', compounded with the preposition उप. The word काहया means having reached the time. The word प्रजन means the first conception. Thus उपसर्ग्या गोः 'the cow fit for the bull'; उपसर्ग्या वधवा 'the mare fit for the horse.'

Why do we say 'when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception'? Otherwise the affix वयत् will be used; as उपसर्ग्या मधुरा 'Madhura is approachable in Sarat season'.

अजय्यम् संगतम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजय्यम्, संगतम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजय्यमिति निपात्यते अङ्गत्वं चेद्भवति ॥

105. The word अजय्यम् 'imperishable' is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतम् 'friendship' expressed or understood.

The word अजय्यम् is formed from the root चृ by the addition of यत्, and affixing the negative particle अ; as अ + चृ + यत् = अजय्यम्.

Thus अजय्यं गोःसु संगतम् 'let our friendship be imperishable'. So also अजय्यं मायं संगतम्.

Why do we say 'when qualifying the word संगतम्'? Observe अजरिता कम्बलः 'undecaying blanket'.

उद्ः सुपि क्यप् च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्ः, सुपि, क्यप्, च,
(यत्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदेर्भातोः सुबन्तउपपदे अनुपसर्गो क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति उद्भारादुद्भवः ॥

106. After the root उद् 'to speak', governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix क्यप् also.

The phrase 'not having a preposition' is to be read into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 100 ante. The force of the word 'also' is to indicate that the affix यत् is also employed. The word सुपि means 'in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix'.

Thus ब्रह्म + उद् + क्यप् = ब्रह्म + उद् + य = ब्रह्मोद्दयम् ; ब्रह्म + उद् + यत् = ब्रह्मोद्दयम् 'told by the Vedas or Brahman'. Similarly सत्योद्दयम् or सत्योद्दयम् 'truth-mouthed'.

Why do we say 'when it has a case-inflected word as upapada'? Otherwise उद् + यद् = उद्दयम् a 'musical instrument'.

Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe प्रवाह्यप् 'a rumour' formed by the affix क्यप् and not by क्त् or क्यप् .

भुवो भावे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, भावे, (अनुपसर्गे, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्भातोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. After the root क्त् 'to be', in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix क्यप् is employed to denote condition (bhâva).

The words क्यप् and अनुपसर्गे of previous sūtras are understood in this. The *anuvritti* of क्त् does not cover this aphorism. As ब्रह्म भुवं गतः = ब्रह्मत्वं गतः 'gone to or arrived at Brahmahood ; देवभुवं = देवत्वं गतः 'gone to divinity'.

The word *bhâva* of this sūtra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take क्त् ; as क्त् + क्त् = भो + क्त् = भव्यप् VI. 1. 79).

Why do we say 'not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रवह्यप्

हनस्त च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, त, च, (क्यप्, अनुपसर्गे, क्यप्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्भातोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति तकाररचान्तादेशः ॥

108. After the root ह्त् 'to kill', when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix क्यप् in denoting condition, and the letter त is the substitute of its final.

The phrases क्यप् अनुपसर्गे and भावे are understood in this sūtra.

As ब्रह्म + क्त् + क्यप् = ब्रह्म + क्त् + य = ब्रह्महत्या, (VI. 1. 71) ब्रह्महत्या 'Brahman-murder'. So also अश्वहत्या 'killing a horse'.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is घातः 'a blow' (ह्त् + क्यप् + क्त्). This verb does not take the affix क्यप् in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रवाहो वर्तते 'there is a combat'.

एतिस्तुशास्त्रद्वयः क्यप् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति-स्तु शास्त्र-द्व-द्व-द्वयः, क्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एति स्त शास्त्र द्व द्व द्वयः इत्येतेभ्यः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शंसिदुहि गुहिभ्यो वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङ् प्रवादज्जेः संज्ञायानुपसर्गस्याप्यङ् ॥

109. After the verbs ग 'to go', स्तु 'to praise', वाच 'to govern', च 'to choose', ह 'to respect' and पु 'to please', comes the affix क्यप्

The anuvritti of बुधि, अनुवर्गे and मावे does not extend to this aphorism. The present sūtra ordains generally the affix क्यप् after the above verbs. Thus ग + क्यप् = ग + त + य (VI. 1. 71) = गत्यः 'to be gone'. The letter त being added by Rule VI. 1. 71 which declares 'त is the augment of a short vowel when a कृत् affix, with an indicatory प् follows'. So also स्तु + क्यप् = स्तुत्यः 'to be praised'; वाच + क्यप् = वित्त + य (वा being changed into व by VI. 4. 34) = वित्तयः 'to be instructed i. e. a pupil'. So also च + क्यप् = च्यतः 'to be chosen'; माह + क्यप् = माहृत्यः 'to be honoured'; पु + क्यप् = पुष्यः 'to be served'.

Though the anuvritti of क्यप् was coming from the previous sūtra too, its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules, such as 125 of this chapter, should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires चरत् 'after the verb स्तु but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have अनुवर्ग स्तुत्यः 'must be praised'.

By च in the sūtra the root चञ् is intended to be taken, and not the root चृच्. The equivalent derivative of the latter is चार्यः as चार्यं श्रुतिवजः.

Vart :—The roots चस् 'to praise' दुह् 'to milk' and गृह् 'to cover' optionally take the affix क्यप्. As चस्वस् or चस्वस् (VI. 4. 37); दुहस् or दोहस्, गृहस् or गोहस्.

Vart :—The verb अञ्ज 'to anoint', preceded by the preposition आह् takes the affix क्यप् when used as an appellative. As आ + अञ्ज + क्यप् = आह्ययस् meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

Obj. :—How do you explain the form उच्येयस् which is evidently formed from the root च by adding चत्? According to the present sūtra, the affix क्यप् ought to have been added. Ans. The च in उच्येयस् is a different root from that taken. The root in this sūtra is चृच् of the Adâdi class.

ऋदुपधाच्चाकृपिचृतेः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋद्-उपधात्, च, अकृपि-चृतेः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारोपधाच्च धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति कृपिचृती वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पाणिनीयसूत्रपर्यङ्कतयः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समवपूर्वाच्च ॥

110. After verbs having a penultimate short ऋ, the affix क्यप् is employed, with the exception of the verbs कृप् 'to be able', and चृच् 'to hurt'.

Thus कृ + क्यप् = कृत्यस्; so also चृच्. But कृप् and चृच् will form कर्त्तव्यस्, and चर्त्तव्यस्.

Why have we used the letter च in चृच्? It is to indicate that short ऋ

is meant and not long कृ (I. 1. 70). Therefore the root कृत् will take क्यत् and form कीर्त्यत्.

Vart:—The root कृत् takes the affix क्यत् when compounded with the word पाणि. Thus पाणिसर्ग्या रज्जुः 'a rope'.

Vart:—The root कृत् when preceded by both कृ and कृव takes क्यत् as कृकृवसर्ग्या.

ई च खनः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, खनः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवतीकारश्चात्वादेशः ॥

111. The affix क्यप् is employed after the root खन 'to dig,' and long ई is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus खन् + क्यप् = ख + ई + य = खेयत् 'to be dug'. The long ई is used in the sūtra for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short इ, thus 'इ च खनः'. But the long ई indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the अ of खन् would have been lengthened into आ before the affix क्यप्.

भृजोऽसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजः, अ-संज्ञायाम्, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृजो धातोरसंज्ञायां विषये क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संपूर्वादिभाषा ॥

112. The affix क्यप् is employed after the verb भृज् 'to bear' when not used as a name.

Thus भृ + क्यप् = भृत्य Pl. भृत्याः 'those who ought to be supported' i. e. servants'. Why do we say 'when not used as an appellative'? Observe भृ + क्यत् = भार्यः 'a Kshatriya'.

Vart:—The use of *kyap* is optional when this verb takes the preposition कृ, Thus संभृत्याः or संभार्याः.

मृजेर्विभाषा ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, विभाषा, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मृजेर्धातोर्विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

113. The affix क्यप् optionally comes after the root मृज् 'to cleanse'.

This is an example of *Prāpta-vibhāṣā*. By rule 110 ante, the root मृज् having a penultimate अ would have necessarily taken *kyap*; this sūtra declares an option. As परिमृज्यः or परिमार्ग्यः 'to be cleansed'. The second form is thus evolved:—

परिमृज् + क्यत् (III. 1. 124) = परिमृज् + य (VII. 3. 52) = परिमार्ग्य (VII. 2. 114)

विपूयविनीयजित्या मुञ्जकल्कहलिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि । विपूय-
विनीय-जित्याः, मुञ्ज-कल्क-हलिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूय विनीय जित्य इत्येते षड्दा निपात्यन्ते कयाचंखं मुञ्जकल्कहलि इत्येते
स्वयंषु बोध्येषु ॥

117. The words विपूय, विनीय and जित्य are irregularly formed when they mean, the 'muñja grass', the 'sediment' and the 'plough' respectively.

Thus वि + पू + क्यप् = विपूयः etymologically 'that which has to be purified to make rope'; वि + नी + क्यप् = विनीय 'a sediment or sin'; जि + क्यप् = जित्य a plough that which is to be conquered by strength'.

The regular derivatives are विपात्यस्, विनेयस् and जेयस्

प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेऽङ्गदसि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-अपिभ्यां,
ग्रहेः, ङ्गदसि, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति अपि इत्येव पूर्वाद् ग्रहेः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ङ्गदसि विषये ॥

118. The verb ग्रह 'to seize', preceded by the prepositions प्रति and अपि, takes the affix क्यप् in the Vedic literature.

Thus नक्तस्य न प्रतिपुङ्गस् ; दन्ताग्नापिपुङ्गस् ॥

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रतिग्राह्यस् and अपिग्राह्यस्

पदास्वैरिवाद्यापदेषु च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-अस्वैरि-
वाद्या-पदेषु, च, (ग्रहेः, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्वैरिषि वाद्यायां पदेषु चार्थे ग्रहेर्भातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The root ग्रह takes the affix क्यप्, when it means a 'word', a 'dependent', 'outside', or a 'partisan'.

Thus प्रपुङ्गस् 'the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already defined in sūtra I. 1. 11. So also अपुङ्गस्.

The word अस्वैरि means dependent upon others, not free to provide for himself. Thus पुङ्गवाः पुङ्गाः 'the captive parrots'.

The word बाह्य means 'situated outside'. Thus ग्रामपुङ्गवा सेना 'an army lying outside the village'. The word बाह्या being in the feminine gender indicates that the derivative word formed from ग्रह must also be feminine in gender to have this sense.

The word पक्ष्य is derived from पक्ष 'a side, a party', and means a partisan, follower or friend. Thus वासुदेवपुङ्गवाः 'siding with or being the partisans of Vāsudeva', So also अर्जुनपुङ्गवा 'belonging to the party of Arjuna'.

विभाषा कृद्व्योः ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृ-वृजोः, (व्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृजो वृजश्च विभाषा व्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. After the verbs कृञ् 'to do', and वृज् 'to rain' the affix व्यप् is optionally employed.

The root कृ would have taken the affix वयत् by 124, and the verb वृज् would necessarily have taken व्यप् by 110; the present sūtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus: कृ+व्यप्=कृत्यच् 'to be done'; or कृ+वयत्=कार्यच्. So also वृज्यच् or वृज्यच् 'stimulating'.

युग्यं च पत्रे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युग्यम्, च, पत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युग्यमिति निपात्यये पत्रं चेद्भवति ॥

121. The word युग्य is irregularly formed meaning a vehicle.

The word पत्र means that by which a thing is carried. Thus युग्यो गो 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. युग्यो हस्ती 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. युज्+व्यप्=युग्यच्. The ज is changed into ग. When not meaning a carried or a carriage, it has the form योग्यं.

अनावस्यदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनावस्यद्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनावस्यद्: सहायैवर्त्तते, तस्मिन्नुपपदे वसेद्वर्तोः काशेऽधिकरणे स्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तन्नात्यतरस्यां वृद्धाभावो निपात्यते ॥

122. Optionally the word अनावस्या is irregularly formed.

The word अना means 'along' or 'together'. अना in composition with the root वस् 'to dwell', takes the affix स्यत् in the sense of location of time. Optionally the *Vridhhi* is not substituted in such a case. The time or the day on which the sun and the moon dwell together in the same constellation is called अनावस्या or अनावस्या.

The final त in अनावस्यत् is indicatory and is for the sake of showing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms अनावस्या or अनावस्या are the same word, and *a fortiori* a rule made with regard to one will be made applicable to the other. And to this effect there is a *paribhāṣhā* which declares एकदेशविकृतस्यान्यत्वम्; 'that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place'. Therefore sūtra IV. 3. 30, though it, in terms, says अनावस्यावा वा is made applicable to the form अनावस्या also.

छन्दसि निष्टक्यदेवहूयप्रणीयोन्नीयोच्छिष्यस्यस्तर्योध्वर्य खन्य-
खान्यदेवयज्यापृच्छप्रतिषीव्यब्रह्मवाद्यभाव्यस्ताव्योपचार्यपृडानि ॥ १२३ ॥
पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, निष्टक्य-देवहूय-प्रणीय-उन्नीय-उच्छिष्य-स्य-स्तर्यो-ध्वर्य-
खन्य-खान्य-देवयज्या-आपृच्छ-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचार्य-
पृडानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्टक्यर्थादयः शब्दाश्छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विरप्य इति वक्तव्यम्

123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly:— निष्टक्यं, देवहूय, प्रणीय, उन्नीय, उच्छिष्य, स्य, स्तर्यो, ध्वर्य, खन्य, खान्य, देवयज्या, आपृच्छ, प्रतिषीव्य, ब्रह्मवाद्य, भाव्य, स्ताव्य, and उपचार्यपृड.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्टक्यं is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut', with the preposition निस्, and the affix एयत्, instead of क्यप् which is the regular affix, by 110; निः + कृत् + एयत् = निः + तुक् + य (the root कृत् transformed into तुक् by transposition) = निष्टक्यं. As निष्टक्यं चिन्वीत् पशुकानः.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also देवहूय is formed by adding to the root हूयते 'to call' or हू 'to invoke, the affix क्यप् and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment त (VI. I. 71), is not allowed, देव + है or हू + क्यप् = देवहूयः. So also प्र + नी (to lead) + क्यप् = प्रणीयः; उत् + नी + क्यप् = उन्नीयः, उत् + शिष् (to leave) + क्यप् = उच्छिष्यः; मृ (to die) + यत् = मर्यः; स्तृ (to cover) + यत् = स्तर्यो; it is always feminine. धृ (to bend) + यत् = ध्वर्यः; खत् (to dig) + यत् = खन्यः; खत् + ययत् = खान्यः; देव (God) + यज् (to sacrifice) + यत् = देवयज्या; always used as feminine. आ + पृच्छ (to ask) + क्यप् = आपृच्छः, प्रति + षीव (to sew) + क्यप् = प्रतिषीव्यः ब्रह्मवा + वद् (to speak) + एयत् = ब्रह्मवाद्यः; भू (to be) + एयत् = भाव्यः; स्तु (to praise) + एयत् = स्ताव्यः; उप + चि (to collect) + एयत् + पृडं = उपचार्यपृडम्. The last word is formed then only when the word पृड follows: and when the sense is that of 'gold.' When it does not mean 'gold' the form is उपचैयपृडम्.

अहलोयत् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-हलोः, एयत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहर्णान्ताद्वातोर्हलन्ताच्च एयत्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

124. The affix एयत् comes after a verb that ends in अ (long or short), or in a consonant

The phrase अहलोः is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As कृ + एयत् = कार्यम् 'to be made'; ह + एयत् =

हार्य nom. sing. हार्यश्च 'to be taken'; धृ+एयत्=धार्य; 'to be held'; बच्+एयत्=बक्+एयत् (VII. 3. 52) =वाक्य (VII. 2. 116) 'to be spoken'; पच्+एयत्=पाक्यश्च.

आवश्यकै ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, आवश्यकै (एयत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताडातोऽर्थप्रत्ययो भवति आवश्यकै दोत्ये ॥

125. The affix एयत् comes after a root that ends in the letter उ long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix यत्. Thus लु+एयत्=लौ+य=लाव्यं (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) 'must be cut'; so also पु+एयत्=पाव्यश्च 'must be purified'.

When 'necessity' is not indicated we have the form लव्यं 'to be cut'. The sūtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word आवश्यक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada the affix एयत् is employed: or 2ndly when the sense of the affix is that of 'necessity', the एयत् is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case, though we could form the words अवश्यलाव्यं &c., we could not form the word लाव्य by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लाव्यं, we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of *Tatpurusha* contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपिचमश्च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसु-यु-वपि-रपि-लपि-त्रपि-चमः, च, (एयत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वक मुनोतेः यु वपि रपि लपि त्रपि चश्च इत्येतेभ्यश्च एयत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. The affix एयत् comes after the verbs आसु 'to distil' यु 'to join', वप् 'to sow', रप् 'to speak distinctly' लप् 'to prate', अप् 'to be ashamed', and चश्च 'to drink.'

The verb आसु is a compound verb formed by the preposition आङ् and the root सु. This sūtra debars यत् that would otherwise have come by sūtra 97 and 98.

Thus आसु+एयत्=आसाव्यश्च, (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also वाव्यश्च, पाव्यश्च, लाव्यश्च, त्राव्यश्च and आचाव्यश्च.

The force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra is to indicate that roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus दम्+एयत्=दाव्यश्च ॥

आनाय्योऽनित्ये ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनाय्यः, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय्य इति निपात्यते अनित्येऽभिधेये । नयतेराङ् पूर्वाण्यदायादेशौ निपात्यते ॥

127. The word *आनायः* is irregularly formed when meaning 'impermanent'.

This word is thus formed:—*आङ् + नी + यत् = आ + ने + य = आनायः*, (the *रे* being changed into *आय्* by the analogy of VI. 1. 79).

As *आनायः* *दक्षिणाग्निः*. This is a species of *Dakṣiṇāgni* fire. As this fire is brought from the *Gârhapatya* fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore, it is called *ânâyya*. This, however, is not co-extensive with *Dakṣiṇāgni*. It is that fire which is brought from the *Gârhapatya*, and has the same source with the *Dakṣiṇāgni* and *Ahavanīyāgni*. A *Dakṣiṇāgni* fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family of a well-to-do *Vaiśhya*, or from a frying place, or from *Gârhapatya* fire. When it is taken from the last *i. e.* from *Gârhapatya* fire, it is *ânâyya* *Dakṣiṇāgni*. *Ahavanīya* is also taken from *Gârhapatya*.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called *ânâyya*; for a fragile pot will not be called so. It applies only to the consecrated fire. When it has not this sense, the form is *आनेय* meaning 'what ought to be brought'.

प्रणायोऽसम्भती ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणायः, असम्भती ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रणाय इति निपात्यते ऽसंभतावभिधेये ॥

128. The word *प्रणायः* is irregularly formed when meaning 'disapproved'.

The word *असंभति* is a negative word meaning 'non-agreement'. It means also 'disrespect'.

Thus *प्रणायरघोरः* 'the thief is to be disliked'.

Why do we say when meaning 'disapproved'. Because otherwise the regular form is *प्र + नी* 'to lead' + *यत् = प्रणेयः* 'tractable'.

The word in the *sûtra* is *असंभति* which we have translated as 'disapproved'. But the word *सम्भति* also means *अभिशाप* or 'desire'; and *असम्भति* would, therefore, mean 'free from desire or worldly attachment'. Therefore the word *असम्भति* means also 'free from attachment', as in the following sentence:—

उपेष्टाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रब्रूयात्, प्रणायाय अन्तेवासिने नान्यस्मै कस्मैचन 'let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else'.

पाय्यसांनाय्यनिकायधायया ज्ञानहविर्निवाससामिधेनीषु ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाय्य-सांनाय्य-निकाय-धाययाः, ज्ञान-हविः-निवास-सामिधेनीषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाय्यादयः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं ज्ञाने हविषि निवासे सामिधेन्यां चाभिधेयायाम् ॥

129. The words चाट्य, सान्नाय, निकाट्य and घाट्या are irregularly formed meaning 'a measure', 'an oblation to fire', 'a dwelling', and 'a sacrificial prayer', respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—चा (to measure)+यत्=चाट्यस्, the च being changed into ट and another य being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is मेयस् 'to be measured' (चा+यत्=मे+य VI. 4. 65=मेय). चत्+नी (to lead)+यत्=सान्नायस् 'the oblation'. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is सन्नेयस्। नि+चि (to collect)+यत्=नि+चै+व=नि+चाय+य=निकाट्यः 'a dwelling'. The regular form is निचेय। घा (to put)+यत्=घाट्या (fem.) The sâmadheni is the name of certain *Rik* hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is चैय।

ऋतौ कुरुडपाट्यसंचाट्यौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतौ, कुरुडपाट्य-संचाट्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरुडपाट्य संचाट्य इत्येते शब्दौ निपात्येते ऋतावभिधेये ॥

130. The words कुरुडपाट्यः and संचाट्यः are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed : कुरुड+पा (to drink)+यत्=कुरुड+पा+य+य (VII. 3. 33)=कुरुडपाट्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl'. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. चत्+चि (to collect)+यत्=संचाट्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is collected'.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुरुडपानस् and संचेयः.

अग्नौ परिचाट्योपचाट्यसमूह्यः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, परिचाट्य-उपचाट्य-समूह्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिचाट्य उपचाट्य समूह्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते अग्नावभिधेये ॥

131. The words परिचाट्यः, उपचाट्यः and समूह्यः are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed :—परि+चि+यत्=परि+चै+य=परि+चाय+य=परिचाट्यः 'sacrificial fire arranged in a circle' (the चै being changed into चाय by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel य has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचाट्यः 'a kind of sacred fire'. चत्+चत्+यत्=चत्=ऊह्+य+समूह्यः 'a kind of fire'. समूह्यं चिन्वीत पशुकामः let him kindle the Samûhya fire desirous of a victim'.

Why do we say 'when they are names of fire'? Observe otherwise, चरिषेयस् 'to be heaped', उपसेयस् 'to be increased', संचाट्यस् 'to be carried'.

चित्याग्निचित्ये च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्य-अग्निचित्ये, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्यशब्दोऽग्निचित्याशब्दश्च निपात्यते ॥

132. The words चित्य and अग्निचित्य are also irregularly formed.

The word चित्य comes from the root चि 'to collect', and means fire i. e. that which is collected. As चित्योऽग्निः 'the funeral pile fire'. The word अग्निचित्या means, arranging the fire. The affix च has been added to denote condition, together with the augment वृत्(त्). These words have *udatta* accent on the last vowel. The regular form is चेष्व 'to be gathered'.

एवुल्लुचौ ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एवुल्ल-लुचौ, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यो एवुल्लुचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

133. The affixes एवुल् (अक) and लुच् (वृ) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word 'root' is understood in the above aphorism. Thus कृ 'to do' + एवुल् = कार + लु (VII. 2. 115) = कार + अक (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारकः 'doer' कृ + लुच् = कर् + वृ (VII. 3. 84) = कर्त्तृ nom. sing. कर्ता. So also हारकः and हर्ता.

The च् of लुच् is not indicatory, but distinguishes this affix from लृच्; the simple लृ includes both लृच् and लृन्, as in V. 3. 59, and V. 4. 154.

नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दि-ग्रहि-पचादिभ्यः, ल्यु, णिनि, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिभ्योगणेश्च यः प्रत्यया यथासंख्यं भवन्ति, नन्मादिभ्यो ल्युः, ग्रहादिभ्यो णिनिः, पचादिभ्योऽचः ॥

134. After the verbs classed as नन्द 'to be happy', ग्रह 'to take' and पच् 'to cook' there are the affixes ल्यु (अन) णिनि (हेच्) and अच (अ) respectively.

The word *ādi* meaning *etcetra*, is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of नन्द class, comes the affix ल्यु; after the verbs of ग्रह class, comes the affix णिनि; after the verbs of पच् class, comes the affix अच्.

The नन्दादि verbs will not be found in one place in Dhātupāṭha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapāṭha. Thus नन्द् + ल्यु = नन्द + यु (I. 3. 8) = नन्द + अन (VI. 1. 1) = नन्दन uom. sing. नन्दनः 'son' (lit what gladdens). So also from the following caus-

tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names :—वानि—वासनः or वाशनः ; नदि—नदनः ; हृषि—हृषणः (or भूषणः) ; साधि—साधनः ; वर्धि—वर्धनः ; शोभि—शोभनः and रोचि—रोचनः.

The following derivatives are names :—सहि—सहनः ; तपि—तपनः . दनि—दमनः

So also the following words :—जल्पनः, रणनः, हर्षण संक्रन्दनः, संकषणः, संहर्षणः, जनार्दनः, यवनः, पवनः, मधुसूदनः, विभीषणः. लवणः (the ल in लवण is irregular), चित्तविनाशनः, कुलदमनः and शत्रुदमनः.

The ग्रहादि verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The following are however, those verbs. —ग्रह्—ग्रहिन् nom. ग्राही ; उत्तह—उत्साहिन् nom. उत्साही ; उद्हृ—उद्हासिन् ; उद्गाह—उद्गासिन् ; स्या—स्यासिन् ; सन्न—सन्निन् ; सम्मर्द—सम्मर्दिन्. So also the verbs रक्ष, श्रु, वच्, वप्, and शा preceded by नि ; as, निरक्षिन्, निश्रासिन्, निवाशिन्, निवाप्तिन्, and निश्रासिन्. The verbs याचि, व्याह, संव्याह वृज, वद and वच take णिन् when preceded by the negative particle ; as, अयाचिन्, अव्याहारिन्, असंव्याहारिन्, अवृजिन्, अवादिन् and अवासिन्. So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings : as, अकारिन्, अहारिन्. So also, अविनासिन्, अविश्रासिन्, विवशिन्, विषयिन् (meaning a place) विश्रासिन् and विषासिन्, अभिभासिन्, अपरासिन्, उपरोषिन्, परिभसिन् and परिभासिन्.

The following are पचादि words :—पच, घच, वच, वद, चक्ष, तच, पत नदट्, जषट्, बष् गरट् रलवट्, तरट्, चीरट्, ग्राहट्, जर, मर, सर, सम, सूबट्, देबट्, नेरट् सेव, नेष, क्रोच, घृण, दंष्ट, दश, दम्भ, जारजर, श्वपच, नेघ, कीष, घष, नद, रज, दीषट्. चरट् ।

The ट् in नदट् &c. , shows that the feminine of these is formed by long ई (IV. I. 15). The पचादि class is an आकृतिगणः ।

अण्विधिः सर्वधातुभ्यः षट्पन्ते च पचादयः ।

अच् वाचनार्थमेवं स्यात् विध्यन्ति श्वपचादयः ॥

In fact the affix अच् comes after all verbs, and is not exclusively confined to the verbs above enumerated. The affix अच्, therefore, debars अच् and may be taken to be the universal affix. and by its help the form like श्वपच &c. may be explained.

इगुपधञ्जाप्रोकरः कः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इग्-उपध-ञ्जा-प्रो-
क्रिः, कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगुपधेभ्यो जानातेः प्रीणातेः किरतेरश्च कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by च, उ or ऋ (long or short), and after the verbs चा 'to know', प्री 'to please', and कृ 'to scatter', comes the affix क (अ).

Thus विचिप् + क = विचिप् nom. sing. विचिप्. So also विलिखः 'inscription' ; वुपः 'who knows' ; कृणः 'lean' ; चा + क = चः 'who knows' (VI. 4. 64) ; प्री + क =

प्रियः 'what pleases'; कृ + ख = कि + ख (VII. 1. 100) = किरु + ख (I. 1. 51) = तिरुः 'who scatters' i. e. 'a hog'.

The words देव 'God', सेव 'service' and भेव 'ram', should be read in the पचादि class of the last sūtra, being formed by the affix खच् and not by ख.

आतश्चोपसर्गे ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्ग उपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. Also after a verb ending in long आ when there is a preposition along with it, the affix क is placed.

This is an *apavāda* of III. 1. 40, and debars the affix ख. Thus प्रस्था + क = प्रस्थ + ख = प्रस्थः (VI. 4. 64). सुल्लै + क = सुल्ल + ख = सुल्लः 'very weary' (आ substituted for ऐ by VI. 1. 45). सुल्लै + क = सुल्ला + ख = सुल्लः 'very languid'.

The final आ is dropped before the affix क by rule VI. 4. 64. There is elision of long आ when an ārdhbadhātuka affix follows beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क or ड.

पाग्र-धना घेट् दृशः शः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा-ग्रा-धना-घेट्-दृशः, शः, (उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्ग उपपदे शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जिप्रतेः संज्ञायां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

137. The affix य (ञ) is employed after the roots पा 'to drink', ग्रा 'to smell', धना 'to blow', घेट् 'suck', and दृश् 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उत् + पा + य = उत् + पिच् + ख (VII. 3. 78) = उत्पिच् nom. sing. उत्पिचः; so also विपिच; उज्जिप्रः and उत् + धना + य = उत् + धन् + ख = (VII. 3. 78); उद्धन्; विधन्; उत् + घे + य = उद्धन्; विधन्; so also उत् + दृश् + य = उत्पश्यः, (VII. 3. 78). so also विपश्यः;

Some commentators do not read the word 'upasarga' into this sūtra. According to them the forms like पश्यः &c., can be formed also.

The affix य, of which य् is indicatory, the real affix being ख, causes the root to undergo all those changes, which it undergoes in special tenses; for it is a sārvaadhātuka affix there; see sūtra III. 4. 113 and VII. 3. 78.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the root ग्रा, when the word to be formed is a name. As वि + ग्रा + प्रा + क = व्याग्रः 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling), Here there is क and not the affix य.

अनुपसर्गास्त्रिम्पविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजि चेति साति साहिभ्यश्च ॥
१३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, लिम्प-विन्द-धारि-पारि-वेदि-उदेजि-चेति-
साति-साहिभ्यः, च (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गेभ्यो लिम्पादिभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नौ लिम्पेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गवादिषु विन्दे संज्ञायास् ॥

138. The affix श is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition : लिम्प, विन्द and the causatives धारि, पारि, वेदि, उदेजि, चेति, साति and साहि.

Thus लिम्पः 'smearing'; विन्दः 'acquiring'; धारयः 'holding'; पारयः 'ferrying'; वेदयः 'knowing'; उदेजयः 'shaking'; चेत्तयः 'perceiving'; सातयः, and साहयः.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रलिपः; here the affix is क.

Vart :—The verb लिप् with the preposition नि takes the affix श. As निलिम्पा 'the name of certain deities', 'a cow'.

Vart :—The affix श is employed after विन्द when compounded with the words गो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्दः 'Krishna' (protector of cows), अरविन्दः 'a lotus' (having petals like spokes).

ददाति दधात्योर्विभाषा ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ददाति-दधात्योः, विभाषा, (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाजो धाजश्च विभाषा शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix श is optionally employed, after the root दा 'to give', and धा 'to hold', when used without a preposition.

This debars ण. Thus ददः 'giving'; or दायः 'inheritance'; दधः 'holding' or धायः 'having'.

When a preposition is used, the affix श is not employed ; as प्रदः, प्रधः.

ज्वलितिक्रसन्तेभ्यो णः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्वल-इति-क्रसन्तेभ्यः, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्वलदीप्तावित्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः क्रसगतावित्येवमन्तेभ्यो विभाषा शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तनोतेर्ण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

140. After the verbs beginning with ज्वल 'to shine' and ending with क्रस 'to go', when used without a preposition, the affix श is optionally employed

The word दृति in अवलिति indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the *Bhūdi* class. See No. 804 to 860 in the *Dhātupātha*, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to *Siddhanta Kaumudi*.

This debars the affix अच् ; as उवालः or उवलः ; बालः or बलः.

The affix ण (अ) having an indicatory ए causes the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ. When the affix ण is not used, then अच् is used and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अच् ; as मज्जलः 'luminous'.

Verb.—The verb तन 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix च ; as अतनान्. The conditions 'option' and 'without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb तच् necessarily takes this affix, though compounded with an upasarga.

अयाऽऽद्-व्यध-आलु-संलु-अतीण्-अवसा-अवहृ-लिह-श्लिष-श्वस-च॥१४१॥पदानि॥

अया-आद्-व्यध-आलु-संलु-अतीण्-अवसा-अवहृ-लिह-श्लिष-श्वसः, च, (णः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वैङ् आकारान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः व्यध आलु संलु अतीण् अवसा अवहृ लिह श्लिष श्वस इत्येतेभ्यश्च णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix ण is employed after the following verbs also:—श्वै 'to go', verbs ending in long आ, व्यध 'to pierce', आलु 'to pain', संलु 'to flow', अतीण् 'to pass on', अवसा 'to complete', अवहृ 'to take away', लिह 'to lick', श्लिष 'to embrace', and श्वस 'to breathe'.

The root श्वै, before affixes, becomes श्वा, (VI. 1. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long आ'. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited ण. Thus III. 1. 136 enjoins क when a compound verb ends in आ. But that rule does not apply to the verb श्वा,

Thus अवश्यायः 'frost', प्रतिश्यायः 'catarrh', दायः 'inheritance', धायः 'having', व्याधः 'pain', आस्त्रावः 'wound', संस्त्रावः 'flow', अत्रावः 'transgression', अवसायः 'conclusion', अवहारः 'taken away', लेहः 'licking', श्लेषः embracing श्वासः 'breath'. See VII. 3. 33.

दुन्योरनुपसर्गे ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुन्योः, अनुपसर्गे, (णः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुनोर्तेर्न्यतेश्चानुपसर्गे णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix ण is employed after the verbs ड 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.

Thus दु + ण = दौ + ण (VII. 2. 115) = दावः (VII. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also नी + ण = नी + ण = नावः 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रदवः, burning'; प्रणयः 'friendship'.

विभाषा ग्रहः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ग्रहः, (णः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा ग्रहेर्धातोर्णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवतेरचेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

143. The affix ण is optionally employed after the verb ग्रह् 'to seize'.

This debars the affix ञच्. Thus ग्रह् + ण = ग्रह् + ण (VII. 2. 116) = ग्राहः 'seizing', 'a crocodile'; or ग्रह् + ञच् = ग्रहः 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a *vyavasthita-vibhâshâ* or definite option, that is to say, the affix ण is *always* used when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is ग्राह. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is ग्रह.

Varl:—This rule should be extended to the root भू 'to be' also. Thus:—भावः 'condition' and भवः 'existence'.

गेहे कः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गेहे, कः, (ग्रहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहेर्धातोः कप्रत्ययो भवति गेहे कर्त्तरि ॥

144. The affix क is employed after the verb ग्रह when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus ग्रह + क (VI. 1. 16) = गृह् 'a house'. The र is changed into ऋ by the rule of *samprasurana*. The plural form गृहाः means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of गृहं meaning 'house' will be गृहाणि.

शिल्पिनि ष्वुन् ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पिनि, ष्वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः ष्वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नृत्तिलनिरञ्जिभ्यः परिगणनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

145. The affix ष्वुन् (उक्) comes after a verb when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

Varl:—This affix should be confined to the verbs नृत् 'to dance', खन् 'to dig' and रञ्ज 'to dyo'.

Thus नृत् + ष्वुन् = नर्त + ञच् (VII. 1. 1) नर्तकः 'dancer'. The letter ष is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by prefixes having indicatory ष् form their feminine by the affix ङीप्. Thus

the feminine of नर्तक is नर्तकी; so also खनकः 'miner', fem. खनकी; रजकः 'washer-man', fem रजकी.

In the case of the root रञ्ज the nasal is elided. According to the opinion of the author of *Mahābhāṣya*, only two verbs are governed by this sūtra namely नृत् and खृत्. According to him, the verb रञ्ज takes the affix कृत्. Thus रञ्ज + कृत् = रञ्ज् + वु (VI. 4. 37) = रञ्ज् + खक (VII. 1. 1.) = रजकः, feminine रजिका.

गस्थकन् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गः, यकन् (शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेऽयकन् प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

146. The affix यकन् (यक) comes after the verb गे 'to sing', when the agent so expressed, denotes an artist.

As, गे + यकन् = गायकः (VI. 1. 45) 'a singer', fem. गायिका.

एयुट् च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एयुट्, च (गः, शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेऽयुट् प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

147. The affix एयुट् is also employed after the verb गे 'to sing', when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

By the word च 'also', the word गा of the last sūtra is drawn into this. Thus गे + एयुट् = गा + खन (VII. 1. 1.) = गायनः fem. गायनी; the च is added by VII. 3. 33.

The separation of these rules (*yoga-vibhagā*) relating to गे is for the purpose of the sūtras that follow. Had गस्थकन् and एयुट् च been made one aphorism, the *anuvritti* of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent sūtras. But it is intended that the *anuvritti* of एयुट् should only run, and hence this *yoga-vibhāga* or division of one sūtra into two.

हश्चब्रीहिकालयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, च, ब्रीहि-कालयोः,

(एयुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेर्जिहीतेश्च चातोऽयुट् प्रत्ययो भवति ब्रीहौ काले च कर्त्तरि ॥

148. After the verb हा, also the affix एयुट् is employed when the agent so expressed denotes 'rice' and 'time'.

The verb हा denotes two verbs हाक 'to abandon' and हाङ् 'to go' both belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming जहाति and जिहीते as 3rd per. sing. Thus हा + एयुट् = हायनः 'a kind of rice' (that which *jahāti* 'leaves off all water') हायनः 'a year' (that which *jihīte* 'goes through' all conditions.)

The accents are however different in the two. In one case the udâta is on the middle ; in the other, on the last.

प्रु (सु) ल्वः समभिहारे वुन् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रु-वृ-(सु)-
ल्वः, समभिहारे, वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रु वृ (सु) लू वृत्त्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः समभिहारे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. After the verbs प्रु 'to go', वृ 'to move', वृ 'to flow and लू 'to cut', the affix वुन् is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, प्रु + वुन् = प्रो + अक (VII. 1. 1.) = प्रवकः, so also, वृकः, ल्वकः, and लवकः.

The word *samabhihāra* in the sūtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix *vun* being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed where the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition, but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

आशिषि च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, च, (वुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गृह्यमानायां धातुनाम्नाद् वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix वुन् is employed after all verbs, when benediction is intended.

As, जीव् + वुन् = जीवकः 'may he live'; नन्दकः 'may he be happy'.

The word *आशिषि* means a sort of prayer; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of 'an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent'.

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयःपादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER II.

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कर्मण्यश्च ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अश्च, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र कर्मण्युपपदे धातोरण्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शीलिकानिषधवाचरिभ्यो ञः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विषिषमिभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. The affix अश्च comes after a verbal root, when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely *nivartya*, *vikarya* and *prāpya*.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called *nivartya* object : as कुम्भम् करोति 'he makes a pot'; here वृत् 'mud' the material cause of कुम्भ is unexpressed, therefore, कुम्भ is *nivartya* object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called *vikarya* object ; as शाखदलावः 'the branch-cutter'. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the *prāpya* object ; as वेदाध्यायः 'the reading of Veda'; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples :—Of the first kind, we have कुम्भकारः 'a potter' and नगरकारः 'a city-builder'; of the second, we have शाखदलावः 'a branch-cutter' and वरलावः 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, we have वेदाध्यायः 'the learning of Veda' and चर्चापठः 'the reading of Charchâ'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village', आदित्यं पश्यति 'he sees the sun', हिमवतं शृणोति 'he hears the Himavat'. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form nouns out of these.

Vart:—The affix ञ comes after the verbs शील, काश्च, भवय and प्राचर and the noun in composition with it retains its original accent. As मांसशीलः 'addicted to flesh', fem. मांसशीला ; मांसकामः 'loving flesh', fem. मांसकामा ; मांसभक्षः 'carnivorous', fem. मांसभक्षा ; and कल्याणचाराः 'good-conducted', fem. कल्याणचाराः

Vart :—The affix क comes after the roots लृच् 'to look' and वच् 'to forbear' under similar circumstances. As सुखप्रतीक्षः, 'fem सुखप्रतीक्षा' expecting happiness'; बहुवचः fem. बहुवचना' much forbearing'.

ह्रादासश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रा, वा, सः, च, (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रज्, वेज्, माज् एतेभ्यश्च कर्मण्युपपदेऽण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix अण् comes after the root ह्रज् 'to call', वेज् 'to weave', माज् 'to measure', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क (III. 2 3); as स्वर्ग + ह्र + अण् = स्वर्ग + ह्रा + अण् = स्वर्ग + ह्राय = अ (VII. 3 33) = स्वर्गह्रायः (the य is added by rule VII. 3. 33, 'when a kṛit affix with an indicatory ण or ञ follows, the augment य is added after the verbs that end in long आ). So also तन्तुवायः, धान्यनायः ।

आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अनुपसर्गे, कः, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix क comes after a verbal root that ends in long, आ, when there is no upasarga preceding it, and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्, ; as गं + दा + क = गं + द + अण् = गोदः 'Giver of cows (the long आ is elided by VI. 4. 64) So also, कम्बलदः 'who gives a blanket' पार्श्विजः 'what protects the rear'; अङ्गलिजः 'what protects the finger' (a thimble'.

Why do we say 'when there is no upasarga'? Witness गोसंदायः 'who ceremoniously gives a cow', घटवसंदाय who ceremoniously gives a mare'. Here the compound verb संदा takes the affix अण्.

सुपि, स्थः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, स्थः, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्त उपपदे तिष्ठतेः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sūtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sūtra declares that with regard to the verb स्था, the upapada may have any case, not necessarily the accusative. As समस्थः = स्मि तिष्ठति 'who dwells in accessible position'; and विपन्नस्थः 'having an inaccessible position.'

This sūtra should be divided into two sūtras (yoga-bibhāga). Thus:—

- (1) **सूत्रम्** The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word; as द्वाभ्यां पिबति = द्वि + पा + क = द्विपः (VI. 4. 64) 'who drinks with two organs' i.e. the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant. So also पादपः 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot.) कच्छपः 'a tortoise' (that always protects its mouth by drawing it in, at the approach of danger).
- (2) **सूत्रम्** ॥ The affix क comes after the root ह्य when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first, as the verb ह्य also ends in a long आ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As आसूनामुत्थानम् = आसूत्यः 'a swarm of rats'; so also शलभेत्यः 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुप्ति are understood in the sūtras that follow : viz: the word कर्मणि in sūtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word सुप्ति everywhere else.

तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुन्द-शोकयोः, परिमृज-अपनुदोः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुन्दशोकयोः कर्मणोऽपपदयोः परिमृजापनुदोर्धात्वोः कर्मत्वयो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आलस्यमुखादरण्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्मकरणे मूलविभुजादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिमृज् 'to wash out' and अपनुद् 'to drive away', when in composition with the words तुन्द 'navel' and शोक 'grief', as objects respectively.

As तुन्द परिमृज् आलसे 'he lay lazy'. So also शोकपनुदः पुत्रो जातः 'a son, destroyer of sorrow is born'.

Vart:—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is 'lazy' and 'giver of happiness'.

Vart:—The epithet तुन्द परिमृजः is applied to a lazy person; while तुन्द परिमार्जः means who clears his navel. So शोकपनुदः means giver of happiness, while शोकापनेदः means 'removal of sorrow'.

Vart:—The words मूलविभुजः 'a chariot' and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus मूलविभुजः 'a chariot,' नखमुजः 'a bow,' काकमुजः 'sesamums,' कुमुदम् ((कौ मोदते) 'a lotus'.

प्रेदाज्ञः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, दा-ज्ञः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ददातेर्जातादेश्च धातोः प्रेणोपसृष्टात् कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. The affix क comes after the root दा 'to give' and दा 'to know', when taking the preposition प्र and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sūtra 3 the affix क after verbs that ended in long आ and had no *upasarga*. Now begins the case of verbs with *upasarga*. This debars the affix अण् ; as सर्वप्रदः (VI. 4. 64) 'giver of all ; liberal', परिप्रवः (VI. 4. 64) 'acquainted with road.' The long आ of दा and दा is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say 'when taking प्र'? With any other *upasarga* these verbs will take the general affix अण् ; as गोचन्दाय.

समिख्यः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, ख्यः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्पूर्वात् ख्या इत्येतस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix क comes after the root ख्या 'to tell', when preceded by the preposition च्च, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb ख्या ends in long आ and by III. 2. 3. when compounded with an *upasarga*, it would have taken the affix अण् . This debars अण् as गोच'ख्या (VI. 4. 64) 'a cowherd' ((गा चन्चष्टे).

गापीष्टक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गा-पीः, टक्, (कर्मणि, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेः पिबतेश्च धातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽनुपसर्गे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुराशीष्योः पिबतेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसि इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix टक् comes after the verbs ग 'to sing' and पा 'to drink' when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase *anupasarga* is to be read again into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 3, though this *anuvritti* had temporarily lain dormant in sūtras 6 and 7 as being unnecessary. This debars क ; of this affix ट् and क are indicative the ट् showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix डीप् (IV. 1. 14.)

As, यक्र गायति = यक्र + गी + टक् = यक्रगः (VI. 4. 64) 'who sings Śakra hymns'. यामगः 'singer of Sâma'. fem. यक्रगी and यामगी ।

Vart:—The affix टक् comes after the verb पा when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words सुरा and शीष्य as its object,

This is an important modification of the general sūtra. Thus सुरापः fem. सुरापी 'wine-bibber'; शोधुः fem. शोधिपी 'spirit-drinker'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with surâ and sidhu'? Observe शीरसा ब्राह्मणी 'the milk-drinking Brâhmani'; formed by the affix क and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix ई but by आ.

Why do we say 'when पा means to drink'? When पा means 'to protect' this affix is not used; as सुरापा 'who protects wine'.

When these words are compounded with an *upasarga* they do not take टक् but अच्; अक्रवगायः, वानवङ्गायः ।

Vart.—There is diversity in the Chhandas as to the employment of these affixes; as वा द्राक्षणी सुरापी or सुरापा भवति नैमां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति the gods do not carry that Brâhmani to the regions of her husband who drinks wine.

हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, अनुद्यमने, अच्,
(कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेर्धातोरेनुद्यमने वर्तमानात् कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अच्प्रकरणे शक्तिलांगलाङ्कुशवटितोमरचटपटीधनुषु ग्रहेष्वसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रेण धार्यये ॥

9. The affix अच् comes after the verb उञ् when it does not mean 'to raise up', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अच्. The word उद्यमन means 'to raise a load'. Thus अञ्चं हरति = अञ्चहरः 'who takes a share, or sharer'; so रिक्चहरः 'an heir'. (ह + अच् = हर् + अ = हरः) (VII. 3. 84)

Why do we say 'when it does not mean to raise up'? For then the affix अच् will be employed; as भारहारः 'a burden-bearer, porter'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when in composition with the word शक्ति 'spear', लाङ्गल 'plough', अङ्कुश 'gold', वटि 'staff', तोमर 'an iron club', चट 'jar', चटी 'a small jar', धनुश् 'a bow'; as शक्तिग्रहः 'a lancer', लाङ्गलग्रहः 'a plough-man', अङ्कुशग्रहः 'an elephant driver', वटिग्रहः 'a staff-bearer', तोमरग्रहः 'a club-bearer', चटग्रहः, चटीग्रहः 'a jar-bearer', धनुग्रह 'a bow-bearer'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb सूत्र when the word सूत्र is in composition with it and the sense is that of 'holding'; as सूत्रग्रहः 'a thread-holder'. When it has not this meaning we have सूत्रग्रहः 'a thread-taker'.

वयसि च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, च, (हरतेः, कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयसि गन्धर्वाग्ने हरतेः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

10. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **इञ्** when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sūtra the verb **इञ्** has the sense of *udyamana* which was specifically excluded in the last. The word **व्यच्** means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the *upapada*, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the *upapada* naturally takes place; as **अस्त्रियहरः** रथा 'the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones' (lit. when it can raise it up); **कवचहरः** वज्रियकुमारः 'the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. 'to raise up or bear) the shield'; so that the verb here has the sense of 'raising up'.

आडित्ताच्छील्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आडि, ताच्छील्ये, (कर्मणि, हरते, अच्)

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वार्द्धरतेः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **इञ्** (when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition **आञ्**, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word **ताच्छील्यं** means a natural inclination or habitual occupation; as **पुष्पाहरः** (पुष्प + आहरति = पुष्प + आहर) 'he who has a natural tendency towards reaching flowers, whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers'; so also **फलाहरः** ।

Why do we say 'when denoting inclination'? Otherwise the affix will be **अच्**; as **भारमाहरति** = **भारमाहारः** 'who brings load.'

अर्हः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हः, (कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हं पूजायां, अस्तादातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **अर्ह** 'to respect', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars **अच्**. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As **पूजार्हा** 'deserving of respect', **गन्धार्या**, **मालार्हा** ।

स्तम्बकर्णयो रनिजपोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-कर्णयोः, रनिजपोः, (सुप्ति, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बकर्ण इत्येतयोः सुबन्तयोरुपपदयोर्वासांख्यं रनिजपोर्धात्वोरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस्तिचक्षयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **स्व** 'to sport' and **जच्** 'to whisper' when the case-inflected words **स्तम्ब** 'a clump of grass' and **कर्ण** 'ear' are in composition with them respectively.

The verb **स्व** is intransitive and the verb **जच्** can take an object under very limited circumstances only, namely when the object denotes *Sabda*; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case; therefore, the *upapada* here must be a general case-inflected word. Hence we have read the anuvritti of the word **सुप्** from sūtra 4 into this, the anuvritti of the word **कम्** being inapplicable here.

Vart:—The words to be formed must have the sense of 'elephant' and a 'tale-bearer'. Thus **स्तम्बेनते** = **स्तम्बेन**: 'an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)' **कर्णे जपति** = **कर्णे जप**: 'a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)'.

The affix **अच्** is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an 'elephant' and a 'traducer'. Thus **स्तम्बे रन्ता** 'who plays in clusters of grass'. **कर्णे ज्विता मयक**. 'the mosquito that hums near the ear'.

**शनि धातोः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शनि, धातोः, सं-
ज्ञायाम्, (अच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शम्भुपदे धातुनात्रात्संज्ञायाम् विषये उच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix **अच्** is employed after the verbal roots, when **यच्** 'well', is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As **यच् + कृ + अच्** = **यङ्कर**: lit. 'who does good'. So also **सम्भवः सन्वदः**. All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word *dhātu* in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvritti from sūtra III. 1 91? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word *dhātu* shows that there is prohibition of the affix **ट**, that comes after the verb **कृ** in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word **यच्** is in composition. The affix **अच्** will be employed after the verb **कृ** and not the affix **ट**, when **यच्** is an *upapada*, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III 2. 20). The result is that the feminine of **यङ्कर** will be **यङ्करा**, and not **यङ्करी**, which, had the affix been **ट**, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). **यङ्करा** means 'a female-ascetic,' 'a vulture' and 'one having the habit of doing good'.

अधिकरणे शेतेः ॥१५॥पदानि॥ अधिकरणे, शेतेः, (सुपि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येतेर्धातोर्धिकरणे सुबन्तउपपदे ऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पार्श्वदिषूपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दिग्घसहपूर्वाच्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्तानादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गिरौ ङङ्छन्दसि ॥

15. The affix **ञच्** comes after the verb **जी** 'to lie down' when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i. e., in the locative case.

The word **सुप्** (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As **खे येते=खद्यः** 'who lies in the sky'.

Vart.—The affix **ञच्** comes after the verb **जी** when in composition with the words **पार्श्व** 'ribs', &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as **पार्श्वभ्यां येते=पार्श्वद्यः** 'who reclines on his sides', **उदरद्यः** 'who lies on his stomach', **पृष्ठद्यः** 'who lies on his back'.

Vart.—And when the verb **जी** is preceded by the word **दिग्घसह**; as **दिग्घेन सह येते=दिग्घसहद्यः** ॥

Vart.—So also when the words **उत्तान** &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As **उत्तानः येते=उत्तानद्यः** । **अवमूर्द्धा येते=अवमूर्द्धाद्यः**.

Vart.—In the Chhandas the affix **ङच्** comes after the verb **जी** when in composition with the word **गिरि** in the locative. As **गिरौ येते=गिरिद्यः** 'who lies on the mountain'.

The letter **ङ** of **ङच्** is indicatory denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1. 64).

चरेष्टः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरेः, टः, (अधिकरणे, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरेर्धातोर्धिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix **टच्** comes after the verb **चर्** 'to go' when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word *adhikarana* of the last sūtra is understood in this. As **कुंरुषु चरति=कुंरुचरः** 'who goes among the Kurus. **मद्रचरः** 'who goes among the Madras'.

Of the affix **टच्** the real affix is **ञ**, the letter **ट** being indicatory, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix **ङीप्**. (See. IV. 1. 41.) as, **कुंरुचरी**, **मद्रचरी** ।

भिक्षासेनादायेषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा-सेना-आदायेषु,
च, (चरेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षा सेना आदाय इत्येतेषूपपदेषु चरेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix ट is employed after the verb चर् 'to go', when the words in composition with it are भिक्षा 'alms', सेना 'army' and आदाय 'having taken'.

The *anuvritti* of the words 'in the locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sūtra.

Thus भिक्षाचरः 'a beggar' (who goes for alms); सेनाचरः 'one who goes with an army'; आदायचरः 'one who goes after having taken'.

पुरोऽग्रतोऽग्रेषु सर्तेः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरस्-अग्रतस्-अग्रेषु, सर्तेः,
(टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरस् अग्रतस् अग्रे इत्येतेषूपपदेषु सर्तेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ट comes after the verb चर् 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are पुरः, अग्रतः and अग्रे, all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As पुरः सरति = पुरः सरः 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also अग्रतः सरः and अग्रसरः 'going in front, a leader'.

पूर्वे कर्त्तरि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व, कर्त्तरि, (सर्तेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दे कर्त्तृवाचिन्युपपदे सर्तेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ट comes after the verb चर् 'to go', when पूर्व is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पूर्वः सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix ण् will be employed. As पूर्वदेशं सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going to the east'.

कृजो हेतुताच्छीलानुलोम्येषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, हेतु-ता-
च्छील्य-आनुलोम्येषु, (कर्मणि, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे करोतेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति हेतौ ताच्छील्ये आनुलोम्ये च गन्धमाने ॥

20. The affix ट comes after the verb कृज् 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word हेतु of this sūtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical हेतु meaning agent. ताच्छील्य means habit, and literally, the

act of being accustomed to that. अनुलोप्य comes from अनुलोप meaning 'with the hair', that is to say, regular, in natural order, successive, and hence favourable, and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c. Of हेतु, we have शोककरी कन्या 'the daughter that causes sorrow'; यशस्करी विद्या 'honorable science'; कुलकरं धनं 'the family making wealth'. Of ताच्छील्य, we have आहुकरः 'who performs obsequies'; अयकरः 'who amasses wealth'. Of आनुलोप्य, we have प्रेषकरः 'who promptly does what he is directed'; वचनकरः 'who regularly does what he is told'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As कुम्भकारः 'potter', नगरकारः 'city-maker'.

दिवाविभानिशाप्रभाभास्कारान्तानन्तादिबहुनान्दीकिंलिपिलिखि-
बलिभक्तिकर्तृचित्र क्षेत्र संख्याजङ्घाबाहुहयत्तदुनुरक्षु ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥
दिवा-विभा-निशा-प्रभा-भास्-कार-अन्त-अनन्त-आदि-बहु-नान्दी-कि-
लिपि-लिखि-बलि-भक्ति-कर्तृ-चित्र-क्षेत्र-संख्या-जङ्घा-बाहु-अहः-यत्-तत्-
धनुस्-अ-रुष्पु, (कर्मणि, सुपि, करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवादिपूपपदेषु करोतेर्धातोर्ह्रस्वस्येः भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किं यत्तद्बहुषु कृषोऽज्जिधानम् ॥

21. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the following words are in composition with it:—दिवा 'by day', विभा 'light', निशा 'night', प्रभा 'splendour', भाः 'light', कार 'work', अन्त 'end', अनन्त 'endless', आदि 'beginning', बहु 'many', नान्दी 'benediction', किम् 'what', लिपि 'writing', लिखि 'writing', बलि oblation', भक्ति 'devotion', कर्तृ 'agent', चित्र 'painting', क्षेत्र 'field', words denoting numerals, जङ्घा 'thigh', बाहु 'hand', अहः 'day', यत् 'what', तत् 'that', धनुस् 'bow', and अरुष्पु 'wound'.

Both the words 'karma' and 'sup' are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these upapadas stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix ट comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last sūtra.

Thus दिवाकरः 'the sun.' The word दिवा is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the upapada, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So विभाकरः 'the sun' (light-maker); निशाकरः 'the moon' (the night-maker); प्रभाकरः 'the sun'; भास्करः 'the sun' (the letter स is not changed into visarga, as it has been so read in the sūtra); कारकरः 'agent'; अन्तकरः 'death' (end-maker); अनन्तकरः 'magnifying to any extent'; आदिकरः 'the creator'; बहुकरः 'the busy'; नान्दीकरः 'the speaker of benediction'; किङ्करः 'a servant'; लिपिकरः 'a

scribe'; लिखिकरः 'a scribe'; बलिकरः 'offering sacrifice', भक्तिकरः 'a devotee'; कर्तृकरः 'an agent'; चित्रकरः 'a painter'; क्षेत्रकरः 'a cultivator'; एककरः 'doing only one thing', द्विकरः 'doing two things'; त्रिकरः 'doing three things'; जहाकरः 'a runner, an express', बाहुकरः 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; अहस्करः 'the sun', तत्करः 'doing that'; यत्करः 'doing that'; बधुकरः 'bow-maker'; अहस्करः 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

Vart.—The affix अच् comes after the verb कृ when क्तिच्, वच्, तच् and बहु are in composition with it. The speciality of ट affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long ई; while the feminine of words derived by अच् is formed by long आ. Thus किङ्करा, यत्करा, तत्करा, and बहुकरा; these words might be said to belong to the अत्रादि class (See IV. 1. 31).

कर्मणि भृती ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, भृती, (कर्मणि, करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मशब्द उपपदे कर्मवाचिनि करोतेष्टप्रत्यये भवति भृती गन्धवानायाच् ॥

22. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the word कर्म is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word भृति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्म does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्म; as कर्मकरः 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is अच्; as कर्मकारः 'an artisan'.

न शब्दश्लोककलहगाथावैरचाटुसूत्रमन्त्रपदेषु ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥

न, शब्द-श्लोक-कलह-गाथा-वैर-चाटु-सूत्र-मन्त्र-पदेषु, (करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दादिषूपपदेषु करोतेष्टप्रत्यये न भवति ॥

23. The affix ट does not come after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it:—शब्द 'sound', श्लोक 'verse', अलङ्कार 'quarrel', गाथा 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चाटु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix ट being prohibited, the general affix अच् takes its place. As अहस्करः 'sounding, sonorous'; श्लोककारः 'a verse-maker'; कलहकारः 'one who foments quarrels'; गाथाकारः 'a writer of Gāthās or prakṛita verses'; वैरकारः 'an enemy'; चाटुकारः 'flatterer'; सूत्रकारः 'an author of sūtras'; मन्त्रकारः 'a composer of Mantras'; अहकारः 'an author of Padapātha'.

स्तम्बशकृतीरिन् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-शकृतोः, इन्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्ब शकृत् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोरिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्रीहिवत्सयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. The affix इन् comes after the verb कृ when the objects in composition with it, are the words स्तम्ब 'a sheaf', and शकृत् 'ordure',

Thus स्तम्ब + कृ + इन् = स्तम्बकरि nom. sing. स्तम्बकरिः ; so also शकृत्करिः.

Part.—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf' respectively. Therefore स्तम्बकरिः means 'rice', and शकृत्करिः, 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf' the affix अण् is employed. As स्तम्बकारः 'sheaf-maker', शकृत्कारः 'ordure-maker'.

हरतेर्दूतिनाथयोः पशौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, दूति-नाथयोः, पशौ, (कर्मणि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूति नाथ इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः हरतेर्धातोः पशौ कर्तरि इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix इन् comes after the verb हृ 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words दूति 'a leather-bag' and नाथ 'a master'.

Thus दूतिहरिः 'a dog' (a carrier of skin); नाथहरिः 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix अण् is employed ; as दूतिहारः 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नाथहारः 'a carrier of his master'.

फलेग्रहिरात्मस्मरिश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ फलेग्रहिः-आत्मस्मरिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलेग्रहिः आत्मस्मरिः इत्येतौ शब्दौ निष्पात्येते ॥

26. And the words फलेग्रहि and आत्मस्मरि are irregularly formed.

The word फलेग्रहिः is formed by adding the affix इन् to the verb ग्रह् and making the npapada end in the vowel ए. Thus फलानि गृह्णाति = फलेग्रहिः 'the fruit-bearing i. e. a tree'.

The word आत्मन्नरिः is formed by adding the augment चु (च) to the upapada आत्म, and the affix इन् to the verb चृच्. Thus आत्मन्नरिः = आत्मन्नरिः 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As कुक्षिन्नरिः 'gluttonous, selish' (caring to feed his own belly). उदरन्नरिः 'gluttonous, selfish'.

इन्द्रसि बल उन्नरसि नयाम् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्रसि, बल-नन-
इक्षि-अथाम्, (कर्मणि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बल उन्न संभक्ती, रड् पालते, नय विलोडने, एतेभ्यः कर्नरयुषपदे कर्नरि-विषये इन् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix च्च् comes after the verbs च्च् 'to honor' च्च् 'to worship' रच् 'to protect' and चच् 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus ब्रह्मचरिं त्वा च्चवचिन् (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3); उत नो गोचरिं (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) ये ते खानो च्चिररहो (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) इन्द्रो वाहूनामचवत् पाराचरो द्विर्नयनीनाम् (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

एजेः खश् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एजेः, खश्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खश् कर्षणे इत्यस्माद् च्यन्तात्कर्नरयुषपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खश्प्रत्यये चात्तुनीतिखश्ङ्यजधेद् तुदजहातीनामुषसंखानम् ॥

28. The affix खश् comes after the verb खच् 'to tremble' when ending in णि (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of खच्. Of the affix खश् the letters ख् and च् are indicatory, the real affix is ख. The ख indicates that the augment चु is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The च indicates that this is a Sârvadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 113), and therefore the vikaranas like चप् &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus अङ्गमेजयति = अङ्गमेजयः (अङ्ग + एजि + चप् + खश् = अङ्गप् + एजे + ख + ख) 'who awes the limbs'; जनमेजयेः 'who awes mankind'.

Vart :—The affix खश् comes after the verbs अच् 'to go', सृच् 'to suck', तुच् 'to strike', हा 'to leave' when in composition with the words वात 'wind', शुनी 'a bitch', तिल 'sesamum' and शङ्कु 'flatulence'. As वातनजाः हृगाः 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); शुनीचयः 'a bitch-sucker', तिलतुदः 'an oilman'; शङ्कुस्तहा चापाः 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long ए of शुनी is shortened by VI. 3. 66.

नासिकास्तनयोधर्माधेतोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-स्तनयोः,
धर्मा-धेतोः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकास्तनयोः कर्मणोरपदयोधर्माधेतोर्धात्वोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्तने धेटः ॥ नासिकायां धर्मश्च धेटश्च ॥

29. The affix खश् comes after the verbs धना 'to blow' and धे 'to suck' when नासिका 'nose' and स्तन 'breast', are in composition with them as object.

The rule of *yathāśankhyā* as given in I. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For स्तन is compounded with धेटः; as (स्तन + धे + खश् = स्तन + धुश् + धे + खश् + खश् = स्तन + ख + धश् + ख + ख) = स्तनन्धयः 'an infant' (sucking the breast).

But नासिका is compounded with both धना and धे; as नासिका + धना + खश् = नासिका + ख + धन + ख (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78 = नासिकंधनः 'blowing and breathing through the nose. So also नासिकंधयः 'drinking through the nose'.

That the rule of *yathāśankhyā* does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the *Dvandva* compound नासिकास्तनयोः. By rule II. 2. 84 the word स्तन containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of स्तनंधयः is स्तनंधयी, as the verb धे has an indicatory ट् ।

नाडीमुष्टयोश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडी-मुष्टयोः, च, (कर्मणि,
धर्मा-धेतोः, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाडी मुष्टि इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरपदयोधर्माधेतोः खश् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. And when the words नाडी 'a tube' and मुष्टि 'fist' are objects in composition with the verbs धना and धे, the affix खश् is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed *Dvandva* compound नाडीमुष्टि shows the non-applicability of the rule of *yathāśankhyā*; for मुष्टि being a चि ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नाडिन्धनः 'blowing through the tube'; मुष्टिन्धनः 'blowing through the fist'; नाडिन्धयः 'sucking through the tube', an infant; मुष्टिन्धयः 'an infant'.

The word 'and' in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus घटिन्धनः, घटिन्धयः, खारिन्धनः, खारिन्धयः, वातन्धनः, वातन्धयः, 'a mountain'.

This sūtra is not Pāṇini's, but is really a Vārtika, raised to the rank of a sūtra by the author of the Kāśikā. The Vārtikakāra divides the last sūtra in this way: (1) स्तने धेटः ॥ (2) ततो मुष्टौ धर्मश्च ॥ (3) नासिकायां धर्मश्च धेटश्च ॥ (4) नाडी मुष्टि धेटोक्तरीषिवि वक्तव्यम् ॥

उदि कूले रुजिवहोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, कूले, रुजि-वहोः,
(खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजो भङ्गे, वह प्रापणे, एताभ्यामुत्पूर्वाभ्यां कूले कर्मरूपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix खश् comes after the verbs रुज् 'to break into pieces' and वह् 'to carry', when preceded by the upasarga उद्, and the word कूल 'bank' is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलमुद्भजति = कूलमुद्भजः 'breaking down banks' (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कूलमुद्बहः 'tearing up or carrying away the bank'.

वहाम्ने लिहः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह-अम्ने, लिहः ॥ (खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह अञ्च इत्येतयोः कर्मरूपपदयोः लिहोर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix खश् comes after the verb लिह 'to lick' when the object in composition with it, is the word वह 'the shoulder of an ox' or अञ्च 'a cloud'.

As वहलिहो गौः 'the shoulder-licking cow'; अञ्चलिहो वायुः 'the cloud-licking wind'.

परिमाणो पचः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणो, पचः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणं प्रस्थादि, तस्मिन्कर्मरूपपदे पचेः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix खश् comes after the verb पच् 'to cook' when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus प्रस्थं पचति = प्रस्थंपचाः 'a pot having the capacity to cook a *prastha* of food'; so also द्रोणपचः, क्षारिपचः 'a kettle'.

मितनखे च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित-नखे, च, (पचः, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित नख इत्येतयोः कर्मरूपपदयोः पचेः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix खश् is employed after the verb पच्, when मित 'a measured partition' or नख 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last sūtra. Thus मितरूपचा ब्राह्मणी 'the Brahmani who cooks a little i. e. a. niggardly Brāhmani'; नखरूपचा चवागूः the nail-scorching barley gruel'.

विधुश्चरुषोस्तुदः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधु-अरुषो, तुदः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विधु अरु इत्येतयोः कर्मरूपपदयोः तुदोर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35 The affix खञ् comes after the verb रुद् 'to strike', when विद् 'the moon' or खरु 'a wound' is the word in composition with it as object.

As विबुधुदः राहुः 'the Rāhu that eclipses the moon ; अरुतुदः 'corrosive, wounding the vital parts'. For the addition of the augment रुद् after the word खरु, see VI. 3. 67.

असूर्यललाटयोर्दृशितपोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ असूर्य-ललाटयोः, दृशि-तपोः, (कर्मणि, खञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असूर्यललाट इत्येतयोः कर्मलोपपदयोः दृशितपोर्धात्वोः खञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix खञ् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' and तप् 'to heat' when असूर्य and ललाट are the words in composition with it as object.

Thus असूर्य + दृश् + खञ् = असूर्यस्पर्शः ; as असूर्यस्पर्शया राजदारा 'the king's wives not even see the sun' (being shut up in the harem, and so having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them much less any irreverent gaze).

So also ललाटतपः 'heating the fore-head' (such as the sun).

The word असूर्ये is an incomplete or impossible compound as the negative अ applies to the verb दृश् and not to the word सूर्य'. This is in opposition to the rule of *samaratha pada vidhi* (II 1. 2.)

उग्रस्पर्शश्चरन्मदपाणिन्धमाश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उग्रस्पर्श-चरन्मद-पाणिन्धमाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग्रस्पर्शश्चरन्मद पाणिन्धम इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

36. The words उग्रस्पर्श, चरन्मद and पाणिन्धम are irregularly formed.

Thus उग्रं परयति = उग्रस्पर्शः 'fierce-looking'; चरया चरति = चरन्मदः 'delighting in drinking an epithet of Agni, a flash of lightning'. So पाणिन्धमाः चन्धानः 'chilly roads'.

प्रियवशे वदः खच् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय-वशे, वदः, खच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय वश इत्येतयोः कर्मलोपपदयोर्धदेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खच्प्रकरणे गणेः सुप्युपसंख्यानच् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विहायसे विह च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ एवञ्च हिद्वा यक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डे च विहायसो विहादेसो यक्तव्यः ॥

38. The affix खच् comes after the verb वद् 'to speak' when प्रिय or वञ्च is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus प्रियं वदति = प्रियंवदः 'who speaks kindly'; वञ्चयदः 'who professes submission'.

Of the affix खच्, the letters ख् and च् are indicatory; ख् indicates the insertion of the augment जुच् (VI. 3. 37), and च् shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI. 4. 94):

In the case of प्रिय and वञ्च with वद्, the affix खञ् would have given the same result as the affix खच्. Making a separate affix in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खञ्.

Vart:—The affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As नितंगमो हस्ति 'the slow-moving i. e., an elephant'; नितंगमा हस्तिनी 'the slow-moving i. e. a she elephant'.

Vart:—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम् is विहायस्; and the latter is then replaced by the word विह. As विहायसा गच्छति = विहंगमाः 'a bird (that which goes through the sky)'.

Vart:—In the *Vartikas* above given, the affix खच् may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory ड. The force of ड is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विहंगः or विहंगनः 'a bird'. So also भुजंगः or भुजंगनः 'a serpent' (what goes crookedly)'.

Vart:—विहायस् is replaced by विह when the affix ड (III. 2. 48) comes after the verb गम्; as विहंगः 'a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विहंग, विहङ्ग, विहङ्गस् ।

द्विषत्परयास्तापेः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषत्-परयोः, तापे,
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषत्परयोः कर्षणोरपपदयोस्तापेर्धातोः खच् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

39. The affix खच् comes after the verb ताप् 'to heat' when द्विषत् or पर is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb ताप् belongs both to *Bhu* and *Chur* classes. Both are meant in the sūtra. In the case of *Bhvādi*, the verb तापि is the causative ending in णि of ताप्; while in *Churādi*, all verbs take णि.

Thus द्विषन्तं तापयति = द्विषन्तपः (VI. 4. 94) 'one who destroys his enemies' so also परन्तपः 'one who subdues his enemies. a hero'.

This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix खच् will be employed ; as द्विषती तादयति = द्विषतीतायः ।

वाचि यमो वृत्ते ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचि, यमः, वृत्ते, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्शब्दे कर्मव्युत्पत्तये यमेर्धातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति वृत्ते गम्यमाने ॥

40. The affix खच् comes after the verb यच् 'to curb' when the word वाक् 'speech' is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word व्रत means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharma-sâstra. Thus वाचंयन आस्ते 'he has taken the vow of rigid silence.'

Why do we say 'vow'? Otherwise the form is वाचंयनः 'restraining speech' (VI. 3. 69).

पूः सर्वयोर्दारिसहोः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूः-सर्वयोः, दारि-सहोः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर् सर्व इत्येतयोः कर्मव्युत्पत्तये दारिसहोर्धातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भवे च दारेरिति ॥

41. The affix खच् comes after the verb दारि 'to split' and यच् 'to bear' when respectively in composition with the words पूर 'a city' and सर्व 'all', as objects.

As पूरं दारयति = पूरन्दरः 'name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)' (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); सर्वसहो राजा 'the king who is all-forbearing'.

Vart:—So also when the word भग is in composition with the verb दारि; as भगन्दरः 'a fistula in the anus'.

सर्वकूलभ्रकरीषेषु कवः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-कूल-भ्र-करीषेषु, कवः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्व कूल भ्र करीष इत्येतेषु कर्मव्युत्पत्तये कवेर्धातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix खच् comes after the verb कच् 'to rub' when the words सर्व 'all', कूल 'bank', भ्र 'cloud', and करीष 'a dry cow-dung', are in composition with it as object.

As सर्वकवः खलः 'a villain, a rogue'; कूलकवा नदी 'a river'; भ्रकवो गिरिः 'mountain'; करीषकवा वात्या 'a strong wind'.

मेघर्त्तिभयेषु कृजः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेघ-ऋति-भयेषु, कृजः,

(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मेघ ऋति भय इत्येतेषु कर्मसूचपदेषु कृजः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपपदविधौ भयादिग्रहणं तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयति ॥

43. The affix खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words मेघ 'cloud' ऋति 'misfortune' and भय 'fear' are in composition as objects.

As मेघंकरः 'producing clouds'; ऋतिकरः 'giving pain', भयंकरः 'frightful'

Vari.—The *tadanta vidhi* applies in the case of upapadaś like भय. &c. This is an exception to the *śārtika* under 1. I 72. by which, in the case of affixes *tadadta-vidhi* was prohibited. Thus we have अभयंकरः 'who causes security'.

क्षेमप्रियमद्वेष्ट्वा च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेम-प्रिय-मद्वे, अण्, च,

(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेम प्रिय मद्र इत्येतेषु कर्मसूचपदेषु करोतिरेणप्रत्ययो चकारात् खच्च ॥

44. And the affix अण् as well as खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words क्षेम 'happiness', प्रिय 'pleasant' and मद्र 'joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खच् is also to be included.

Thus क्षेमकारः or क्षेमंकरः 'propitious'; प्रियकारः or प्रियंकरः 'showing kindness'; मद्रकारः or मद्रंकरः 'causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix अण्, when its *anuvritti* could have been read into this sūtra by using the word वा 'optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix ट of sūtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted; so that the feminine of those words is formed by आ and not by ई; as अल्पारम्भाः 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

आशिते भुवः करणभावयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिते, भुवः, करणभावयोः, (खच्, सुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दे भुवन्ते उपपदे भवतेर्धातोः करणे भावे चार्थे खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix खच् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आशित 'satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word 'सुप्' of sūtra 4 is understood here.

Thus आशितभयः meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. आशितो भवती अनेन. Here the word denotes instrument. And आशितभयः also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

संज्ञायां भृतृवृजिधारिसहितपिदम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां, भृ-तृ-वृ-जि-धारि-सहि-तपि-दम्, (कर्मणि, सुप्ति, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ तृ वृ जि धारि सहि तपि दम् इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46 The affix खच् comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name:—viz. वृ 'to bear', वृ 'to cross over', वृ 'to choose', जि 'to conquer', धारि 'to hold', सहि 'to bear', तपि 'to heat' and दम् 'to subdue'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुप्ति of sūtra 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus विश्वंजर 'earth' (that which supports all); रथंतर 'the Rathantara Sāma'; पतिवरा 'a girl' lit (who is about to choose a husband); यत्तुजयः 'an elephant' lit. (who conquers the enemy); युगंधरः 'a mountain' or 'the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed'; यत्तुसहः 'Satrumsaha' (withstanding an enemy); यत्तुतपः 'Satruntapa' (destroying an enemy); अरिंदनः 'Arindama' (victorious).

Why do we say 'when denoting a name'? Observe कुटुम्बधारः 'he who supports his family'.

गच्छ ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गच्छः, च, (सुप्ति, संज्ञायां, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्यातोः सुप्युपपदे संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. And the affix खच् comes after the verb गच्छ 'to go' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुतंगमः 'Sutangama'. Though the verb गच्छ could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the *anuvritti* of गच्छ into the subsequent sūtras.

अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वानन्तेषु डः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त-अत्यन्त-अध्वन्-दूर-पार-सर्व, अनन्तेषु, डः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त अत्यन्त अध्वन् दूर पार सर्व अनन्त इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु गमेर्डप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ड प्रकरणे सर्वत्रपन्नयोः पदसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उरसो लोपश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुदुर्लेखिकरणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरोदेशे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ डप्रकरणेऽन्येऽपि दृश्यन्ते ॥

48. The affix ड comes after the verb गच्छ 'to go' when in composition with the following words as its objects :— अन्त 'end', अत्यन्त 'excessive', अथर्व 'road', दूर 'far', पार 'across', सर्व 'all' and अचरन्त 'endless'.

The anuvritti of the word संज्ञायाम् does not extend to this. As अन्तगः 'having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant'; अत्यन्तगः 'going too fast'; अथर्वगः 'a way-farer'; दूरगः 'going to a distant place'; पारपः 'completely familiar'; सर्वगः 'going everywhere, the Supreme Being'; अचरन्तगः 'going to infinity, moving for ever'.

Of the affix ड the letter ह् is indicatory, the real affix being अ. The ड indicates that the टि portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as अन्त + गच्छ + ड = अन्त + ग् + अ (the टि portion अच् of गच्छ is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says 'when that which has an indicatory ड, follows, there is elision of the टि of a भ'; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word गच्छ here is not one of those called भ (I. 4. 18); because the presence of ड as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

Vart:—The ड is also employed when the words in composition are सर्वत्र 'everywhere'; and पन्न 'creeping'; as सर्वत्रगः 'Supreme Spirit'; पन्नगः 'a snake'.

Vart:—So also when the word in composition is उरस् 'breast', and there is elision of its final. As उरस् + गच्छ + ड = उरगः 'moving on breast, a snake'.

Vart:—So also with the words सु 'well' and दुर् 'bad', when the resulting words denote location. As सुगः 'that in which one goes easily, easy of access'. दुर्गः 'difficult of access, a fort'.

Vart:—So also with the preposition निर्, the word to be formed meaning country; as निर्गः 'a country'.

Vart:—Others say, that this ड is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्त्र्यगारगः (स्त्री + अगार + गच्छ + ड) 'who goes to the women's compartment'; ग्रामगः 'going to the village'; गुरुत्तरगः 'who pollutes the bed of his guru'.

आशिषि हनः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, हनः, (डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गन्धनानायां हन्तेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे ड प्रत्ययो नवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दारामाहनेऽणन्तस्य च डः संज्ञायाम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चारौ वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणि समि च ॥

49. The affix ड comes after the verb हृ 'to kill', when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix ड is understood in this sūtra. Thus तिसिं वध्यात् = तिसिंहः 'may he kill the whale'; शत्रुहः 'may he kill the enemy'.

Why do we say 'when benediction is intended'? Otherwise we have शत्रुघातः 'who kills his enemy'.

Vart:—The affix खल् comes after the verb आहृ when the word दाह 'wood' is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into ड, when the word so formed denotes a name. As दाह आहन्ति = दावघाटः (दाह + आहृ + खल्) 'the wood-pecker'.

Vart:—So also optionally when the word चार 'beautiful' is in composition under circumstances detailed in the last vārtika: as चारवघाटः or चारवघातः ।

Vart:—So also, when the verb हृ is preceded by the preposition च, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix खल् is employed; and the final is replaced by ड; as चर्णान् संहन्ति = चर्णसंघाटः or चर्णसंघातः 'the alphabet'; पदानि संहन्ति = पदसंघाटः or पदसंघातः 'connecting the words that are separated, an annotator'.

अपे क्लेशतमसोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, क्लेश-तमसोः; (कर्मणि, हनः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्धन्तेः क्लेशतमसोः कर्मणोरपपदयोर्हप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix ड comes after the verb हृ 'to kill' when it is compounded with the preposition अप्, and when the object in composition with it, is the word क्लेश 'pain' or तमस् 'darkness'.

As, क्लेशापहः पुत्रः 'the pain-allayer, i. e., the son'; तमोपहः सूर्यः 'the darkness-destroyer, i. e., the sun'.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमारशीर्षयोर्णिनिः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार-शीर्षयोः, णिनिः; (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार शीर्षं हत्येतयोरपपदयोः हन्तेर्णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हृ 'to kill' when the word in composition with it is कुमार 'a child' or शीर्ष 'head'.

Thus कुमार + हन् + णिनि = कुमार + चात + हन् (VII. 3. 54 and VII. 3. 32) = कुमारचातिन् nom. sing. कुमारचाती 'child-killer'. So also शीर्ष + चातिन् nom. sing. शीर्षचाती 'head-killer'.

The word शीर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस् ।

लक्षणे जायापत्योऽङ्क् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे, जाया-पत्योः;
टक्, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जायापत्योः कर्त्तृशेषपदयोर्लक्षणेवतिर्कर्त्तरि टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is in composition with the word जाया 'wife' or पति 'husband' as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this sūtra gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षणे कर्त्तरि or लक्षणेवति कर्त्तरि. In the former case the meaning will be 'when the agent is itself the mark'; as जायाघ्नः 'a mole' (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one's wife). In the latter case the meaning will be 'when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word'; as जायाघ्नः 'the murderer of his wife'; पतिघ्नी 'the murderer of her husband'.

Of the affix टक् the letters ट् and क् are indicative. The ट् shows that the feminine is formed by ई, and क् causing elision of the penultimate अ of हन्. Thus जाया + हन् + टक् = जाया + हृ + अ (VI. 4. 98) = जायाघ्नः (VII. 3. 54).

अमनुष्यकर्तृके च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-मनुष्य-कर्तृके, च (टक्,
हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमनुष्यकर्तृके वर्तमानादुन्तेर्द्धातोः कर्त्तृशेषपदे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. And the affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As जायाघ्नस्तिलकालकः 'the mole' (literally that which indicates the death of one's wife); पतिघ्नी पाणिरेखा 'the line of the palm of the hand' (that which indicates the death of one's husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. दलेघ्नघ्नं मधु 'honey' (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). पित्तघ्नं घृत 'clarified butter' (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say 'when the agent is not a human being'? Observe आसुपातः सुद्रः 'a Sūdra' (literally one who kills mice). Here the affix is अङ्.

Why is the affix टक् not employed in the following ? चीरघातो हस्ती 'an elephant' (i. e. who kills a thief) Here the word is formed by the affix घञ् on the analogy of sūtra III. 3. 113 which allows a diversity in case of *kritya* affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a *krit* affix.

शक्तौ हस्तिफया(वा)टयोः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्तौ, हस्ति-फया
(वा)टयोः, (हनः, टक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ गन्धमातायां हस्तिफया (वा) टयोः कर्मणोरप्ययदयोर्हन्तेटक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it as its object is हस्ती 'elephant' or घाट 'gate' and when the sense indicated is that of power.

The sūtra applies where the agent is a human being. As हस्तिनं हन्तुं शक्तः = हस्तिघ्नः मनुष्यः 'a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant'; so also कराटघ्नः 'a burglar' (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say 'where power is indicated'? Observe विशेष हस्तिनं हन्ति = हस्तिघातः 'who kills the elephant by poison'. Here the affix is घञ्.

पाणिघाताडधौ शिल्पिनि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाणिघ-ताडधौ,
शिल्पिनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिघ ताडघ इत्येतौ घटधौ निपात्येते शिल्पिनि कर्तरि ॥

पार्त्तिकम् ॥ राजघ उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The word पाणिघ and ताडघ are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix क् is employed after the verb हन् in composition with पाणि 'hand' and ताड 'a blow' as object; then the टि portion of हन् i. e. घञ् is elided, and ह is changed into घ irregularly. Thus पाणि + हन् + क् = पाणि + ह् + घ = पाणिघः 'a drummer' (workman or handicraftsman); ताडघः 'a smith'.

Why 'when denoting an artificer'? Observe पाणिघातः 'boxing'; ताडघातः 'hammering'.

Vart :—The word राजघः should be enumerated in this connection ; राजघः 'a regicide'.

आटघसुभगस्यूतपलितनग्नान्यप्रियेषु चकार्येण्यच्यौ कृतः करणे
ख्युन् ॥ ५६ पदानि ॥ आटघ-सुभग-स्यूत-पलित-नग्न-अन्य-प्रियेषु, चित्र-अ-
र्शेषु, अच्यौ, कृतः, करणे, ख्युन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्यादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु च्चयर्थे च्चयन्तेषु करोतेर्दातोः कर्त्तुः कारके ख्युन्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

56. The affix ख्युन्, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it as objects :— आढ्य 'rich', सुभग 'fortunate', बृहत् 'big' पलित 'grey', नग्न 'naked', अन्ध 'blind' and प्रिय 'pleasant', provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्चि, though not actually ending in the affix च्चि.

The affix च्चि (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verb भू 'to become', कृ 'to make' and अस् 'to be'; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The च्चि being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold; namely, words ending in च्चि and words not ending in च्चि. Both may have the force of च्चि. In the present sūtra, however, the words that actually end in च्चि have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix च्चि, but have the force of च्चि are included in the present sūtra.

Thus आढ्यं + कृ + ख्युन् = आढ्यं + कर्त् + अस् = आढ्यंकरणं 'that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich. viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching'; सुभगंकरणस् 'making happy'; बृहत्करणस् 'by which one becomes big'; पलितकरणस् 'rendering grey'; नग्नंकरणस् 'making naked'; अन्धंकरणस् 'making blind'; प्रियंकरणस् 'showing kindness.

Why do we say 'when the force is that of the affix च्चि'? Otherwise आढ्यं तैलेन कुर्वन्ति i. e., अस्मयजयन्ति 'they anoint with oil. Here though something is joined with what it previously was not joined, namely, with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of च्चि and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say 'when not ending in the affix च्चि'? Observe आढ्यी कुर्वन्ति अनेन 'they make rich by this'. Here the affix ख्युन् is not employed,

It might be objected: 'well if ख्युन् is not used then the affix ख्युद् must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between ख्युन् and ख्युद्; both having the efficient portion यु; what is then the use of prohibiting च्चि? We reply, 'because there is this prohibition, when the affix ख्युन् is not employed the affix ख्युद् will also be not employed. Thus by implication the affix ख्युद् is also prohibited. The prohibition of च्चि in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow'.

Pātanjail observes this prohibition as superfluous, because there is no distinction between लुट् and लृट्. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by वञ्, स्तञ्, ईक्, अक् and लृट् take ई in the feminine as the words तदन and तलन. Nor there is any distinction in their *samāsas*. For in both the cases it will be *nitya samāsas*. Nor is the prohibition made for the sake of the augment चुप्. For it being an indeclinable, चुप्. cannot come after it. The prohibition therefore is of no use to this sūtra but it is inserted here for the sake of the following sūtras.

कर्तरि भुवः खिष्णुच्छुक्जौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, भुवः,
खिष्णुच्छुक्जौ, (आह्यादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आह्यादिषु भुवन्तेषूपपदेषु च्चवर्त्येव च्चयन्तेषु भवतेर्द्वातोः कर्तरि कारके खिष्णुच्छुक्जौ इत्येते प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

57. The affixes खिष्णुच् and शुक्ज्, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb भू 'to be come', when it is in composition with words आह्य &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्चि though not ending in च्चि.

Thus आह्यम्भविष्णुः 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; आह्य-
भाबुक्: 'becoming rich'; सुभगम्भविष्णुः or -भाबुक्: 'becoming happy'; स्थूलम्भविष्णुः or
-भाबुक्: 'becoming big'; पलितम्भविष्णुः or -भाबुक्: 'becoming grey'; नग्नम्भविष्णुः or
-भाबुक्: 'becoming naked'; अन्धम्भविष्णुः or -भाबुक्: 'becoming blind'; प्रियम्भविष्णुः or
-भाबुक्: 'becoming an object of affection, amiable'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent'? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of च्चि, otherwise not; as आह्यो भविता 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in च्चि; आह्यो भविता

स्पृशीऽनुदके क्तिन् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृशः, अनुदके, क्तिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृशेर्धातोऽनुदके सुप्रन्तउपपदे क्तिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix क्तिन् comes after the verb स्पृश् 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than उदक 'water'.

By sūtra 4 of this chapter, the *anuvritti* of the word भुप्ति is to be read into this sūtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the *anuvritti* of the word कर्त्त instead of भुप्ति, because the verb स्पृश् is a transitive verb, and after

such verbs, the anuvritti of कर्त्तृ ought to come by sūtra 4? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvritti of बुद्धि in this case; because the word कर्त्तरि of the last sūtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents whether objects, instruments, &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृश्, nom. sing. घृतस्पृक् 'he who touches clarified butter.' स्पृश् + क्तिर + तु = स्पृश् + क्ति + o (VI. 1. 68) = स्पृक् + o (VI. 1. 57, and VIII. 2. 62). So also वन्द्येण स्पृशति = वन्द्यस्पृक् 'who touches with hymns'; जलेन स्पृशति = जलस्पृक् 'who touches with water'. But उदकेन स्पृशति = उदकस्पृक्; here we have the general affix अण्.

The र् of क्तिर is to distinguish this affixes from affixes like क्तिप् &c. For, had it been merely क्ति, then in sūtra VIII. 2. 62. we should have used क्ति प्रत्ययस्य क्तुः, and it would have been ambiguous, for क्ति might be explained as meaning both क्ति and क्तिप् as वय means वयस्, वयप् &c. To remove this ambiguity, र् is added to make a distinctive affix. The र् cannot be for the sake of accent. (VI. 1. 117), the verb being monosyllable would of itself have taken that accent.

ऋत्विग्-दधृक्-स्वग्-दिग्-उष्णिग्-अञ्चु-युजि-क्रुञ्चान् च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥
 ऋत्विक्-दधृक्-स्वक्-दिक्-उष्णिक्-अञ्चु-युजि-क्रुञ्चान्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्विगादयः पञ्चशब्दाः क्तिप्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते अपरे त्रयो पातवो निर्दिश्यन्ते ॥

-59. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent', स्वक् 'a garland', दिक् 'direction' and उष्णिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिर; and so also after the verbs अञ्चु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and क्रुञ्चु 'to approach', the affix क्तिर is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus अञ्चु + क्तिर = ऋत्विक् 'he who performs sacrifice in the reason (ऋतौ) or to the season (ऋतुम्). This word, however, is a कृदि word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. दधृक् + क्तिर = दधृक्. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. स्वक् + क्तिर = स्वक्. Here there is augment अस्. दृश् + क्तिर = दिक्. So also उत् + स्निह + क्तिर = उष्णिक्. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix क्तिर comes after the three roots युज्, अञ्चु, and क्रुञ्च. Being read along with the five above mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of क्तिर to these verbs. Thus the affix क्तिर comes after अञ्चु only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in composition. As प्र + अञ्चु + क्तिर = प्राञ्चु nom. sing. प्राञ्चु (VI. 4. 24; VII. 1. 70, VIII. 2. 23 and 62) 'east'; so also प्रत्यङ् 'west'; उदङ् 'north'.

The affix क्तिन् comes after युजिच् and कुञ्च् when these are uncombined. Thus युज् + क्तिन् = युज्. In nominative singular, युज् + तु = युज् + त् (VII. 1. 71) = युज् + ० (VI. 1. 68) = युज् (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root युज् is in composition with an *upapada*, it takes the affix क्तिन् (see sūtra 61). As अश्वयुज् 'yoked with horses'.

So also कुञ्च् + क्तिन् = कुञ्च्, nom. sing. कुञ्, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the ज (VI. 4. 24) of कुञ्च् is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

त्यदादिषु दूशोऽनलोचने कञ्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदिषु, दूशः, अनालोचने, कञ्, च, (क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीषूपपदेषु दूशोर्धतोर्नालोचनेऽर्थे वर्तमानात् कञ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद् क्तिन् ॥

60. And the affix कञ् come after the verb दृश् 'to see' when it is in combination with त्यद् &c, and does not signify perception.

The force of 'and' is that the क्तिन् also comes under similar circumstances. त्यद् &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27. Thus त्यादृक् nom. sing. यादृक्, 'such-like' when it is formed by क्तिन्; and त्यादृशः 'such like' when the affix is कञ्. So also तद् + दृश् + क्तिन् = तादृक् (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. तादृक् (VI. 1. 68. VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and तादृशः when कञ् is the affix. So यादृक् or यादृशः 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter ज् of कञ्? It is for the sake of accent; the *udatta* is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicatory ज् or र् (VI. 1. 117). But the indicatory र् would have given the same accent, there being no difference between कञ् and कर् in this respect. The indicatory ज् then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix कञ् from कर् in sūtra IV. 1. 15 in which कञ् is taken and not कर्. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for कञ्करण् of that sūtra, we should have read कर् करप् so that the feminine of words formed by कर् would have also taken long ई, so that the feminine of यावकः (याव + कर् V. 4. 29) would have been यावकी instead of यावका.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception'? See तं पश्यति = तदृशः 'who sees that'. The words त्यादृक्, तादृक् &c. are crude nouns. in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

Vart:—This rule applies also when the words समान and अन्य are in composition with दृश्. 'As सदृक् or सदृशः 'like' (समान + दृश् + क्तिन् = स + दृश् VI. 3. 89); so also अन्यादृशः or अन्यादृक् 'of another kind'.

Vart :—The affix क्ख comes also after the root दृग्. As तादृक्, यादृक्, अन्यादृक् and कीदृक् : तद् + दृग् + क्ख = ता + दृग् + क्ख (VI. 3. 91) = तादृक् + क्ख (VIII. 2. 36) = तादृक् + क्ख (VIII. 2. 41) = तादृक् + क्ख (VIII. 3. 59) = तादृक् :

सत्सूद्विषद्रुहद्रुहयुजविदभिदच्छिदजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि क्खिप् ॥
६१ ॥ यदानि ॥ सत्-सू-द्विष-द्रुह-द्रुह-युज-विद-भिद-च्छिद-जि-नी-राजाम् ;
उपसर्गे, अपि, क्खिप्, (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्ते उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि क्खिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix क्खिप् comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz :—सत् 'to sit', सू 'to bring forth', द्विष 'to hate', द्रुह 'to bear malice', दह 'to milk', युज् 'to join', 'to concentrate the mind', विद् 'to know', 'to become', 'to consider', भिद् 'to divide', छिद् 'to cut', जि 'to conquer', नी 'to lead' and राज् 'to shine'.

The phrase 'the word ending with a case-affix' is understood in this sūtra. The *anuvritti* of कर्त्तृ is not to be taken in this sūtra for the same reasons as in sūtra 58 *ante*. The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix i. e. they are also *subanta* words. Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (*ināpaka*) that wherever in the previous sūtras, the word *subanta* (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not include an upasarga (III 1. 106).

The root सू being read in conjunction with द्विष shows that यदादि class verb is meant here, and not रुदादि class. The verb युज् includes, both युजिर् 'to join' and युज् 'to concentrate one's mind'. The verb विद् includes the three verbs having the sense of 'to know', 'to become' and 'to consider', but does not include the verb विद् 'to gain', because that root has an indicative वृ (विद्वृ) while all these verbs have indicative अ.

Thus, सत्—सुविषत् 'dwelling in purity'; अन्तरिक्षत् 'dwelling in the skies', 'epithets of Brahma' (Kath. 5. 2); उपसत् 'serving'. सू—अण्डसूः 'oviparous'; यतसूः 'bringing forth hundred'; प्रसूः 'parent'. द्विष—नित्रद्विट् 'treacherous'; प्रद्विट् 'hostile'. द्रुह—निप्रधुक् 'treacherous'; प्रधुक् 'hostile' (VIII. 2. 37). दह—गोधुक् 'cow-milker'; प्रधुक् 'milker' (VIII. 2. 32. and 37). युज्—अश्वयुक् 'carriage'; प्रयुक् 'impulse'. विद्—वेदवित् 'knower; of Veda'; प्रवित् 'knower'; ब्रह्मवित् 'knower of Brahma'. भिद्—काष्ठभित् 'wood-cutter' प्रभित् 'cutter'. छिद्—रज्जुच्छिद् 'rope-cutter'; प्रच्छिद् 'a cutter'. जि—शत्रुजित् 'enemy-conqueror'; प्रजित् 'conqueror'. नी—सेनानीः 'leader of army'; प्रणीः 'a leader'; ग्रामणीः 'head-borough'; अग्रणीः 'first'. (Why is there cerebral ञ in these words? Because the word ग्रामणी has a cerebral ञ in

sūtra V. 2. 78 and that indicates that these words will have च, as also by sūtra VIII. 4. 3). सज्—विराट् 'splendour'; चक्राट् 'emperor' (the letter च is added by sūtra VIII. 3. 25).

This sūtra is a continuation and expansion of sūtras 75 and 76 *sup.*

भजो शिवः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भजः, शिवः (उपसर्ग, अपि, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजेर्वातोः सुबन्त उपपदे उपसर्गोऽप्यनुपसर्गोऽपि शिवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix शिव come after the verb भज् 'to share' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood in this sūtra. As भज् 'भवते = भर्द्भाज् nom. sing. भर्द्भाक् 'sharing a half. So also when in composition with a preposition; as प्रभाक् 'division'.

छन्दसि सहः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, सहः, (उपसर्ग, सुपि, शिवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दोश्च विषये बहेर्वातोः सुबन्त उपपदे शिवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. In the Chhandas, the affix शिव comes after the verb सह् 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood here. As सुर + सह् + शिव = सुरावाह् nom. sing. सुरावाह् 'name of Indra'. The dental स is changed into cerebral च by VIII. 3. 56, and the ह into ट by VIII. 2. 31. The final अ of सुर is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig Veda. I 175. 2, III 48. 5.

बहवश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहः, च, (छन्दसि, शिवः, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहेर्वातोश्छन्दसि विषये सुबन्त उपपदे शिवप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix शिव after the verb वह् 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As प्रष्टवाट् 1st sing. प्रष्टवाट् 'carrying a *prashtha* measure'; so दिष्टवाट् ।

The division of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of वह् only is carried and not of चह्. See Yajur, Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु ज्युट् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कव्य-पुरीष-पुरीष्येषु, ज्युट्, (छन्दसि, सुपि, बहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कव्य पुरीष पुरीष्य इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु छन्दसि विषये बहेर्वातोर्ज्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. In the Chhandas the affix ज्युट् come after

the verb वह् when it is in composition with the words हव्य 'oblation of food to deceased ancestors', पुत्रिष 'fæces' and पुत्रीष्व 'water'

As हव्यवाहनः पितृणां (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the *pitris*'; पुत्रीषवाहनः 'carrier' of water; [पुत्रीष्यवाहनः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44.) The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ई।

हव्येऽनन्तःपादम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हव्ये, अनन्तः-पादम्,
(छन्दसि, यहः, व्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हव्यमन्ते उपपदे छन्दसि विषये वहेर्धातोऽव्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति, अनन्तःपादं वेदहि-
र्वाचते ॥

66. The affix व्युट् comes in the Chhandas, after the verb वह् 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word हव्य 'an oblation to gods', provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pāda (fourth part of a stanza).

As अग्निहव्य हव्यवाहनः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods'. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2.)

When this word occurs in the middle of a pāda, or at the beginning, the form is हव्यवाट्, which is derived by adding the affix विट् (sūtra 64). As हव्यवाट् अग्निरक्षरः पिता नः 'the never-decaying *agni* or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father'. (Rig. Veda III. 2. 2.)

जनसन्जनक्रमगमो विट् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन्-जन-
क्रम-गमः, विट्, (छन्दसि, उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनादिभ्यो घातुभ्यः जुषन्त उपपदे छन्दसि विषये विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix विट् (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs जन् 'to be born', वृत् 'to bestow', खन् 'to dig', क्रम् 'to pace' and गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long आ.

The words; छन्दसि, उपसर्गे and जन् are understood in this sūtra. The verb वृत् includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen'; so also वृत् means both 'to give' and 'to worship'.

Of the affix विट् the letter ट् is indicatory, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of जन्, वृत् &c. is replaced by long आ when the affix विट् follows, and the whole affix is elided by VII. 67.

As अप् + जन् + विट् = जज्ञाः (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41); गोजाः 'born in the heaven i. e., God' (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from चन्—गोषाः 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII 3. 108); गोषा इन्द्रो नृषा अति 'O Indra bestower of cows ! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From खन्—विसखाः 'digger of lotus stalk'; कूपलाः 'digger of well'. From कृन् दधिकाः 'who gets milk' (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From गन्—अग्रेगा उन्नेतृणां 'the leader.'

अदोऽनन्ते ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, अनन्ते, (सुप्ति, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदर्धातोर्नन्तु सुप्युपपदे विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when in composition with a case-inflected word other than अन्न 'food'.

The *anuvṛtti* of the word 'Ohhandasi' does not extend to this sūtra.

Thus आननन्ति = आनात् 'eating raw food'; अस्यात् 'granivorous'.

But with अन्न as an upapada, we have अन्नादः 'eating food', which is formed by the general affix अण् (III 2. 1)

क्रव्ये च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रव्ये, च; (अदः, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रव्यशब्द उपपदे अदर्धातोर्विट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat' when the word क्रव्य is in composition with it.

As क्रव्यनन्ति = क्रवात् 'carnivorous'.

Why has it been made a separate sūtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sūtra also? To this the vārtika replies: 'This has been made a separate sūtra in order to indicate that the rule of वाचस्प (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix अण् will not apply in the alternative. If the affix अण् does not apply, how then we get the form क्रवाद्: which is evidently formed by the affix अण्? The affix अण् comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked'; thus क्रवाद्: means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, i. e., a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while क्रवात् means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word क्रवाद्: in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under वृषोदरादि class of sūtra VI. 3. 109.

दुहः कपश्च ॥ ७० ॥ दुहः, कप्-च; च; (सुप्ति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुहेर्धातोः सुप्युपपदे कप्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

70. The affix कप् comes after the verb दुह् 'to milk' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter च replaces its final.

As कामदुघा धेनुः 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk'; so also अर्चदुघा, चर्मदुघा ।

संज्ञे श्वेतवह्नोकथशस्पुरोडाशो गिवन् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञे,
श्वेतवह्न-उकथशस्-पुरोडाशः, गिवन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वेतवह्न उकथशस् पुरोडाश इत्येतेभ्यो गिवन् प्रत्ययो भवति सन्ज्ञे विषये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ श्वेतवह्नादीनां उपपदस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix गिवन् comes after the words श्वेतवह्न, उकथशस् पुरोडाश्.

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada; the fact of their being so given indicated that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix गिवन् comes after the verb वह् preceded by the upapada श्वेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As श्वेता एनं वहन्ति = श्वेतवाह्, nom. sing. श्वेतवाः 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix गिवन् is applied to the verb यञ् 'to praise' when preceded by the word उकथ as object or instrument; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उकथानि उकथैर्वा यन्ति = उकथयाच्, nom. sing. उकथयाः (Rig. Ved. II, 39. 1.) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The affix is applied after the verb दाय् 'to give', preceded by पुरो, and द is changed into ड, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो दायन्ति एनं = पुरोडाश्, nom. sing. पुरोडाः (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2.) 'an offering'.

Vart:—The augment इच् is added to the words श्वेतवाह् &c, when the *pada* affixes follow. Thus before *pada* terminations श्वेतवाह् becomes श्वेतवच् । Therefore its instrumental dual is श्वेतवोभ्याच्, pl. श्वेतवोभिः ।

The augment इच् is not applied before सर्वनामस्थान and भ terminations, As श्वेतवाहौ, श्वेतवाहः ।

अवे यजः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, यजः, (गिवन्, सन्ज्ञे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपदे यजेर्धातोर्गिवन्प्रत्ययो भवति सन्ज्ञे विषये ॥

72. In the Mantra literature, the affix गिवन् comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word अवे.

As अवयाज्, nom. sing. अवयाः (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest'; as त्वं यजे वरुणस्यावया अस्मि 'Thou art the priest of varuṇa in the sacrifice'.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the *anuvritti*

of यज only runs. This word is thus declined :—

	sing.	dual.	plural.
1st.	अवयाः,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
2nd.	अवयाजं,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
3rd.	अवयाजा,	अवयोभ्यां.	अवयोभिः

विजुपे छन्दसि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विच्, उपे, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपउपपदे यजेरछन्दसि विषये विच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix विच् comes after the verb यज when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपयजुर्निरुप्यं बहन्ति 'they carry it up with the उपयज् formulas'. उपयज् is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvritti of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brāhmaṇa literature also.

The च् is indicatory and is useful in including the affix विच् in the larger group called वि (which includes क्तिच्, क्तिप्, पिच्, विट्), as in the sūtra वेत्पुस्तस्य (VI. 1. 67).

Why has this sūtra been made, since the affix विच् would have been valid even by aphorism 75? The sūtra has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपयज् is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

आतो मनिन्कनिठनिपश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, मनिन्, कनिप्-वनिप्, च, (छन्दसि, सुपि, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो चातुर्व्यः पुष्पपदे छन्दसि विषये मनिन् कनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्ययो भवन्ति चकाराद्विचि ॥

74. The affixes मनिन् (मन्), कनिप् (वन्), वनिप् (वन्) and विच् come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long आ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विच्. Thus सुदा + मनिन् = सुदामन्, 1st. sing. सुदाना (Rig. VI. 20. 7.) 'one who gives liberally'; अश्व + स्या + मनिन् = अश्वस्यामन्, 1st. sing. अश्वस्यामा 'the name of Asvatthāman'; सुधा + कनिप् = सुधी + वन् (VI. 4. 66) = सुधीवन्, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'having good understanding'; सुधा + वनिप् = सुधीवन्, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'a good drinker'. भूरि + दा + वनिप् = भूरिदावन्, 1st. sing. भूरिदावा (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; घृतपाव + वनिप् = घृतपावा, 1st. sing. घृतपावा (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विच् is also included in this aphorism. As कीलाल + पा + विच् = कीलालपा (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'nectar-drinker', शुभवा (Rig. IV. 8. 6. and Pāṇini VII,

3. 46) 'beautifully going' ; रामस्योपदाः 'an offering of Râma.' (see sūtra III. 3. 106 and Yajur. Ved. XXX. 9).

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यन्ते,
(ननिन्, कनिप्, वनिप्, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्योऽनाकारान्तेभ्यो ननिन् कनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते,
विच् ॥

75. These affixes viz. ननिन्, कनिप्, वनिप्, and विच् are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long आ.

The word छन्दसि is not understood here. As सु + शृ 'to injure' + ननिन् = सुशर्षन्, 1st. 'sing सुशर्षा 'who destroys well i. e. destroys sin or ignorance'. प्रातर् + इ 'to go' + कनिप् = प्रातर + इत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = प्रातरित्वन्, 1st. sing. प्रातरित्वा 'who goes early'. वि + जन् + वनिप् = वि + जा + वन् (VI. 4. 41) = विजावन्, 1st. sing. विजावा 'who brings forth'. अग्रेगावा 'who goes before'. रिप् + विच् = रेप् (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रेड् 'who injures'; as in रेडसि पणं नयेः (Yajur Ved. VI. 18).

The word 'also' in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms : that is to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. As चीवा, चीवा.

The words 'are seen' in this sūtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we see a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

क्विप् च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विप्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यः सोपपदेभ्यो निरुपपदेभ्यश्च छन्दसि भाषायां च क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. And the affix क्विप् is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapad or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sanskrit.

As उखावाः खंसते = उखाखत् (VI. 4. 24.) 'falling from the pot' ; पर्णच्वत् 'falling from the leaves' ; वाहाद् भ्रयति = वाहाभ्रत्, 1st. sing. वाहाभ्रद् 'falling from car'. The हा is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved, I. 3. 8.

स्थः क च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थः, क, च, (सुपि, उपसर्गे, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्या इत्येतस्माद्धातोः सुप्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति क्विप् च ॥

77. The affixes क and क्विप् come after the verb स्या when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. 1. 4. स्या would have taken क and by rule III. 1. 75, it would have taken क्विप् also? This repetition is for the purpose of prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the

sûtra III. 2. 14. prohibited the sūtra III. 2. 4, and the present sūtra removes that prohibition. Thus शस्यः and शस्याः । But for this sūtra, this form could not have been evolved; for, with the upapada शस्, the verb स्या would have taken the affix अच् by III. 2. 14.

सुप्यजातौ णिनिस्ताच्छील्ये ॥ ७८ ॥ यदानि ॥ सुपि, अजातौ;
णिनिः, ताच्छील्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजातिवाचिनि सुबन्त उपपदे ताच्छील्ये गन्धमाने धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्प्रतिग्यामाहि मतेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साधुकारिणि च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ब्रह्मणि वदः ॥

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix णिनि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उष्ण + भुज् + णिनि = उष्णभोजिन्, 1st. sing. उष्णभोजी 'who eats his meal hot'. So also शीतभोजी &c

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus'? Witness ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयिता 'the inviter of Brâhmanas'. We cannot form ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयी.

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed'? Witness उष्णं भुङ्क्ते कदाचित् 'he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvritti of the word 'supi' was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhânta Kaumudî. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अनुनायित्, अनुजीविन्, उपजीविन् &c,

Vart. :—The verb आसृ in composition with the prepositions उत् or प्रति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उदासारिन्, fem. उदासारिणी, its plural उदासारिण्यः. So also प्रत्यासारिणी, pl. प्रत्यासारिण्यः ।

Vart. :—So also when the sense is 'having skill in such and such action'. As साधुकारी 'excellent worker'; साधुदायी 'giving liberally'.

Vart. :—So also after the verb वद preceded by ब्रह्म. As ब्रह्मवादिन् in ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति 'the knowers of Brahma say'.

कर्त्तर्युपमाने ॥ ७९ ॥ यदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, उपमाने, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि उपमान उपपदे धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix णिनि comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word denoting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being 'doing something like that', that is to say, when the

upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix refers.

Thus उद्गृह्व क्रोशति=उद्गृह्वक्रोशन् 'who makes a noise like a camel'; च्वाह-राविन् 'who makes a noise like a crow'.

This sūtra applies where 'habit' is not indicated : or where 'genus' is denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say 'when expressing the agent'? Witness as अपूपानिव भक्षयति सायान् 'he eats *māsha* like *apupa*'. Here अपूप is object and not agent, and hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say 'denoting a standard of comparison'? Otherwise there will be no composition. As उद्गृह्व क्रोशति 'the camel makes noise'. For the accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

ब्रूते ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रूते, (धातोः, सुप्ति, णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रूते गन्धमाने सुवन्त उच्चरदे धातोर्णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix णिनि comes after a verb, in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word ब्रूते means a 'vow' as regulated and ordained by the Scriptures. This condition 'when vow is expressed' applies to the completed word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada, and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्वरिडलशायिन् 'the vow of sleeping on bare ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow'. अश्राद्धभोजिन् who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Srâddha ceremony.

Why do we say 'when vow is to be expressed'? Otherwise there is no composition. As स्वरिडले शेते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sleeps on bare ground'.

This sūtra is also an exception to III. 2. 78. applicable when habit is not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

बहुलभाभीक्षरये ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, आभीक्षरये, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्षरये गन्धमाने धातोर्बहुलं णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix णिनि comes after a verb diversely when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word आभीक्षरय means continued repetition that is to say, zealous practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As कषायपायिणो गान्धाराः 'the people of Gâadhâra are kashâya-drinkers'. कषाय+पा+णिनि=कषाय+पा+युक्+णिनि (VII. 3. 33). So also क्षीरपायिण उषीनाराः 'the people of Usinâra are milk-drinkers'. बह्वीरपायिणो बाह्वीनाराः 'the people of Bâhlika are sauvira-drinkers'.

By using the word 'diversely' in the sūtra, this affix is not applied in other places, as in the following :—कुहनाखादः 'a grain eater'.

सनः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनः; (सुपि, शिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्वतः सुबन्त उपपदे शिनिप्रत्यये भवति ॥

82. The affix शिनि comes after the verb सन् 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'snpi' is understood in this sūtra. As दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; शोभनमानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb सन् belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvritti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divâdi or Tanâdi सन् the resulting form would be the same, namely सानिच्. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix खश् there would be difference of form owing to the vikarṇa. i. e., in the 4th conjugation इयच् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

आत्ममाने खश्च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्ममाने, खश्, च, (यजानिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्ममाने वर्तमानान्वयतेः सुप्युपपदे खश्प्रत्यये भवति, चकारादिनिश्च ॥

83. And the affix खश् comes after the verb सन् 'to think' when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being 'thinking himself as such').

The word आत्ममान means thinking of one's own self. By the word 'and' it is meant that the affix शिनि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix, thinks himself possessed of the qualities of 'handsomeness' &c., denoted by the upapada. As दर्शनीयमन्वयः or दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; पण्डितमन्वयः or पण्डितमानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say 'when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self'? Witness दर्शनीयमानी देवदत्तस्य यजदत्तः 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome by Devadatta'.

Of the affix खश् the letter ख् causes सुच् augment by VI. 3. 66; and च् makes it a sârvadhâtuka affix, which brings in the proper vikarṇas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.

भूते ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत इत्यधिकारो वर्तमाने लङि वि यावत्, यदि कर्तुं ननु कर्तुं न शक्यः भूत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

84. All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an adbhikâra or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose anuvritti is also understood throughout the subsequent sūtras; see III. 1. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb यज्, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix णिनि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the sūtra, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अग्निष्टोमेनेष्ट्वा = अग्निष्टोमयाजि 'who has sacrificed with an Agnishtoma or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time'? Otherwise these affixes will not be employed. As अग्निष्टोमेन यजति 'he sacrifices with Agnishtoma'.

करणे यजः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, यजः, (णिनिः, भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजतेर्भातोः करणउपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

85. The affix णिनि comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The anuvritti of णिनि and not of खञ् is to be read into this sūtra. As अग्निष्टोमयाजि 'who has sacrificed with Agnishtoma'. Here Agnishtoma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

कर्मेणि हनः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेणि, हनः, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मेणि उपपदे हन्तेर्भातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते काले ॥

86. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As पितृव्यघातिन् 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; मातुलघातिन् 'who has killed his maternal uncle', हन् + णिनि = चत् + णिनि (VII. 3. 54) = चत् + णिनि (VII. 3. 32) = चत्ति (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चोरं हत्वान् 'he has killed the thief'.

The anuvritti of the word कर्मेणि of this aphorism extends up to sūtra III. 2. 96.

ब्रह्मभूणवृत्रेषु क्विप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म-भूण-वृत्रेषु, क्विप् ; (कर्मेणि, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मादिषु कर्मेणुपपदेषु हन्तेर्भातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

87. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill'

with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: ब्रह्म 'a Brâhmana' भ्रूण 'a foetus' and वृत्र 'Vritra'.

As ब्रह्महन्, 1st. sing. ब्रह्महा 'who has killed a Brâhmana'; भ्रूणहा 'who has killed a foetus'; वृत्रहा who has killed Vritra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sutra 76 *ante*, the affix क्तिप् was ordained to come after all verbs and therefore would have come after the verb हन् also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a *niyam. i. e.* the verb हन् takes the affix क्तिप् only when it is in composition with the words ब्रह्म &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When हन् has, as upapada, the words ब्रह्म &c., and not any other word; as पुंसं हतवान् 'he has killed the man'.

(2) When the words ब्रह्म &c are upapadas of any other verb than हन्, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be हन्; thus ब्रह्माधीतवान् 'he has read the Veda'.

(3) The क्तिप् is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हन् preceded by ब्रह्म &c, and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

(4) This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense; as ब्रह्माणं हन्ति or हन्तिष्यति 'he kills or will kill the Brahmana'. This sutra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sutra, and is an example of बहुलं use of the affix.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (हन्ः, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उपपदांतरेपि हन्तेर्बहुलं क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. In the Chhandas, the affix क्तिप् diversely comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains क्तिप् in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As मातृहा सप्तमं नरकं प्रविशेत् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also पितृहा patricide.

Diversely we find also मातृघातः and पितृघातः ।

सुकर्मपापमंत्रपुरयेषु कृजः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-कर्म-पाप-मन्त्र-पुरयेषु, कृजः, (क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु करोतेर्द्धातोः क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

89. The affix क्तिप् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:—सु 'well', कर्म 'action', पाप 'sin', मंत्र 'hymn' and पुण्य 'virtue.'

The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except **सु**, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As **सुकृत** (VI. 1. 71) 'who has done well'; **कर्मकृत** 'who has done all works', **पापकृत** 'who has committed sins', **मन्त्रकृत** 'who has made a mantra'; **पुण्यकृत** 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This sūtra also ordains a restrictive rule or *niyama*. Three-fold restriction is intended here: namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than there are upapadas. As, **शास्त्रकृत** 'who has made Scriptures'; **भाष्यकृत** 'who has made a commentary'. The **त** is added to the root by VI. 1. 71.

सोमे सुजः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, सुजः, (कर्मणि, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमे कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्तिप्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

90. the affix **क्तिप्** comes after the verb **सु** 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word **सोम**, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, **सोमसुत** 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual **सोमसुतो**; 1st. plural **सोमसुतः** ।

This sūtra is also for the sake of making a *niyama* or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. *i. e.* as regard the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

अग्नौ चेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, चेः, (कर्मणि, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नौ कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्तिप्प्रत्यये भवति ॥

91. the affix **क्तिप्** comes after the verb **चि** 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word **अग्नि**, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, **अग्निचित्** 'one who has kept the sacred fire'; 1st. dual **अग्निचितो**; 1st. plural **अग्निचितः** ।

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

कर्मण्यग्नाख्यायाम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अग्नि-आख्यायाम्, (कर्मणि, चेः, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे चिनातेः कर्मण्येव कारके क्तिप्प्रत्यये भवति अग्न्याख्यायाम् ॥

92. In expressing an object the affix **क्तिप्** comes after the verb **चि** 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words **चेः** and **कर्मणि** are understood in this sūtra. The name is

expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upapada and the affix. As *रयेनचित्* 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; *कङ्कचित्* 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word *आख्या* indicates that these words are *rudhi* words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called *रयेनचित्*, and so on.

कर्मणीनि विक्रियः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, इनि, विक्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे विपुर्वीत् प्रीत्यातेर्षातोऽरिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix *इनि* comes after the compound verb *विकृ* 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word *कर्मणि* in the sūtra, though its *anuvritti* might have been drawn from the last aphorism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As *सोमविक्रयिन्* 'the seller of soma plant'; *रसविक्रयिन्* 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in *धान्यविक्रयः* 'the seller of paddy'.

दृशेः कनिप् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशेः, कनिप्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशेर्षातोः कर्मण्युपपदे कनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

94. The affix *कनिप्* comes after the verb *दृश्* 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As *मेरुदृश्वं*, 1st. sing. *मेरुदृश्व* 'who has seen the meru'. *परलोकदृश्व* 'who has seen the hereafter'.

Though the affix *कनिप्* was valid by sūtra III. 2. 75. its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

राजनि युधिकृजः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजनि, युधि-कृजः, कर्मणि, कनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन् शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे युध्यतेः करोतेश्च कनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix *कनिप्* comes after the verbs *युध्* 'to fight' and *कृ* 'to make' with a past signification when the word *राजन्* 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb *युध्*, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? it is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the *णिच्* affix latent. As *राजयुध्वं*, 1st. sing. *राजयुध्व* (V. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; *राजकृत्वन्*, 1st. sing. *राजकृत्वा* (VI. 1. 71.) 'who has made a king'.

सहे च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहे, च, (युधि, कृजः, कृनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्यदे चोपपदे युचिकृजोर्द्धातोः कृनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix कृनिप् comes after the verbs युच् and कृ, with a past signification, when the word सह 'with', is in composition.

The word सह, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहयुध्वं 'who has made to fight with'; सहकृत्वं 'who has done any thing along with another'.

सहस्यं जनेर्दः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्यं, जनेः, डः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्यन्त उपपदे जनेर्दःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ड comes after the verb जन् 'to be produced', with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case'.

As उपसरे जातः = उपसरजः । जन् + ड = ज् + अ. (VI. 4. 143) = ज 'born of the first conception'; जन्दुरजः 'born in the stable'.

पञ्चम्यामजातौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याम्, अजातौ, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्त उपपदे जातिवर्जिते जनेर्दःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix ड comes after the verb जन् 'with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As बुद्धिजः 'born through understanding'; संस्कारजः 'born of habit'; दुःप्लवः 'born through plain'.

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe इस्तिनो जातः 'born of elephant'; अश्वाज्जातः 'born of horse'.

उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे चोपपदे जनेर्दः प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix ड comes after the verb जन् with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As प्रजाः 'people', or 'a son'; as in the sentence अयेना ज्ञानवी प्रजाः ।

अनौ कर्मणि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनौ, कर्मणि, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाज्जनेः कर्मण्युपपदे डःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix ड comes after the verb जन् with a past

signification, when the root takes the preposition अतु and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुनरुजा 'a girl born after the male child, i. e., a girl having an elder brother'; स्तन्यमनुजः 'a boy born after the female child, i. e., a boy having an elder sister.

अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयेषु, अपि, दृश्यते, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येष्वप्युपपदेषु कारकेषु जनेडः प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

100. The affix ड is seen to come after the verb जन् with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sūtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sūtra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As न जायते = अजः 'unborn'; द्विजितः = द्विजः 'twice-born'.

Thus, it is said in sūtra III. 2. 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As द्राक्षणाजो धर्मः; वन्नियजं युद्धम्.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix ड comes after the compound verb जन्. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as अजिजाः or परिजाः 'born or produced all round i. e. hair'.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 100. 'When an object is in composition with the verb अजुजं this affix is employed'. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As अजुजः 'born after i. e. younger brother'.

The force of the word अपि 'though' is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As परितः खाता = परिखा 'a moat' (literally that which has been dug all round); आखा 'a pond'.

निष्ठा ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्तवत् तिष्ठेत्युक्तं च निष्ठासंज्ञकः प्रत्ययो भूते भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आदिकर्मणि निष्ठा वक्तव्या ॥

102. The affixes called निष्ठा comes after a verbal root employed with the sense of past time.

The affix कृ and कृतवत् are निष्ठा (I. 1. 26). As कृ + कृ = कृतम् 'made'; कृ + कृतवत् = कृतवत्, 1st. sing कृतवान् 'done'; so also भुक्तम् and भुक्तवान् 'eaten'.

Vart:—The Nishthā affixes come when *adi-karma* is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes *adi-karma* see sūtra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः, प्रकृतवान् कटं देवदत्तः.

सुयजोर्द्वनिप् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-यजोः, द्वनिप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुयोतेर्वजतेश्च द्वनिप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix द्वनिप् comes after the verbs सु 'to press out or extract juice' and यज् 'to sacrifice,' with a past signification.

As सु+द्वनिप्=सुव+वत् (VI. 1. 71)=सुवत् 1st. sing. सुत्वा 'who has pressed out or extracted juice'; यज्वत्, 1st. sing. यज्वा 'who has sacrificed'. The व् is added by VI. 1. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

जीर्यतेरतृन् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीर्यतेः, अतृन्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीर्यतेरतृन् प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

104. The affix अतृन् comes after the verb जृ 'to grow old' with the sense of past time.

As जृ+अतृन्=जर्+अत् (VII. 3. 84)=जर्त्, 1st. sing. जर्त्, 1st. pl. जर्तः 'grown old' (VII. 1. 70).

By the rule of वाचस्प (III. 1. 94), the Nishthā affixes also come after this verb. As जीर्णः and जीर्णवान् । जृ+क्त=जिर्+त् (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1. 51)=जिर्+त् (VIII. 2. 42)=जीर्ण (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 1) 'grown old'.

छन्दसि लिट् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लिट्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. In the Chhandas, the affix लिट् comes after a verb with a past signification.

As अहं पूर्वपुण्यतो ददृशे 'I saw the sun from both sides'; अहं द्वावापृथिवीं आततान 'stretched the heaven and the earth'. Here the words ददृशे and आततान have the force of nishthā. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sūtra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the *lun*, *lan* and *lit* come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (पानुसंबन्ध) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

Lit is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

लिटः कानच्वा ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटः कानच्, वा, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कानच्वा भवति वा ॥

106. In the Chhandas the affix लिट् is optionally replaced by the affix कानच्.

As अग्निं चिष्टवान् 'he consecrated the fire'; सोमं सुपुषाणः 'he pressed the soma juice'. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism,

Why has the word *lit* been repeated in this sūtra, when its anuvritti could have been drawn from the last sūtra? The substitute क्वाप् replaces not only the special लिट् of sūtra III. 2. 105, but the general लिट् which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense; so that the affix क्वाप् forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. हुनुवान (Rig. Ved. 1. 3. 6).

क्वसुश्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्वसुः, च, (खन्दसि, लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खन्दसि लिटः क्वसुरादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the Chhandas the affix क्वसु is optionally the substitute of लिट्.

As जचिष्व 1st. sing. जचिष्व 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); वचिष्व 1st. sing. वचिष्व 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sūtra III. 2. 105; अहं कूर्मुनयत ददयं.

The division of this sūtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of क्वसु only runs.

भाषायां सद्वसश्चुवः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाषायाम्, सद-वस-
चुवः, (लिटः क्वसुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सद वस च्चु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य लिटो भाषायां विषये वा क्वसुरादेशो भवति ॥

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix क्वसु optionally replaces लिट् after the verbs वद, वच् and वु with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिट् also comes after these verbs. As उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिश्च 'Kautsa served Pānini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As उपासीदत् 'he served'; उपासीदत् and उपससाद्.

So also अनूषिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिश्च. In the alternative we have अप्ववात्सीत्, अप्ववसत् and अनूवास.

So also उपशुश्रुवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिश्च. In the alternative we have उपाशौषीत्, उपाशुषीत् and उपशुश्राव.

The affix क्वसु is employed with the force of लुङ् and लृङ् also.

उपेयिवाननाश्वाननूचानश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपेयिवान्-
अनाश्वान्-अनूचानः, (च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान इत्येते षष्ठा निपात्यन्ते ॥

109. The forms उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनुचान् are irregularly formed.

These forms are thus evolved :—To the verb **इ** 'to go' with the preposition **उप**, the affix **ववु** is added : as **उप+इ+ववु**. The root is reduplicated : as **उप+ई+इ+ववु**. The reduplicate is here long **ई** by VII. 4. 69. This long **ई** does not coalesce with the short **इ** by the rules of sandhi ; for then the rule by which this **ई** was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment **वृ** contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67, and this is the irregularity. As **उप+ई+इ+वृ+ववु**. Then the root **इ** is replaced by **व** by sūtra VI. 4. 81. As **उप+ई+वृ+वृ+ववु = उपेयिष्व्** 1st. sing. **उपेयिवान्**. The augment **वृ** is however dropped in those cases (अ) where **वृ** is changed into **उवृ** ; because the insertion of **वृ** was itself an exceptional case of limited scope :—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it ; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that **वृ** was employed before **वृ**. Therefore in accusative plural we have **उपेयुषः** ; instrumental sing **उपेयुषा** &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga **उप** ; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also ; thus **सनीयिवान्**, and **ईयिवान्** as well.

By the anuvritti of the word **वा** read in this aphorism, we have **लुङ्** &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist **उपगच्छत्**, Imperfect **उपेत्**, Perfect **उपेयाय** ।

The word **अनारवाच्** is thus formed :—To the verb **अश्** 'to enjoy' we add the negative particle **अन** ; apply the affix **कृनु** and do not insert the augment **वृ** ; so, we have **अन+अश्+कृनु = अनारवस्**, 1st. sing. **अनारवाच्**. In the alternative we have Aorist **नाशीत्**, Imperfect **नारनात्** and Perfect **नाय**.

The word **अनूचानः** is thus derived :—The affix **आनच्** is added in expressing the agent to the verb **वच्** preceded by **अनु**. In the alternative we have Aorist **अनूचोचत्**, Imperfect **अनूचवीत्**, Perfect **अनूवाच**.

लुङ् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्भातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसतेर्लुङ् रात्रिष्वे जागरणसन्ततौ वक्तव्यः ॥

110. The affix **लुङ्** comes after a verb in the sense of past time,

The **लुङ्** forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal termination. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sūtras.

'The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect ; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very *recently*, say in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time *generally*, and also an action done at a

very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past times the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events'.—Apte's Composition. As अकरोत् 'he did'; अहरत् 'he took'.

Vart :—The affix लुङ् comes after the verb वच् 'to dwell', when 'end of the present night' is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, 'where did you dwell i. e. pass the night'? That person so asked should answer in the लुङ् and not in वच्. As अनुनावात् वच् 'I dwelt there'; and not अनुनावच्.

Vart :—The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply अनुनावच्.

अनद्यतने लृट् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लृट्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानाद्यतने भूतेऽयं वर्तमानादातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये लृट् वक्तव्यः ॥

111. The affix लृट् comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अनद्यतन is a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (*adyatana*). The whole of this affix is replaced by conjugational terminations, and the affix लृट् by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अकरोत् 'he did'; अहरत् 'he took'.

Why have we explained *anadyatana* as a Bahuvrihi compound? Because when there is doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, there the Imperfect should not be used. As अहं ह्यो वा अमुञ्जन्हि 'we ate to-day or yesterday'. In such a case the affix is लृट्.

Vart :—The affix लृट् is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-known public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say :—अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Sāketa'; अरुणद् यवनः माध्यमिकम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Mādhyamika'.

Why do we say 'not witnessed by the speaker'? Observe उदगात् आदित्यः 'the sun arose'. Why do we say 'a popular public event'? Observe चकार कट देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has made the mat'. Why do we say 'which is the object of perception by the speaker'? Observe जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः 'Vāsudeva killed Kansa'.

अभिज्ञावचने लृट् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिज्ञा-वचने, लृट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञा स्मृतिस्तद्वचन उपपदे भूतानद्यतने लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. When a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लृट् (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अभिज्ञा means 'recollection'. This rule sets aside the affix लृट्. As अभिज्ञानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरेषु बह्व्यासः 'rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir'.

The word वचन meaning 'signification' in the sūtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अभिज्ञा are used; as स्मरसि 'dost thou remember'; बुध्यसे 'dost thou know'; चेतयसे 'dost thou reflect'; and the like.

न यदि ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, (अभिज्ञावचने, लृट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्द सहितेऽभिज्ञावचन उपपदे लृट्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix लृट् (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past when the upapada denoting recollection has in connection with it the particle यद्.

This prohibits लृट् which the verb वच् obtained from the last sūtra. As अभिज्ञानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरेष्वयसास 'thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir'. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependent idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

विभावा साकांक्षे ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभावा, साकांक्षे, (लृट्; अभिज्ञावचने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञावचन उपपदे यच्छब्दसहिते केवले च विभावा लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति साकांक्ष-श्चेत्प्रयोक्ता ॥

114. The affix लृट् is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle यद् or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकांक्षा means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, wished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As अभिज्ञानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरेषु गतिष्यामः, तत्र वक्तुम्

वात्मानः or अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरात् गच्छान्, तत्र वक्तुं पिबान्, 'do you remember Devadatta we went to Kashmir and there did drink Saktu'.

This option is allowed whether the particle यत् is or is not used. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरात् गच्छान् (or यत् कश्मीरात् गच्छान्,) यत् तत्रौदनं भोषयामहे (or यत् तत्रौदनमभुञ्जन्हि) 'Do you recollect, Devadatta how we went to Kashmir and how we ate rice there'.

In the above examples, the verb 'to go' is the sign, and the 'eating' or 'drinking', in the second sentence, is the thing really signified; the first verb is necessary as an introduction to the thought of the speaker which dwells more upon the second verb. Here the second sentence or proposition is used as completion or complement of the first proposition.

परोक्षे लिट् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परोक्षे, लिट्, (भूते अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लिट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्यन्तापन्धने च लिट्प्रत्ययः ॥

115. The affix लिट् comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परोक्ष 'unperceived' qualifies the words भूत 'past' and अनद्यतन 'non-current day' understood in this aphorism.

'Well, are not the senses of verbs *all* unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs; this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, चकार 'he did'; चकार 'he took'.

'It is evident that the लिट् (perfect) should not be used in the first person, i. e. when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself; for it is impossible that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As सुप्तेऽहं किल विललापः 'indeed I prated while asleep'.

Vart :—The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply, whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिङ्गेषु स्थितोऽसि? नाहं कलिङ्गं गताम् 'did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'; दक्षिणापथं प्रविष्टोऽसि? नाहं दक्षिणापथं प्रविशेम्.

ह्यश्वतोर्लिट् च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह-श्वतोः, लङ्, च (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे लिटि प्राप्ते ह्यश्वतोर्लङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराल्लिट् च ॥

116. And the affixe लट् comes after a verb when the particles च and अथ are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of च 'and' is that the affix लिट् (perfect), may also be employed in similar construction. As इति वाकरोत् (imperfect), or इति च चकार (perfect) 'Alas ! he did it'. अथवदकरोत् or अथवच्चकार 'again and again he did it'.

प्रश्ने चासन्नकाले ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रश्ने, च, आसन्नकाले;
(भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लङ्, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्नकाले पृच्छयमानो भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लङ् लिटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

117. The affixes लङ् (imperfect) and लिट् (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sūtra also qualifies the words भूत, अनद्यतन and परोक्ष understood in this sūtra. The word प्रश्न means 'what should be asked'; and आसन्नकाल 'time close at hand': As, some one may ask another, अगच्छद् देवदत्तः or अगाम देवदत्तः 'did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)'? अयजद् देवदत्तः or इयाज देवदत्तः 'Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed'?

Why do we say 'in asking question'? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, अगाम देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has gone'.

Why do we say 'when the past time referred to is imminently recent'? Observe भवन्तं पृच्छामि, जवान कथं किल वासुदेवः 'I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore'.

लट् स्मे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लट्, स्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मशब्द उपपदे भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षे लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb, when the particle स्म is in connection with it, (and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism. This debars लिट् or the perfect tense. Thus यजति स्म युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishtira sacrificed'; so also नलेन स्म पुराधीयते । उर्णया स्म पराधीयते ॥

अपरोक्षे च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरोक्षे, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, स्मे, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरोक्षे च भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोः स्मउपपदे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb when the particle स्म is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As स्वं स्म पिता ब्रवीति 'thus said the father'; इति स्मोपाध्यायः कथयति 'thus said the preceptor'.

ननी पृष्ठप्रतिवचने ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ ननी, पृष्ठ-प्रतिवचने, (भूते, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुशब्द उपपदे प्रश्नपूर्वके प्रतिवचने भूतेऽर्थे लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix लट् is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word ननु is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvritti of the words 'anadyxtana' and 'paroksha' does not extend to this sūtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debarb लुङ् (the Aorist tense). As अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त?—ननु करोमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you make the mat? O, yes, I did make it'. अवोचस्तत्र किंचित् देवदत्त,—ननु ब्रवीमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you speak there anything? O, yes, I did speak'.

Why do we say 'in reply to an interrogation'? Observe नन्वकार्षीन् वाक्यकः 'certainly, Mānavaka did it'.

नन्वोर्विभाष. ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-न्वोः, विभाषा, (भूते, पृष्ठ-प्रति-वचने, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुशब्दे ननुशब्दे चोपपदे पृष्ठप्रतिवचने विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

121. The affix लट् comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words न 'not' and नु 'what of that' are in connection with it.

As, अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त—न करोमि भोः or नाकार्षम्;—अहं नु करोमि or अहं न्वकार्षम् 'Devadatta, did you make the mat?—No I did not;—what of that, I did'.

पुरि लुङ् चारुमे ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरि, लुङ्, च, अरुमे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, विभाषा लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुराशब्द उपपदे स्मशब्दवर्जिते भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति लट् च ॥

122. Optionally the affixes लुङ् and लट् come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word पुरा is used in the sentence, provided that the word स्म is not used.

The anuvritti of the word *anadyatana* which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sūtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvritti is technically called *manduka-pluti* 'the leap of a frog' i. e. skipping of several sūtras and supplying a word from a previous sūtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when *lat* and *lan* are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As *बच्चतीह पुरा छात्राः* 'the pupils lived here formerly.' So also, Aorist, *अवात्सुः पुरा छात्राः* Imperfect, *अवचन्निह पुरा छात्राः* Perfect, *ऊचुर्निह पुरा छात्राः* ।

Why do we say 'when the word *हन्* is not used' ? Observe *यजति हन् पुरा युधिष्ठिरः* 'Yudhishtira did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 *anle* exerts its influence.

वर्तमाने लट् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमाने, लट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आरभ्योऽपरिचयान्तरं वर्तमानास्तस्मिन् वर्तमानेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातेर्लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

123. The affix *लट्* comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word *वर्तमान* means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As *पचति* 'he is cooking'; *पठति* 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As *तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः* 'the mountains stand'; *स्रवन्ति नद्यः* 'the rivers flow'.

लटः शतृशानच्प्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लटः,

शतृ-शानच्, अग्रथना-समानाधिकरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लटः शतृशानच्प्रथमासमानाधिकरणे भवतः अग्रथनास्तेन चेतस्य सामानाधिकरण्यं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ नाख्याक्रोशे ॥

124. The affixes *शतृ* and *शानच्* are substitutes of *लट्*, when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As *पचमानं देवदत्तं पश्य* 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; *पचता कृतम्* 'or *पचमानेन कृतम्* 'done by one who is cooking' *पच् + शानच् = पच् + शप् + शानच्* (III. 4. 113, III. I. 68) = *पच् + अ + शुक + शान* (VI. 2. 82) = *पचमान* । So also *पच् + शप् + शतृ = पच् + अ + शतृ = पचतृ* ।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix' ? Observe *देवदत्तः पचति* 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term *लट्* might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule ; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As *सः ब्राह्मणः* 'who is a Brāhmana' = *अस्ति ब्राह्मणः* ; so also

विद्यते ब्राह्मणः and विदमानो ब्राह्मणः; बुद्ध and बुद्धेति; and अभीयानः and अभीते ।

Vart.—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle *नाच्* is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As *ना चचच्* and *ना चचनानः* 'may he not cook'; *ना जीवन् यः परावज्जादुःखदग्धो ऽपि जीवति* 'cursed be he (lit. May he not live) who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the anuvritti of the word 'option' from sūtra 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (*vyavasthita-vibha-sha*) and not of universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

सम्बोधने च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च, (लटः, शतृ-
नची) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बोधने च विषये लटः शतृशानची प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

125. The affixes *शट्* and *शानच्* are substitutes of *लट्* even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case; as *हे पचच्* or *हे पचनान* 'O thou who art cooking'.

लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षण-हेत्वोः, क्रियायाः,
(लटः शतृ-शानची) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे हेतौ चार्थे वर्त्तमानाद्वातोः परस्य लटः शतृशानचावादेशौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लक्षण हेत्वोः क्रियायाः गुण उपसंख्यानच् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तत्वाख्याने च ॥

126. The affixes *शट्* and *शानच्* are the substitutes of *लट्* and come after a verb, in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word *लक्षण* means that by which a thing is recognised or known i. e. an attribute; *हेतु* means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word *क्रिया*. Of *lakshana*:—as, *ययानाः भुञ्जते यवनः* 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. *तिष्ठन्तोऽनुयाचति गणकाः* । Of *hetu*:—as *हरिं परयच् बुध्यते* 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution'; *अभीयानो वसति* 'for the sake of study he dwells here.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause? Observe *पचति* 'he cooks'; *पठति* 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action'? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As *यः कम्पते सोऽश्वत्थः* 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha'; *यदुत्स्रवते तल्लघु* 'whatever floats is light'; *यन्निधीयति तदगुरु* 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

Vart:—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, योऽधीयान् आसते स देवदत्तः 'he is Devadatta who sits studying'.

Vart:—This participle is also used to state a general truth: as यवाना वर्धते दूर्वा 'the Dûrvâ grass grow in a recumbent position'; आसीनं वर्धते विसं 'a lotus stalk grows in an upright position'. The compound अवचक्षेत्स्वी of the sūtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

तौ सत् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तौ, सत्, (शतृ-शानच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौ शतृशानचौ सत्संचौ भवतः ॥

127. These two शतृ and शानच् are called सत्.

These participial affixes get collectively this name; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14.), as well as other tenses. Thus द्राक्ष्यस्य कुर्वन्, करिष्यन्, कुर्वाणः, करिष्यमाणः ।

The word सत्, occurs in sūtra II. 2. 11. &c.

पूङ्-यजोः शानन् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङ्-यजोः, शानन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङो यजेश्च शानोः शानन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शतृवा यजन् ॥

128. The affix शानच् comes after the verbs पू 'to purify, and यज् 'to sacrifice'.

As पवमानः 'purifier (fire or air)'; यजमानः 'sacrificer'.

It might be asked 'is the शानच् with others that follow, an affix *suvo generis*, or is it merely a substitute of ल, as शतृ and शानच्? Why we ask this questions is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of ल, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of ल, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of ल, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as सोमं पवमानः 'drinking Soma'; and नडमाश्नानः? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शानच् &c. must be the substitutes of ल. The term वृत् in sūtra II. 3. 69. is not the affix वृत् taught in this Chapter sūtra 135; but it is a *pratyāhāra* including several affixes. It is a *pratyāhāra* formed by taking the वृ of शतृ in sūtra 124; and र् of वृत् in 135; and thus it means all the affixes from शतृ in 124 down to वृत् in 135. Thus though शानच्, शानच् &c. are not substitutes of ल, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term वृत्.

Vart:—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb द्विष takes the affix शतृ. As चोरस्य or चोरं द्विषन् 'hating the thief.'

ताच्छील्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु चानश् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ताच्छील्य-
वयः-वचन-शक्तिषु, चानश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ताच्छील्यादिषु धातोरचानश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix चानश् comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word ताच्छील्य means 'habit' or 'disposition'; वयः means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; शक्ति means 'capacity to do a thing'. As भोगं मुञ्जानः 'habituated to enjoy'; कवचं बिभ्राणः 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; शत्रुं निघ्नानः 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, कतीदं मुण्डयमानाः, भूषयमानाः, कवचं पर्यस्यमानाः, शिखरं वहमानाः and पचमानाः ।

इङ्धार्योः अकृच्छ्रिणि ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्-धार्योः, शतृ,
अकृच्छ्रिणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धारेश्च वात्वोः शतृप्रत्ययो भवति अकृच्छ्रिणि कर्तरि ॥

130. The affix शतृ comes after the verb इङ् 'to go' and चारि 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word अकृच्छ्रि means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As आशीयन् चारायणं 'the facile reading of the Purāṇa'; चारयन्नुप-निषदं 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root चारि is causative of चृ and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise कृच्छ्रे आशीते 'he reads with difficulty'; कृच्छ्रे च चारयति 'he remembers with difficulty'.

द्विषोऽनित्रे ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, अनित्रे, (शतृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्रे कर्तरि द्विषोर्धातोः शतृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix शतृ comes after the verb द्विष् when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word अनित्र means 'enemy'. As द्विषन् 'enemy', द्विषन्तो 'two enemies', द्विषन्तः 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe द्वेष्टि भार्या पतिम् 'the wife hates her husband'.

सुजो यज्ञसंयोगे ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुजः, यज्ञ-संयोगे, (शतृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञसंयुक्तोऽभिषेचे वर्तमानात्सुजोतेर्धातोः शतृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix शतृ comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.

The word यज्ञसंयोग is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (संयोग) with sacrifice. As सु+उ+यत् (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113) = सुउ+अत् (I 2. 4) = सुन्वत् (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing सुन्वन्, pl. सुन्वन्तः 'the sacrifices'; as in सर्वे सुन्वन्तः 'all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice.'

The word संयोग indicates that the principal sacrificer, i. e. the यज्ञमान is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity; such as वाजकाः 'the sacrificing priests.'

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have मुनोति सुरात् 'he distils liquor'.

अर्हः प्रशंसायाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हः, प्रशंसायाम्, (शतृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हतेर्जातिः प्रशंसायां शतृप्रत्यये भवति ॥

133. The affix शतृ comes after the verb अर्ह in expressing praise.

As अर्हन्निह भवान्विदयात् 'thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; अर्हन्निह भवान्पुजात् 'thou art worthy of honor in this place.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to praise'? Witness अर्हति चोरो वधश्च 'the thief deserves death'.

आ क्लेशच्छीलतदुर्मतत्साधुकारिषु ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, क्लेशः, तच्छील-तदुर्म-तत्साधुकारिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ एतस्मात् क्लेशं शब्दादयानि उर्ध्वं तदुर्मन्त्रिभ्यामस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ते वेदितव्याः

134. From this sūtra as far as क्लिप् in sūtra 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of आ in this sūtra is limit inclusive, and includes क्लिप् also. The term तच्छील means 'the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term तदुर्म means 'who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty.' The term तत्साधुकारि means 'who does the action [expressed by the verb in an excellent way.' Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

तृन् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृन्, (तच्छील-तदुर्म-तत्साधुकारिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वेषां तृन्प्रत्यये भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तृन्निष्ठावृत्तिषु चानुपसर्गस्य ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नयतेः पुक् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्रिषेधैवतायास्तकारश्चोऽभाया अनिट्त्वच्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षडेशच नियुक्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ऊर्ध्वसि वृत्त ॥

135. The affix *वृ* comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c.'

The *वृ* of *वृ* is indicatory, and regulates the accent (VI. I. 197). As *कृ + वृ = कर्तृ*, 1st sing. *कर्ता*. This affix denotes *habit* in the following; as, *कर्ता कटार* 'who is accustomed to make mats. *Nature*:—as, *सुरद्वितारः आदिष्टायना भवन्ति वधून्दाश्* 'the family of *Srāvishtāyana* shave the heads of their widows'; *अन्नप-दत्तार आह्वरका भवन्ति खाद्वे सिद्धे* 'the *Ahvarakas* steal away food as soon as *Srāddha* is accomplished'; *उन्नेतारस्तौल्यलायना भवन्ति पुत्रे जाते* 'the *Taulvalāyanas* become elated on the birth of a son'. *Skill*:—as, *कर्ता कटश्* 'skilful maker of mats' *गन्ताऽऽखेटश्* 'skilful hunter.'

Vart:—The simple verbs, without *upasargas*, take the affix *वृ*, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As *हु + वृ = होतृ*, 1st. sing. *होता* 'the *Hotri* priest'; so also *पोतृ* 'the *Potri* priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the *upasargas*'? Observe *उद्गातृ* 'the *Udgātri* priest'; *प्रतिहर्तृ* 'the *Pratihartri* priest'. Here the affix is *वृ*. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; i. e. *वृ* places *udātta* accent on the first syllable (VI. I. 197), while *वृ* places it on the last (VI. I. 163).

Vart:—The augment *युक्* is added when *ने* takes the affix *वृ*; as *ने + युक् + वृ = नेष्टृ*, 1st. sing. *नेष्टा* 'the *Neshtri* priest'.

Vart:—When signifying deity, the verb *त्विष्* takes *वृ*; the letter *अ* is the substitute for the *वृ* of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate *इट्* augment; as, *त्विष् + वृ = त्वष्टृ*, 1st. sing. *त्वष्टा* 'Tvashtri.'

Vart:—The root *वद* takes *वृ*, when the word to be formed means an officer; as *वदृ* 'an attendant, a door-keeper.'

Vart:—In the *Veda*, the root *वद* takes *वृ*, as *वदृ*. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

अलंकृञ् निराकृञ् प्रजनोत्पचोत्पतोन्मदरुच्यपत्रपवृत्तुवृधुसहचरः
इष्णुच् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलंकृञ्-निराकृञ्-प्रजन-उत्पच-उत्पत्त-उन्मद-
रुचि-अपत्रप-वृत्तु-वृधु-सह-चरः, इष्णुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु, कर्तृषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलंकृञादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अलंकृजोमण्डनार्थाद्युचः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेनेष्णुचप्रत्ययः ॥

136. The affix *इष्णुच्* comes after the following verbs in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz.—*अलंकृ* 'to adorn', *निराकृ* 'to expel', *प्रजन्* 'to be born', *उत्पच्* 'to be ripe', *उत्पत्त* 'to fly', *उन्मद* 'to be mad', *रुच्* 'to shine', *अपत्रप्* 'to be ashamed', *वदृ* 'to move', *वृधृ* 'to grow' *सहृ* 'to bear' and *वृ* 'to walk'.

As अलङ्करीषु: 'decorating', निराकरीषु: 'repudiating', प्रजनरीषु: 'procreative', उत्पत्तिरीषु: 'apt to ripen', उत्पत्तिरीषु: 'flying', उन्मदीषु: 'mad', रोचिरीषु: 'bright', अपन्नरीषु: 'bashful', वर्त्तिरीषु: 'revolving', वर्द्धिरीषु: 'growing', चरिरीषु: 'patient', चरिरीषु: 'moveable'.

Vart:—The affix इष्णुच् debars by anticipation the affix डृप् of III. 2 151, after the root अलङ्क, though it has the sense of decorating'.

शेखन्दसि ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे:, खन्दसि, (तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयन्ताडातोश्खन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas, after the verb that ends in the causative सि.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As दृषवः पारयिषवः 'who hold the stones'; वीरुषः पारयिषवः ।

भुवश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (खन्दसि, तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्षातोश्खन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c. comes in the Chhandas, after the verb भू 'to be' also.

Thus भविषु: 'becoming'.

The *yoga-vibhaga* or the division of this sūtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

The word 'also' indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sūtras ; as भ्राजिषुना लोहितचन्दनेन ।

ग्लानिस्थश्च क्स्नुः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्लानि-स्थः, च, क्स्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लानि स्थो हृत्तेभ्यो घातुभ्यश्चकाराद् भुवश्च तच्छीलादिषु क्स्नुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ दंशेखन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

139. The affix क्स्नु comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.? viz—ग्लानि 'to be weary', जि 'to conquer' and स्था 'to stand', as well as after भू 'to be'.

As, ग्लान्स्नुः 'languid'; जिष्नुः 'victorious'; स्थास्नुः 'disposed to stand firm, immoveable'; भूष्नुः 'being'.

The anuvritti of the word *Chhandasi* does not extend to this sūtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really न and not ण, and therefore, there is

no substitution of long ई for the स्था[of स्था], which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been क्ति (VI 4. 66).

In the sūtra I 1. 5. (क्विति च) the letter च is also included; for च coming before क्, is changed by the rules of *santhi* into क् and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause *guna*.

So also in sūtra VII. 2. 11. (चतुस्तु विवि), the augment इद् does not come after the verb च्, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyāhāra च्, when an affix having an indicatory क follows. Here also क includes च; and therefore in च्चु we have no intermediate augment इद्.

Vart.—In the Chhandas this affix comes after the verb दंश् 'to bite'; as दंश्चवः पशवः 'the beasts that bite'.

त्रसिगृधिधृतिस्त्रिपेः क्नुः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रसि-गृधि-धृति-स्त्रिपेः,
क्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रसदिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्नुः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. The affix क्नु comes after the verbs त्रच् 'to tremble' दृच् 'to be greedy', धृच् 'to be bold' and धिच् 'to throw' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.'

As, त्रस्नुः 'trembling' दृध्नुः 'greedy'; धृध्नुः 'bold'; and धिध्नुः 'throwing'.

शमित्यष्टाभ्यो चिनुन् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्-इति-अष्टाभ्यः,
चिनुन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शनादिभ्यो धातुभ्योऽष्टाभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु चिनुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix चिनुन् comes after the eight verbs beginning with शच् 'to be calm,' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.'

The word इति in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with शच् and end with च्द in the list of verbs. Of the affix चिनुन् the real affix is च्नु, the other letters are servile; the च is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatals; इ is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45; and letter न् causes vriddhi (VII. 2. 116): which in the case of roots ending in च् is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking vriddhi being च्द.

As शमिन् 1st. sing. शमी 'calm'; likewise तमिन् 'desiring'; दमी 'taming'; जमी 'laborious'; घमी 'whirling', 'moving round'; कमी 'fatiguing'; लमी 'forbearing'; प्रमादी 'heedless' and उन्मादी 'mad'. Though by rule 136, the verb उन्मद takes the affix इच्छुच्, it also takes the affix चिनुन् by the rule of वाडमरूप (III 1. 94).

All these verbs belong to the *divādi* class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes; as चविना..

संपृचानुसंधाड् १ साड्यसपरिसृसंसृजपरिदेविसंज्वरपरिक्षिपपरिरट्
परिवदपरिदहपरिमुहदुषद्विषद्रहदुहयुजआक्रीडविविचत्यज्रजभजअतिचरअपचरआमुष
अभ्याहनश्च ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संपृच-अनुसंध-आड्यस-आड्यस-परिसृ-
संसृज-परिदेवि-संज्वर-परिक्षिप-परिरट्-परिवद-परिदह-परिमुह-दुष-द्विष-द्रह-
दुह-युज-आक्रीड-विविच-त्यज-रज-भज-अतिचर-अपचर-आमुष - अभ्याहनः,
च, (तच्छीलादिषु, चिनुन्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ संपृचादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो चिनुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix चिनुन् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz :—संपृच्, अनुसृच्, आयन्, आयस्, परिसृ, संसृज्, परिदेव, संज्वर, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवद, परिदह, परिमुह, दुष, द्विष, द्रुह, दह, युज्, आक्रीड्, विविच्, त्यज्, रज्, भज्, अतिचर्, अपचर्, आमुष and अभ्याहन्.

The root संपृच् is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhâdi class, and not as belonging to Adâdi, because the vikarana is elided in the latter. The root परिदेव belongs to Bhvâdi class, the simple verb being देव् 'to sport'. The verb क्षिप् 'to throw' is common both to Tudâdi and Divâdi, and both are taken here. युज् 'to concentrate' is Divâdi, and युज् 'to join' is Rudhâdi; both are meant here. The verb रज् 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sūtra, irregularly.

Thus संपृच् + चिनुन् = संपर्क + ह् (VII. 2. 52)—संपर्किन् 1st. sing. संपर्की 'mixture'; similarly, अनुतेषी 'compliant'; आयानी 'one who restrains'; आयानी 'one who exerts'; परिवारी 'that which flows round'; संज्वरी 'united'; परिदेवी 'lamenting'; संज्वारी 'greatly heating'; परिवेषी 'moving about'; परिदाही 'crying aloud'; परिवाही 'reviling'; परिदाही 'burning'; परिनेही 'beguiling'; दोषी 'guilty'; द्वेषी 'hating'; द्रोही 'quarrelling'; दोगी 'milking'; योगी 'uniting or concentrating'; आक्रीडो 'playing'; विवेकी 'discriminating'; त्यगी 'renouncing'; रागी 'yearning after', भागी 'sharing'; अतिचारी 'transgressing'; अपचारी 'offending'; आनीषी 'a thief'; अभ्याचारी 'attacking'. (VII. 3. 52 and 54).

The indicatory च of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

वी कवलसकत्थस्त्रम्भः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वी, कष-लस-कत्थ-
स्त्रम्भः (चिनुन्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ कष लस कत्थ स्त्रम्भ एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो विशदउपपदे चिनुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143 The affix चिनुन् comes after the verbs कष 'to injure', लष् 'to embrace and sport', कत्थ 'to praise' and स्त्रम्भ 'to believe', when these are in composition with the preposition वि ।

As विकारी 'injuring'; विद्यायी 'sportive, a sensualist'; विकल्पी 'vaunting'; and विजानी 'confiding'.

अपे च लषः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, च, लषः, (चिनुण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लष कान्ती, अस्माद्वातेर पठपपदे चकारादौ च चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verb लष 'to wish' when compounded with the prepositions अप and वि.

As लषकायी 'thirst'; विद्यायी. The term वि is to be read into this sūtra by the force of the word 'and'.

प्रे लपसृद्रुनयवदवसः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लप-सृ-द्रु-नय वद-वसः, (चिनुण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उपपदे लपादिभ्यो चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verbs लप्, वृ, दु, लय, ण् and वच when compounded with the preposition वि.

As प्रकापी 'prattling'; प्रसारी 'extending around'; प्रद्रावी 'running away, fugitive'; प्रनायी 'tormenting'; प्रवादी 'reporting'; प्रवासी 'a traveller'.

The root वच् here is the Bhvādi वच् meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adādi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikarana is elided.

निन्दहिंसक्लिशखादविनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिव्याभाषासूयो वुञ् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निन्द-हिंस-क्लिश खाद-विनाश-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परि-वादि-व्याभाष-सूयः, वुञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निन्दादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix वुञ् is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.':—

निन्द, हिंस, क्लिश्, खाद्, विनाश, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवाद, व्याभाष and असूय ।

In this sūtra the whole phrase ending with असूय has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As निन्द+वुञ्=निन्दकः (VII. 1. 1) 'blaming'; so also हिंसक 'injuring'; क्लेशकः 'tormenting or troublesome'; खादकः 'eating'; विनाशकः 'destroying'; परिक्षिपकः 'surrounding'; परिरटकः 'who cries aloud'; परिवादकः 'a plaintiff'; व्याभाषकः 'detracting'; and असूयकः 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix ववुञ् taught in III. 1. 133, as by adding वुञ्; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhāṣā:—

'The rule of III. 1. 94 by which an *apavāda*-affix which is not uniform with an *utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with *apavāda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit' i. e. with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177'. Therefore the affixes वृच् &c. are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'.

देविकुशोपसर्गे ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवि-कुशोः, च, उपसर्गे;

(युञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवयतेः कुशोपसर्गे उपपदे युञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

147. The affix युञ् comes after the verbs देवि 'to lament' and कुश् 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आदेवकः 'one who sports or laments'; आक्रोशकः 'vociferous, a reviler'; परिदेवकः 'one who laments'; परिक्रोशकः 'a reviler'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with an upasarga'? Observe देवयिता and क्रोश्या formed by वृत् (III. 2 135).

चलनशब्दार्थादकर्मकाद् युच् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलन-शब्दार्थात्, अकर्मकाद्, युच्, (तच्छाखाविषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलनार्थेभ्यः शब्दार्थेभ्यश्चाकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छाखाविषु कर्तुं युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix युच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after intransitive verbs denoting 'motion' or 'sound'.

As, चल् + युच् = चलनः 'moving' (V. 1. 1.); चोपनः 'creeping'; जड्वनः 'sounding'; रवणः 'roaring'.

Why do we say 'intransitive'? Observe चरिता विद्याच्.

अनुदात्तेतश्च हुलादेः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तेतः, च, हुलादेः, (युच्, अकर्मकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तयो धातुः हुलादिर्लङ्कारतश्च युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. The affix युच् comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudāttet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicative.

As वर्त्तनः 'being'; वर्द्धनः 'growing'.

Why do we say 'Anudāttet'? Observe चरिता.

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe चरिता, which though Atmanepadi, takes वृत्.

Why have we used the term चादि 'beginning' in the sūtra? Observe जुगुप्सनः 'censuring'; नीनांवनः 'an investigator'. For without the word चादि, the rule would have stood thus:—अनुदात्तेतश्च वृत्तः which by I. 1. 72. would mean 'the affix युच् comes after the verbs which end with a consonant'; so that even after एच we shall have युच्; and there would be no युच् after जुगुप्स्व which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as चरिता चरन्.

युचङ्क्रमयदन्त्रमयसृग्धिज्वलशुचलपतपदः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥
 यु-चङ्क्रमय-दन्त्रमय-सृ-ग्धि-ज्वल-शुच-लप-पत-पदः, (युच्, सञ्जीलादिषु) ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ यु प्रवृत्तिभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति सञ्जीलादिषु कर्तुषु ॥

150. The affix युच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz:—यु, चङ्क्रमय, दन्त्रमय, सृ, गृध्र, ज्वल, शुच, लप, पत and पद.

The verb यु is not to be found in the Dhātupāṭha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a *sautra dhātu*. It means 'to go', 'to be quick'. As यु + युच् = यो + जन (VIII. 1. 1. and VII. 3. 84) = यजनः (VI. 1. 78, II. 3. 46) 'a courser, a swift horse'. चङ्क्रम + युच् = चङ्क्रम + जन् (II. 4. 74) = चङ्क्रमनः 'moving about'; so also दन्त्रमयः 'wandering'; वरुणः 'flowing'; गृध्रनः 'greedy'; ज्वलनः 'burning'; लोचनः 'grieving'; लषटः 'desiring' पतनः 'falling', पदनः 'moving'.

The enumeration of the word युच् in the above indicates that this sūtra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sūtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as पद is a चञ्जनार्थ verb. Others say that the inclusion of युच् in this aphorism indicates the existence of the *paribhāṣhā* already given under sūtra III. 2. 146 i. e. the rule of III. 1. 94 has no concern with affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'. The affix दृष्टुच् which by III. 2. 136 is added to जलङ्कृन्, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of दृष्टु to जलङ्कृन् (III. 2. 135), but also the addition of दृष्टुल् to the same. If a *atāchchhiliṭi* *apavāda* were to supersede only an *atāchchhiliṭi* *utsarga*, it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in this sūtra the addition of युच् to युच्, because in that case the addition of दृष्टुल् to युच् by III. 2. 154 would not have debarred the addition of युच् to युच् by III. 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of *jñāpana*, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The *jñāpaka* is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as, गन्ता खेटं विजित्यनः ।

क्रुधमरुडार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-मरुड-अर्थेभ्यः, च, (युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुध क्रोधे, मरुड भूषायाच्, इत्येतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. And after the verbs having the sense of क्रुध 'to be angry' and मरुड 'to adorn', the affix युच् is employed.

As क्रोधनः 'wrathful'; रोषणः 'irascible'; मरुडनः 'adorning'; भूषणः 'ornament'. But not so after the verb, जलङ्कृ to which sūtra III. 2. 136 applies.

न यः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यः, (युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारान्ताडातोर्युच् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

152. The affix युच् is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter य.

This debars III. 2. 149. As यमूषिता 'making creaking sound'; यमूषिता 'trembling'. In these cases the affix दृष्टु is employed (III. 2. 135).

सूददीपदीक्षश्च ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूद-दीप-दाक्षः, च, (युच्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूददीपदीक्ष इत्येतेभ्यश्च युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

153. The affix युच् does not come after the verbs सूद् 'to strike'. दीप् 'to shine' and दीक्ष 'to initiate'.

These three verbs are *anudattat*, and by sūtra III. 3. 149, would have taken युच्. The present sūtra prohibits that. Therefore they take वृच्. As, वृद्धिर् 1st. sing वृद्धिना 'one who strikes'; दीप्तिर् 'one who shines'; दीक्षिर् 'one who initiates'.

Now, it might be objected—"We find that sūtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र after दीप्; this *apavāda* rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix युच् is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the *Paribhāṣā* given under sūtra 146 and 150 will prevent that." This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned *Paribhāṣā* is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as कन्या युवतिः and कनया युवतिः 'a young girl' which are both valid forms derived by adding र and युच् to the verb क्वच्. So also कम्पना and कम्पना शाखा 'a shaking branch'.

If we prohibit युच् after the root सूद्, how do we get the forms वृद्धिश्च and वृद्धिश्च? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an *anitya* rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sūtra separated from the last (*yogavibhāga*), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words वृद्धिश्च &c. belong to the क्त्वादि class (III. 1. 134) taking the affix क्त्वा or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix क्त्वा.

लघपतपदस्याभूवृषहनकनगनगशृभ्य उक्ञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लघ-

पत-पद-स्या-भू-वृष-हन-कन-गन-शृभ्यः, उक्ञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लघादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उक्ञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix उक्ञ् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—लघ्, पत, पृ, स्या, प्र, वृ, हन्, क्व, गन् and शृ.

As लघलापुक् वृषलसंगतं, प्रधातुका गनी भवति, उपपादुहं चत्वं, उपस्य युक्ता एनं पश्यो भवति, प्रभायुक्कननं भवति, प्रवर्षकाः पर्जन्याः, आधातुकं आपालिकस्य वृषश्च, कापुक् एनं क्षिपो भवति, आधातुकं वाराहर्षी रव आहुः, किंवायकं तीक्ष्णनाहुः । The य is added after स्या in उपस्ययुक् by VII. 3. 33. The वृ is changed into पृ by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

जल्पभिक्षकुहलुण्टवृडः शाकन् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जल्प-भिक्ष-

कुह-लुण्ट-वृडः, शाकन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जल्पादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु शाकन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix शाकन् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c', after the following verbs:—जल्प, भिक्ष, कुह, लुण्ट and वृ.

The च is indicatory showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix लीच् i.e. long ई (IV, 1. 41). As जरपाकः 'talkative'; भिषाकः 'a beggar'; कुटाकः 'who or what cuts'; लुण्टाकः 'a thief or robber'; बराकः 'low, miserable'. In the feminine जरपाकी &c.

प्रजोरिनिः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजोः, इनिः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वाज्जवतेस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix इनि comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit etc.' after the verb प्रजु 'to hasten forward'.

As प्रजवित्, 1st. sing. प्रजवी 'an express, courier', 1st. dual प्रजविनौ &c.

जिहृक्षिविश्रीखवमाव्यथाभ्यसपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥

जि-हृ-क्षि-विश्री-इण्-वम-अव्यय-अभ्यस-परिभू-प्रसूभ्यः, च, (इनिः, तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिप्रवृत्तिभ्यो धातुभ्य इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

157. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs जि 'to conquer', हृ 'to respect', वि 'to waste, to dwell, to go', विश्रि 'to shelter', च 'to go', वच 'to vomit', अभ्यस 'not to give pain', अभ्यस 'to injure', परिभू 'to humiliate' and प्रसू 'to beget'.

As जवित् 1st. sing जवी 'conquering'; similarly, हरी 'respecting'; वरी 'wasting'; विश्रयी 'wasting'; अव्ययी 'exceeding'; वनी 'vomiting'; अभ्ययी 'free from pain'; अभ्ययी 'not injuring'; परिभवी 'humiliating' and प्रसूवी 'procreating'.

स्पृहियृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धाभ्य आलुच् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥

स्पृहि-गृहि-पति-दयि-निद्रा-तन्द्रा-श्रद्धाभ्यः, आलुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृहियृहिपतिदयिनिद्राश्रद्धा एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु आलुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ आलुचि यीडे प्रदणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

158. The affix आलुच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the following words:—स्पृह 'to desire', गृह 'to seize', पत 'to go', दय 'to give, to go, to protect', निद्रा 'to sleep', तन्द्रा 'to be tired' and श्रद्धा 'to venerate'.

The word निद्रा is formed by adding the preposition नि to the verb द्रा 'to go crookedly'; so also तन्द्रा is formed by adding तद् to द्रा, and then irregularly changing the द् into न्. The term श्रद्धा is formed by adding श्रत् to the verb धृ 'to hold'. The first three verbs belong to Churādi class and take णिच्.

As, स्पृहयालुः 'disposed to be desirous of'; गृहयालुः 'disposed to catch hold of or seize'; पतयालुः 'tending or prone to fall'; दयालुः 'compassionate'; निद्रालुः 'disposed to sleep'; तन्द्रालुः 'slothful'; श्रद्धालुः 'full of faith'. See VI. 4. 55 for adding क्य ।

Vart.—The affix आलुच् comes also after the root गीङ् 'to lie down'; as
 ववालुः 'disposed to lie down.'

दाचेट्सिश्चदसदो रुः॥ १५९॥ पदानि॥ दा-चेट्-सि-श्चद-सदः, रुः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा चेट् सि च्चद सद इत्येतेभ्यो रुःप्रत्यये भवति ॥

159. The affix रु comes after the verbs दा 'to give', चेट् 'to suck', सि to bind', च्चद 'to fall' and सद 'to sit'.

As, दासः 'a munificent man'; चास्यवत्सो नासरच् 'a sucking child of the mother'. The genitive case is here prohibited by II 3. 69, the रु being taken as equivalent to उ. As ससः 'binding'; गद्गुः 'falling' and सद्गुः 'resting'.

सृचस्यदः क्स्वरच् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि॥ सृ-चसि-श्चदः, क्स्वरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृ चसि च्चद इत्येतेभ्यो घातुभ्यः तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्स्वरच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. The affix क्स्वरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' comes after the verbs सृ 'to flow', चसि 'to eat' and च्चद 'to eat'.

As क्स्वरः 'going, a kind of deer'; चस्वरः 'gluttonous', च्चद्वरः 'voracious'.

भञ्जभासमिदो घुरच् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्ज-भास-मिदः,
 घुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्ज भास मिद इत्येतेभ्यो घुरच् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

161. The affix घुरच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs भञ्ज् 'to break भास् 'to shine', and मिद 'to be fat.'

As भञ्ज् + घुरच् = भञ्ज् + उर (VII. 3. 52) = भङ्गुरः 'brittle'; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicative च. So also नेदुरः पशुः 'a fat beast'; भासुरं ज्योतिः 'splendid light'.

After the verb भञ्ज् this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

विदिमिदिच्छिदेः कुरच् ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदि-मिदि-च्छिदेः,
 कुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदादिभ्यो घातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कुरच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यथेः सम्प्रसारणं कुरच् वक्तव्यः ॥

162. The affix कुरच् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs विद् 'to know' मिद् 'to divide' and छिद् 'to pierce.'

As विदुरः पण्डितः 'a knowing Pandit'; मिदुरं गृध्रश्च 'a splitting or fragile wood'; छिदुरा रज्जुः 'a cutting or breaking rope'. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs विद् and छिद्.

Vart:—The affix कृप् comes after the verb वध 'to kill'; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as विधुरः ।

इहानशजिसर्तिभ्यः कृप्, ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इहानश-जि-सर्तिभ्यः, कृप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इहानशजि इत्येतेभ्यो वातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कृप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

163. The affix कृप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs व 'to go', नश् 'to destroy', जि 'to conquer', and वृ 'to flow'.

The प् is indicatory in order to introduce the augment लुक् between the verb and the affix (VI. 1. 71). Thus इ + कृप् = इ + ल + वर = इत्वरः, fem. इत्वरी 'a traveller'; नश्वरः, fem. नश्वरी 'transitory'; जित्वरः, fem. जित्वरी 'victorious'; वृत्वरः, fem. वृत्वरी 'going, a river'.

Though the affix begins with a letter of वल् *pratyahāra*, and ought to have taken the intermediate इट् (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

गत्वरश्च ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्वरः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्वर इति गिधात्यते, गमेरनुनादिकलोपः कृप्प्रत्ययश्च ॥

164. And the word गत्वर is irregularly formed.

The गत्वर is formed by eliding the र् of गप् and adding the affix कृप्. As गत्वरः, fem. गत्वरी locomotive, transient'.

जागुरुकः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जागुः, ऊकः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जागर्तेऽकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

165. The affix ऊक comes after the verb जागृ 'to be awake' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit'.

As जागदकः 'wakeful'.

यजजपदशां यङ्कः ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-जप-दशाम्, यङ्कः (तच्छीलादिषु, ऊकः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादीनां यङ्कत्वानामृकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

166. The affix ऊक comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs यज्, जप् and यञ् when they end in the affix य्.

The intensives of these verbs take ऊक. As यायजूकः 'a performer of frequent sacrifices', जजजूकः 'a mutterer of prayers repeatedly', दन्द्यूकः 'a snake (what bites frequently)'.

नमिकम्पिस्त्रयजसकमहिंसदीपो रः ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमि-कम्पि-स्त्रि-यजस-कम हिंस-दीपः, रः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्वादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix **र** comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs नन 'to bow', कम् 'to shake', हिन 'to smile', नञ् 'not to cease', कञ् 'to desire', हिन्व 'to injure', and दीप् 'to shine'.

Thus, नञ् काष्ठ 'soft wood'; कम्प्रा शाखा 'shaking branch'; स्नेरं मुख 'smiling face'; अजस्रं बुधेति 'he sacrifices perpetually'; कम्प्रा युवती 'a beautiful maiden'; हिन्व रक्षः 'the injuring Rakshas'; दीप् काष्ठ 'brilliant wood'.

The word अजस्रं is an adverb, and is derived from the root जस् 'to set free', with the negative particle अ, and the affix र; as अ + जस् + र = अजस्रं ।

सनाशंसभिन्न उः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन-आशंस-भिन्नः, उः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आशंसिर्भिन्नेश्च तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix **उ** comes after roots that have taken the affix च्, and after the verbs आशंस 'to wish' and भिच् 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term च् in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix च्, and not the verb च्, because the verb च् is never seen with this affix.

As, चिच्छीर्षुः 'desirous of doing'; निश्चीर्षुः 'desirous of taking'; आशंसुः 'desirous'; भिच्छुः 'a beggar'.

The verb आशंस with the upasarga आ is the verb अशि 'to desire' and not the verb शंसि 'to praise'.

विन्दुरिच्छुः ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विन्दुः, इच्छुः, (तच्छीलो) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदेरु भागन द्व्येखत्वमुकारश्च प्रत्ययो निपात्यते तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

169. The words विन्दु and इच्छु are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix उ, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb विदि we add the augment वृ and then the affix उ; as, विद् + वृ + उ = विन्दुः (I 1. 47) = वेदनशीलाः 'intelligent', so of इष् 'to wish' the च् is replaced by छ and we have इच्छुः = इषणशीलाः 'desirous'.

क्याच्छन्दसि ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यात्, छन्दसि, (तच्छीलो) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यप्रत्ययान्ताद्वातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उकारप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix **उ** comes in the Chhandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix क्य in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term क्य includes the three affixes क्यच्, क्यङ् and क्यप् (see Sūtras III. 1. 8, 11, 13, &c.). As निलयुः, संस्वेदयुः, सुप्नयुः (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 4).

In the modern Sanskrit *तृन्* will be employed. As निनीयता. By sūtra VII 4. 33, the long ई replaces the final अ, when यच् follows; as पुत्र + यच् = पुत्री + य = पुत्रीय. Why then in the case of नित्रयुः there is not the substitution of long ई for the अ of नित्र? Because the rule VII. 4. 33. is set aside by VII. 4. 35. which declares that in the Chhandas the long ई is not substituted for the अ।

आहूतगमहनजनः किकिनी लिट् च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहूत-
गमहन-जनः, कि-किनी, लिट्, च, (लच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यश्च षष्ठांतेभ्यश्च गम हन जन इत्येतेभ्यश्च लिट् च विषये लच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु किकिनी प्रत्ययो भवतः, लिट् च च तौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किकिनीयुत्सर्गश्च लिट् सदादिभ्यो दर्शनात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां धातु कृञ्मृजनिगमिननिभ्यः किकिनी वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सङ्घट्टिचलिपतिभ्यो यङ्गन्तेभ्यः किकिनी वक्तव्यौ ॥

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes कि and किन् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c, come after the verbs that end in long आ, or short or long अ, and after the verbs गम् 'to go', कृ 'to kill', and जन् 'to be produced', and these affixes operate like लिट् causing reduplication of the root.

The इ after आ is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been त, then by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) short अ would only be included and not long अ. But the present rule is applicable to long अ as well.

Thus प + कि = पपि: 'drinking'; as पपि: सोम 'drinking the soma-juice'; ददिर्गः 'giving cows' (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4). मित्रावपणी ततुरि: (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). इरे अश्वाजगुरि: (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). गम् + किन् + जग्निः 'being in constant motion, wind'; जग्निगुवा (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); कृ + किन् = कृन्नि: 'killing, a weapon offensive'; कृन्निश्च = (Rig. Ved. IX. 6. 12); जन् + किन् = जन्नि: as जन्निवोजन् (T. S. VII. 5. 20. 1).

The letter क् in these affixes is indicatory. It might be said 'it is superfluous to make these affixes कित्, because these being treated like लिट् will be कित् by rule I. 2. 5'. True, they would be कित् by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when लिट् follows, गुण is the substitute of the verb अच् and of those that end in the long अ) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused गुण. It is to prevent this गुण of the letter अ that we have annexed an indicatory क् to these affixes.

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the sūtra, as we see them in चङ् &c., as वेदि: (Yaj. Ved. XII. 105); वेनि: (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् come after the roots घञ्, कृञ्, घृञ्, जनि,

गति, and नति in the secular literature also; as, दधिः, चक्रिः, सस्त्रिः, जतिः, जग्मिः, नेमिः ।

Vart.—The affixes क्ति and क्तिन् come after the Intensive (यङन्त) roots of चङ्, घङ्, चल्, and यत्. As, सासहिः वासहिः, चाचलिः, यायतिः (VII. 4. 83).

स्वपितृषीर्नजिङ् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपितृषीः, नजिङ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेस्तृषेश तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु नजिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धृषेशेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

172. The affix नजिङ् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs स्वप् 'to sleep' and तृष् 'to be thirsty'.

As स्वप् + नजिङ् = स्वप्नज् 1st sing. स्वप्नज् 'sleeping, drowsy'; तृष्णज् 1st sing. तृष्णज् 'covetous, thirsty'.

Vart.—So also after the verb धृष् 'to insult, be bold'; as, धृष्णज् 1st sing. धृष्णज् 'bold, impudent'.

शूबन्ध्योरारुः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शूबन्ध्योः, आरुः, (तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शू हिंसायाश्च बन्दि अभिवादनस्तुत्योः एताभ्यां तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु आरुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

173. The affix आरु comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शू 'to injure' and बन्द 'to praise', 'to salute'.

As आरुः 'noxious, a mischievous animal'; बन्दारुः 'praising, a bard'.

भियः कुक्कुनौ ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, कुक्कुनौ, (तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिभी भये अस्नादातोस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कुक्कुनौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुक्कुनपि वक्तव्यः ॥

174. The affixes कु and कुक्कुन come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb भी 'to fear'.

As, भीरुः 'fearful, timid'; भीलुकः 'timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal'.

Vart.—The affix कुक्कुन् should also be stated; as भीरुकः.

स्थेशभासपिसकसो वरच् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-ईश भास-पिस-कसः, वरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था ईश भास पिस कस एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix वरच् comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c.' after the verbs स्थ 'to stand' ईश 'to rule' भास् 'to shine', पिस् 'to go' and कस 'to go'.

As स्थावरः 'immoveable'; ईश्वरः 'ruler, God'; वेस्वरः 'going, destructive'; विकस्वरः 'opening, expanding'.

यश्च यङ् ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, च, यङ्, (तच्छीलादिषु, वरच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या प्रापणे अस्मादुदन्तात्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

176. The affix वरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' comes after the verb या when it ends with the affix यङ्.

With the affix यङ्, the intensives of verbs are formed; as यायावरः 'a vagrant, an ascetic'. See sūtra I. 1. 58.

भ्राजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपृजुग्रावस्तुवः क्विप् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥
भ्राज-भास-धुर्वि-द्यु-त-उर्जि-पृ-जु-ग्रावस्तुवः, क्विप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राजादिभ्यो घातुभ्यस्त्वच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

177. The affix क्विप् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs भ्राज् 'to shine' भास 'to shine', धुर्व 'to injure', द्युत् 'to shine', ऊर्ज 'to be strong', पृ 'to fill', जु 'to move rapidly' and लु 'to praise', when it is preceded by the word यवच् 'a stone'.

Thus, विभ्राज् 1st. sing. विभ्राद् 'splendid'; भास् 1st. sing. षः 'light'; धुर्व + क्विप् = घुर् (VI. 4. 21), 1st. sing. घूः 'who injures'; विद्युत् 'lightening'; ऊर्ज 1st. sing. ऊर्ज् 'strength'; पृ 1st. sing. प्रः 'what fills'; लुः 'swift'. In the case of जु, a long vowel is the substitute of जु; ग्रावस्तुत् (VI. 1. 71) 'a stone-worshipper'. Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix क्विप् would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that यायवरप्रविधि does not apply in *tachchhika* affixes.

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते;
(तच्छीलादिषु, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि घातुभ्यस्त्वच्छीलादिषु क्विप्प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्विप्वचिप्रच्छयायतस्तु कटप्रजुश्रीणां दीर्घोऽसम्प्रसारणं च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्युतिगभिजुहोतीनां द्वे च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जुहोतेर्दीर्घश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृभय इत्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च द्वे च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ध्यायतेः संप्रसारणं च ॥

178 The affix क्विप् is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.'

As युज् 1st. sing युक् 'joining'; छिद् 'piercing'; मित् 'dividing'.

By using the words 'is seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with क्विप्. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is *samprasāraṇa* of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not.

Vart :—When क्तिप् follows, the long vowel is the substitute of वच् 'to speak', मच्छ 'to ask', आयतस्तु 'to praise long', कटम् 'to move through a mat', दु 'to move rapidly', and जी 'to serve', and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI. 1. 16).

As, वाक् 'the voice'; मच्छ + क्तिप् = मश् = क्तिप् (VI. 1. 10) = मच् + क्तिप् (VIII. 2. 36) = माट् (VIII. 4. 56) 'who asks'; आयतस्तुः 'who praises long'; कटम् 'a worm'; दुः 'swift'; जीः 'the goddess Lakshmi'.

The word दु which was mentioned in the last sūtra is redundant here.

Vart :—There is reduplication of the verbs द्युत 'to shine', गच्छ 'to go' and दु 'to invoke', when क्तिप् follows. As, विद्युत 'shining'; जगत् 'going, the world'.

Vart :—There is lengthening also of the vowel of दुहुः as दुहुः 'a crescent shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire.'

Vart :—The root दृ 'to tear' is shortened also; as ददृत् 'tearing'.

Vart :—The verb चिन्ता 'to think' has samprasāraṇa; as चिन्तः 'thinking'.

भुवः सञ्ज्ञान्तरयोः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, सञ्ज्ञा-अन्तरयोः, (क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः सञ्ज्ञायामन्तरे च गन्धमाने क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

179. The affix क्तिप् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, विभुः 'a person called Vibhu'; प्रतिभुः 'a surety i. e. he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor

विप्रसंभ्यो ड्वसञ्ज्ञायाम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-प्र-संभ्यो, ड्व, प्रसञ्ज्ञायाम्, (भुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि प्र सञ् इत्येवं पूर्वाद्भवतेर्धातोः ड्वप्रत्ययो भवति न चेत् सञ्ज्ञा गन्धमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ड्वप्रकरणे भित्तुवादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

180. The affix ड्व comes after the verb भू when it is preceded by the upasargas वि, प्र and सञ् provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As विभुः 'all pervading'; प्रभुः 'lord'; संभुः 'Creator'

Why do we say 'when it is not a proper name? Observe विभुः 'a person called Vibhu'.

Vart :—The words भित्तु &c., also are formed by this affix. As भित्तु 'the sea'; संभुः 'causing happiness'.

Why have we applied ड्व and not क्तिप् to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes (1) To prevent the rules relating to dhātus from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of ड्वक् augment. Thus the 1st. dual of भित्तु is भित्तु, 1st. pl. is भित्तुवः. Here there is no substitution of उक्त्वा which the rule VI. 4. 77 required, if ड्व had retained its dhātu characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI. 1. 175

does not apply to Instrumental sing. नितद्र्वा &c., (2.) We have no rule which VI. 1. 71 required. नितं द्रवति = नितद्रुः ।

धः कर्मणि षट् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धः, कर्मणि, षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धयतेर्दधातोश्च कर्मणि कारके षट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

181. The affix षट् comes, in denoting the object, after the verb धा to feed'.

The indicatory ध denotes that the feminine is formed by डीप्-(ई) affix. As धात्री 'a nurse whom the children suck (*dhayanti*)'; and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (*dadhati*) all medicinal properties'.

दान्नीशसयुयुजस्तुतुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाप्-नी-शस्-यु-युज-स्तु तुद्-सि-सिच्-मिह्-पत्-दश्-नहः, करणे, (षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाप् नी शस् यु युज स्तु तुद् वि विच् मिह पत् दश् नह षट्प्रत्ययो कारके षट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

182. The affix षट्, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs दाष् 'to out नी to lead', यव 'to hurt', यु 'to join', युज 'to join', स्तु 'to praise', तुद् 'to inflict pain', सि 'to bind', विच् 'to sprinkle', मिह 'to urine', पत् 'to fall', दश् 'to bite' and नह 'to bind'.

As दान्, 1st. sing. neuter दान् 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts; नेत्र 1st sing. नेत्रस् eye'; यव (VII. 29.) 'a weapon'; योत्र 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; योक्रस् 'the tie of yoke'; स्तोत्र 'a panegyric'; तोत्र 'a goad', सित्र 'a ligament'; सेक्र 'a sprinkling vessel'; नेष्ट्रस् 'the penis'; पत्रस् 'a vehicle'; दंष्ट्रा 'a large tooth'.

The word दंष्ट्रा belongs to the *Ajādi* class and hence forms its feminine in दाप् (अर) and not in ई (IV 1. 4).

The root दश् is read in the aphorism without its nasal i. e. as दश्. This indicates by implication that दश् loses its nasal before some affixes such as ह्युट्; thus we have दशनश् 'tooth'.

And lastly नह + षट् = नहष् fem. नह्री (VIII. 2 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

हलसूकरयोः पुवः ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सूकरयोः, पुवः, (षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूज् पूक् पवने, अस्मादातोः करणे कारके षट्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्चेत् करणं हलसूकरयोरवयो भवति ॥

183. The affix षट् is employed after the verb पू with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb पू includes both पूज् and पूज्; as पूत्रस् 'a plough-share'; पूत्रने 'the snout of a hog'.

अति-लू-धू-सू-खन-सह-चर इत्रः ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अति-लू-धू-सू-
खन-सह-चरः, इत्रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति लू धू सू खन सह चर पतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारको इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix इत्र comes after the verbs श्र् 'to go', लू 'to cut', धू 'to shake', सू 'to bring forth', खन 'to dig', सह 'to bear', and चर 'to go' with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अरित्रं 'a rudder'; लवित्रं 'a sickle'; पवित्रं 'a fan'; चवित्रं 'cause of production'; खनित्रं 'a spade'; सहित्रं 'patience'; चरित्र 'an instituted observance or a narrative'.

पुवः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुवः, संज्ञायाम्, (इत्रः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवतेर्चातोः करणे कारको इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेतुसंज्ञा गन्वते ॥

185. The affix इत्र comes after the verb प 'to purify' with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative and not descriptive.

The verb प includes two verbs पूङ् and पूज both meaning 'to purify', but belonging to two different conjugations; as पवित्रं an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means 'two blades of Kusa grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee'. It also means 'the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.

कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च, ऋषि-देवतयोः,
(इत्रः, पुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुवः करणे कर्तरि च इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति, ऋषिदेवतयोर्यथासंख्यं संवन्धः ॥

186. The affix इत्र comes after the verb प 'to purify' in the sense of the agent or the instrument' when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a deity.

That is to say, when applied to a *Rishi* the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a *Devala* the force is that of an agent. As, ऋषित्रोऽयमुच्यते 'this sage is sacred' (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified) अग्निः पवित्रं स मा पुनातु 'the God Agni is sacred' (one that purifies), 'let him purify me' So also, वायुः सोमः सूर्य इन्द्रः पवित्रं ते मा पुनस्तु ।

जीतः क्तः ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जि इतः, क्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीतो धातोर्वर्तमानेऽर्थे क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

187. The verbal roots marked with an indicative जि, take the affix क्त, in denoting the present time.

The *Nishthā* affix क्त, as a general rule, is a past participial affix and denotes past time; and is so ordained by rule III. 2. 102. The present sūtra thus makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicative ज्ञि in the *Dhā'upāt'ra*; as ज्ञिनिदा 'to be affectionately inclined'; निन्नः (निद् + क्त = निद् + त = निद् + न (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So ज्ञिनिशदा—निशः 'sounding inarticulately'; ज्ञिबुधा—बुधः 'bold'. The anuvṛitti of वर्तमाने 'in the sense of the present', is read into this sūtra from III. 2. 123.

नतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नति-बुद्धि-पूजा-अर्थेभ्यः;

च, (क्तः) ॥

वक्तिः ॥ नतिरिच्छा, बुद्धिर्ज्ञानम्, पूजा सत्कारः, एतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो वर्तमानार्थे क्तप्रत्यये नवति ॥

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix क्त is employed with the force of the present.

The word वक्ति means 'wish' or 'desire'; बुद्धि means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship', 'honor' or 'respect'. As राज्ञां वतः,—इष्टः,—बुद्धः,—ज्ञातः,—पूजितः, &c. 'the king wishes, desires, think, knows, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word च is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above sūtra. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: शीलितः 'practised'; रक्षितः 'protected'; क्षान्तः 'forbearing'; आक्रुष्टः 'censured'; बुष्टः 'pleased'; क्रुष्टः 'angry'; वपितः 'angry'; अभिव्याहृतः 'uttered'; हृष्टः 'happy'; तुष्टः 'satisfied'; कान्तः 'favourite'; संयतः 'restrained'; उद्यतः 'ready'; कष्टं 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and अमृत 'immortal'. So also:—सुप्तः 'sleeping'; शयितः 'lying down'; आशितः 'eaten'; लिप्तः 'smeared'; दृष्टः 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयाः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

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उणः द्यो बहुलं ॥ १ ॥ पदाति ॥ उण-आदयः, बहुलम्, (वर्तमाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः प्रत्यया वर्तमानेऽर्थे संज्ञायां विषये बहुलं भवन्ति ॥

1. The affixes 'Un' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtras III. 2. 123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the *Unādi* affixes is that when, in appellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicatory letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pāṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix उण् is the first of these. The first sūtra of *Unādi* affixes is the following—

कृवापाजिनिस्वदिषाध्यशूभ्य उण् ॥

The affix उण् comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', वा 'to blow', पा 'to drink', जि 'to overcome', नि 'to scatter', स्वद 'to be pleasant to the taste', साध् 'to accomplish', and अण् 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ + उण् = कारः 'an artisan'. So also, वायुः 'the wind'; पायुः 'the organ of excretion'; जायुः 'a drug (which overcomes disease)'; नायुः 'the bile'; स्वादुः 'sweet'; साधुः 'who accomplishes the object of another hence virtuous'; and अणुः 'quickly'.

These *Unādi* affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word बहुल has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:

only some of them have been collected in works treating of *Unádi* affixes. Thus though the affix *उलच्* is ordained after *हृष*, it comes also after *शक्* as *शकुल*. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pāṇini whether these words said to be formed by *Unádi* affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover all the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is their effects are not without remainder (*वशेष*). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of *Niruktas* and grammarians of the school of *Sākāyāṇa*, consider all nouns and substantives (*नाम*) as derivative words from simple roots (*धातुश्च*). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (*प्रकृति*) or affix (*प्रत्यय*) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the *Unádi* affixes :

बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तुष्टुष्टेः प्रायश्चुचयनादपि तेषाम् ।
कार्यस्येषविधेरष्टतदुक्तं नैगसरुद्धिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥ १ ॥
नाम च धातुप्रमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम् ।
यन्न पदार्थविशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तद्वत्सम् ॥ २ ॥
संज्ञासु धातुरुपाणि प्रत्ययश्च ततः परे ।
कार्याद्विदादनूयन्धमेतच्छस्त्रमुणादिषु ॥ ३ ॥

भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, अपि, दृश्यन्ते, (उणादयः) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ भूतेकाले उणादयः प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते ॥

2. The 'Unádi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last sūtra, it was taught that the *Unádi* affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words 'are seen' being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on finding that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus वृत् + मनिन् = वर्तन् 'a way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); चर + मनिन् = चर्मन् 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also मस्मन् 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

भविष्यति गरुयादयः ॥ ३ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, गरि-आदयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले गरुयादयः शब्दाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अनन्तरत उपसंख्यानम् ॥

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of the future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the *Unádi*

affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present, but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गन्तु 'intending to go to the village'; आगन्तु 'that which has to come'. So also प्रस्थायी 'departing'; प्रतिरोधी 'an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). प्रतिबोधी 'going to be awakened'. So also प्रतियोधी 'an adversary'; प्रतियोनी 'an enemy'; प्रतियायी; आयायी; भावी, &c.

Vart:—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be *anadyatana* i. e. the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future लृट्, and not of the second future लृट्. As खे गन्तु ग्रामम् 'he intends to go to the village tomorrow'.

यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लट् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्-पुरा-निपातयोः, लट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावत्पुराशब्दयोर्निपातयोश्चपदयोर्भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix 'Lat' comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles 'yâvat' and 'purâ'.

The present tense has the force of the future when the *adverbs* यावत् and पुरा are used. The phrase 'futurity &c' is to be read into this sūtra from the last. Thus आलोके ते निपतति पुरा 'he will surely fall in the range of your sight'. यावदस्य दुरात्मनः सत्रुघ्ननाय शत्रुघ्नं प्रेषयामि. 'I shall send Satrugṇa to exterminate this wretch'.

These words पुरा and यावत् must be used as adverbs (nipâtas), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, यावद् दास्यति तावद् भोक्षते 'as long as he will give, so long he will eat'; पुरा ब्रजिष्यति 'he goes along the city'. Here यावत् is a relative pronoun; and पुरा is the Instrumental singular of पुर 'city'.

विभाषा कदाकर्हिः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कदा-कर्हिः, (भविष्यति, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कदाकर्हि इत्येतयोश्चपदयोर्विभाषा भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs 'kadâ and 'karhi'.

As कदा भुङ्क्ते 'when will he eat', or कदा भोक्ष्यते or भोक्ता; so also कर्हिभुङ्क्ते or भोक्ष्यते or भोक्ता 'when will he eat'.

किंवृत्ते लिप्सायाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिप्सायाम्, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे लिप्सायां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. When the word 'kim' or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix 'Lat' is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra. By using the word वृत्त along with किं it is meant that the rule applies even when किप् takes the affixes कर्त्तृ and कर्त्तव्य. The word लिप्सा means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging'.

As कं भवन्तो भोजयन्ति or भोजयितारः 'whom will you feed?' It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also कतरो भिक्षां दास्यति, ददावि, दाता, or कतसो भिक्षां दास्यति &c, 'Which of the two or which of these all, will he give alms? Will he give something to me?'

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as कः पाटलिपुत्रं गमिष्यति 'who will go to Pataliputra'.

लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च,
(भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ गम्यमानायां भविष्यतिकाले यातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity.

The word 'optionally' is also understood here. The word लिप्स्यमानसिद्धिः is equal to लिप्स्यमानात् सिद्धिः, an Ablative-Tatpuruṣa Compound, signifying *siddhi* or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having किप् in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As यो भक्तं ददाति स स्वर्गं गच्छति 'he who gives food goes to heaven'; यो भक्तं दास्यति or दाता, स स्वर्गं गमिष्यति or गन्ता.

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (खिरस्यमान) the success (सिद्धि), in the shape of *svarga*, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, 'the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences i. e. it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish'.

लोड्यलक्षणे च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोड्-अर्थ-लक्षणे, च; (भविष्य-
तिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्प्रत्ययेऽपि प्रेषादिर्लक्ष्यते येन च लोट्प्रत्ययस्योपपत्त्यर्थः, तत्र वर्तमानाद्वातोर्भवित्यपि काले विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word लोट्प्रत्यय means 'having the sense of the affix लोट् or imperative mood'. The force of *lot* is 'to command, direct, invite &c' as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sūtra, translated literally, will mean 'the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (लक्षण) is to the thing signified (लक्ष्य)'. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदगच्छति (आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता) अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'if the professor comes (i.e. will come) then read you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the *lakshana* of the direction as to reading.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्, लोट्प्रत्यये) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिक भविष्यकाले लोट्प्रत्ययस्योपपत्त्यर्थं वर्तमानाद्वातोर्विभाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्लट् ॥

9. The 'Lat' (present) or the 'Lin' (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a 'Mûhurta' (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sūtra apply here also, namely 'when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated'. By force of the word ऊ we read the anuvṛitti of *lat* also into this aphorism. The word ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिक is a secondary derivative from ऊर्ध्वमुहूर्त्, meaning 'that which exists in time above a muhūrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the vṛddhi takes place irregularly of the उ of मु and not of ऊ as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus ऊर्ध्वमुहूर्त्तदुपरि मुहूर्त्तस्य उपाध्यायश्चेदगच्छेत् (आगच्छति, आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता), अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

तुमुन्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमुन्, वुलौ, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्, (भविष्यति काले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियायां क्रियायामुपपदे वातोर्भवित्यपि काले तुमुन्वुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकल ॥ क्रियायां क्रियायामुपपदे वासरूपेण वृद्धादयो न भवन्ति ॥

10. The affixes 'tumun' and 'nvul' are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the future, when the word in cons-

truction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोज्यं व्रजति 'he goes to eat'; भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat'. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is व्रजति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियार्था), namely, eating.

Why do we say 'denoting an action'? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as भिक्षि स्येदति अत्र जटाः 'matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg'. Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say 'performed for the sake of another action'? Observe वादतस्ते पतिष्यति दण्डः 'running, thy stick will fell'.

Now, it might be asked why एवुल् is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. 1. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix लृट् would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of 'non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously' given in III. 1. 94 will step in and will conduce the application of एवुल् in spite of लृट्.

Vart —The repetition of the affix एवुल् (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for the of prohibiting the application of the affixes like वृच् &c. in denoting the adove sense; that is to say. the rule of वाञ्छरूप (III. 1. 94.) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say कर्ता व्रजति 'he goes to do'; but we must say कर्तुश् instead.

These affixes from the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

भाववचनाश्च ॥११॥पदानि॥ भाव-वचनाः, च, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावइति प्रकृत्य ये चञादयो विहितास्ते च भाववचना भविष्यविकाले क्रियायानुपपदे क्रियार्थायां भवन्ति ॥

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as चञ् &c (III. 1. 13) have also the force of the future, when the word in construction there with, is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

As पाकाय व्रजति 'he goes to cook'; भूतये व्रजति 'he goes for the sake of success'; पुष्टये व्रजति

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the वाञ्छरूप rule

does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence वृत्त would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present sūtra.

Why the word वचन has been employed in the sūtra? The meaning is that the words should be expressive or वाचक. How do the affixes become वाचक? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed after those bases only, then they are said to be वाचक not when they are employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mode as directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been specially formed by the भाववाच्य affixes, चञ् &c, can be employed with the force of gerund, and not every noun. The भाववाच्य nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

अण् कर्मणि च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कर्मणि, (भविष्यते, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोर्लङ्प्रत्ययो भवति भविष्यतिकाले कर्मण्युपपदे क्रियायां च क्रियार्थायाम् ॥

12. The affix 'an' comes after a root with the force of the future, when the word in construction with it is in the accusative case, and when the action is performed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of च is merely that of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1. the affix अण् comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of वाङ्मय not applying, the affix एवुल would have debarred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apavāla rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent the application of एवुल of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of परत्व given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like क् &c. Therefore this अण् comes after even those verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III. 2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the अण् of III. 2. 1. could not have come after simple verbs ending in long आ, such as दा 'to give' &c. But the present अण् with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गोदायो वृजति 'he goes to give cows', and not गोदः । So also कवचदायो वृजति 'he goes to give blanket'; अश्वदायो वृजति । दा + अण् = दायः (VII. 3. 33).

So also काष्ठलाभो वृजति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case अण् would have been applied even by III. 2. 1.

लृट् शेषे च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृट्, शेषे, च, (भविष्यति; क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायां, धातोः, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे शुद्धे भविष्यतिवाक्ये चकाराद् क्रियायां बोधपदे क्रियार्थायां धातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13 The affix 'Lrit' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, where futurity pure and simple is indicated; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करिष्यामि इति वृजति 'he goes that I will do', हरिष्यामि इति वृजति 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिष्यति 'he will do'; हरिष्यति 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

लृटः सद्वा ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृट्, लृट्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृटः स्थाने सत्संज्ञी यतुश्चानच् वा भवतः ॥

14 The affixes called 'Sat' i. e. 'satri' and sānach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lrit'.

The सत् has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affix यतु and शानच् replace लृट् under the conditions in which they replace सत् thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लृट्, when agreeing with what does not end with the first case affix. In these cases सत् will invariably replace लृट्. In other cases it will optionally replace लृट्. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As करिष्यन्ते देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta about to do, करिष्यमाणं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. हे करिष्यन् or हे करिष्यमाण. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose, as अर्जयिष्यमाणो वसति 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; करिष्यमाणः सशरं शरासनं 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिष्यन् करिष्यमाणः, करिष्यति or करिष्यते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिष्यन् is thus evolved. As कृ + लृट् = कृ + स्य + लृट् (III. 1.) = कर + इट् + स्य + यतु = करिष्यत् nom. sing. करिष्यन्. In other words the participial affixes अत् (अन्त and शान, technically known as यतु and शानच्, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending स्य of the Future.

अनद्यतने लृट् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लृट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यदनद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परिदेवने हवस्तनी भविष्यदर्थे वक्तव्या ॥

15. The affix 'Lut' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lrit'. As खः कर्त्ता 'he will do tomorrow'. खो भोक्ता 'he will eat tomorrow'.

The word 'anadyatana' is a Bahuvrihi compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, लृट् will be employed and not लुट्. As अद्य रवो वा भविष्यति 'it will be today or tomorrow'. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

Vart:—The First Future (लृट्) is employed with the force of the Second Future (लुट्) when sorrow is expressed. As ह्यं तु कदा गन्ता, वैवं पादौ निदधाति ! 'Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)' क्वं तु कदाऽध्येता, य एवमनभिमुक्तः 'when will he learn, who is so inattentive'.

पदरुजविशस्पृशो घञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-रुज-विश-स्पृशः,

घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ्प्रत्यया भवति ॥

16. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pad' to pace), 'ruj' (to pain), 'vis' (to enter), and 'spris' (to touch).

The anuvritti of 'future' does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As पद + घञ् = पादः 'foot' रुज् + घञ् = रोगः 'disease'; so, वेगः 'entrance'.

Vart:—The verb स्पृश् takes घञ् when the sense is that of 'distress'; as स्पर्शः 'disease' or 'warmth'. The word स्पृशे meaning 'touch' is formed by adding the affix शप्, under rule III. 1. 134; as स्पर्शो देवदत्तः । There is difference in accent between these two words.

सृ स्थिरे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृ, स्थिरे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्तर्थातोः स्थिरे कर्त्तरि घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ व्याधिनन्त्यवलेष्टिर्वात यत्तद्वयम् ॥

17. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'sri' (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word स्थिर means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent moves through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb. Thus, सृ + घञ् = सारः 'an essence'; as चन्दनसारः 'the essence of sandal', खदिरसारः 'the essence of catechu'.

Why do we say 'permanently fixed'? Observe सर्चा 'moves', सारकः 'that which flows'.

Vart:—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As अतिसारः 'dysentery'; विहारः 'a fish'; सारः 'strength'.

भावे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'ghañ' comes after a root when mere action is denoted.

Thus, पक् + चञ् = पाकः 'cooking' (VII. 2, 116 and VII. 3. 52); त्यागः 'abandoning'; रङ्गः 'colouring' (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote 'action' when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes चञ् &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As पक्तिः, पचनञ्, पाकौ, पाकाः । These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कर्तरि, च, कारके, संज्ञायाम्, (चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जिते कारके संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. And the affix 'ghañ' comes after a root, when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus प्रासः (*i. e.* प्रास्यन्ति तच्) 'a dart, lit. that which men throw'; प्रसेवः (*i. e.* प्रसीव्यन्ति तच्) 'a sack, lit. that which men stitch together'; आहारः (*i. e.* आहरन्ति अस्माद्रसच्) 'food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves'. As नयुराहारः, तदशिलाहारः ।

Why do we say 'not related as an agent'? Observe जेवः 'a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly'. Here the word जेव is related to the verb निपति as agent, and the affix is consequently not चञ्.

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe कर्तव्यः कटः 'the mat must be made'.

The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that चञ् may be applied irregularly in cases where appellative is not meant: as को भवता दायो दत्तः 'what gift was given by you'; को भवता लाभो लब्धः 'what gain was gained by you'.

The word कारक is used in the sūtra for this purpose. The word अकर्तरि is a compound word formed by the negative नञ्. The word means a non-agent. Now the word 'non-agent' has two-fold significance; either it means any other kāraka which is not an agent-kāraka; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called षडुदाह points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited; and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अकर्तरि, the word कारक becomes redundant, because 'non-agent' would mean any kāraka other than an agent.

But the very fact, that कारक is used indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by Pāṇini:—That नञ् is compounded even with the force of प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध'. (VI. I. 45). अङित्, *non-sat*'.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (भाव)' and 'a kâraka 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II 2. 6 about नञ् Compound,

परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाण-अ-ख्या-
याम्, सर्वेभ्यः, (चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यो धातुभ्यो चञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दारुणारौ कर्तरि णिञ् च ॥

20. The affix 'ghañ' comes after all roots, when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि + चि + चञ् = निचै + अ (VII. 2. 115) = निचाय (VI. 1. 78) 'a heap'; as एकस्तण्डुलनिचायः; द्वौ घूपनिष्पयो । कृ 'to scatter' + चञ् = कारः । द्वौ कारौ; त्रयः काराः ।

By using the word 'all' in the sūtra, it is indicated that the affix अच् (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अच् would only be prohibited by the *Paribhāṣa*:—'*Apavādas* that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *apavāda*-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules'. Thus अच् being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अच् taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निरचयः 'ascertaining'.

The word आख्यः has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (वृद्धि). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like *Prasāda*, *Pala* &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सर्वेभ्यः in this sūtra is to indicate that the affix चञ् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अच् or अच् by sūtras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken, however, with certain limitations. The word सर्वेभ्यः is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use चञ्; we must use the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by चञ् when it supersedes अच् and अच्. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकात्रिलोच्छित्तिः, द्वे प्रसूती &c.

Vart:—The affix चञ् comes after the causative verbs दारि and जारि, and there is *lak* elision of the causative affix णिच्; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus दारयन्ति भ्रातृन् = दाराः 'a wife' (lit 'who divide brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); जारयन्ति = जाराः 'a paramour',

इङश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङः, च, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचकम् ॥ अपादाने स्त्रियासुपसंख्यानम् तदन्ताच्च वा ङीष् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शृ वायुवर्णनिवृत्तेषु ॥

21. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'इङ्' (to study).

This debars अच् (III. 3. 56). As अधि+इ+घञ्=अधि+इ+अ=अध्याय 'a lesson or lecture'; उपाध्यायः (उपेत्यास्मादधीते 'a teacher'.

Vart.—When the word to be formed is related to the verb इङ् as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix ङीष्. As उपेत्याधीयतेऽस्या=उपाध्याया or उपाध्यायी 'a female teacher'.

Vart.—The affix घञ् comes after the root य् when the word so formed means 'wind', 'color', or 'cessation'. As शारः 'wind', 'green colour' &c. गौरिवाकृत-नीशारः प्रायेण हिमिरे कृतः ।

उपसर्गे रुवः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदे रौतेर्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'rû' (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars अच् (III. 3. 57). As संरावः 'clamour', उपरावः &c.

Why do we say 'compounded with an upasarga'? Observe रुवः 'sound'.

समि युद्द्रुवः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, यु-द्रु-दुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समि उपपदे शु द्रु दु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'yu' (to join), 'dru' (to run) and 'du' (to burn), when in composition with the preposition 'sam'.

As संयावः, संद्रावः, संदावः। But प्रयवः where the preposition is not sam.

श्रीणीभुवोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री-णी-भुवः, अनुपसर्गे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्री णी भू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'śri' (to go to) 'ni' (to lead) and 'bhû' (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars the affix अच् (III. 3. 56). As श्रायः 'shelter', नायः 'a means', भावः 'a condition'.

But with upasargas, we have प्रश्रयः 'respect', प्रणयः 'love'; प्रभवः 'source'.

— How do we explain the form प्रभाव in प्रभावो राज्ञः 'the splendour of the king'? Here the word प्रभाव is not made from the compound root प्रभू+घञ्, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of samâsa, meaning 'excellent condition'.

How do you explain the form यय in नयो रावः ? Here the root नी has taken the affix यच् diversely by III. 3. 113.

वी लुश्रुवः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वी, लु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वावुपपदे लु श्रु इत्येताभ्यां घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'kshu' (to sneeze), and 'śru' (to move and hear) when the preposition 'vi' is in composition.

This debars the affix यप् (III. 3. 57); as, विज्ञायः 'cough'; विश्रावः 'flowing forth', 'celebrated'. But when without preposition, we have ववः and अवः ।

अवीदोर्नियः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव-उदोः, नियः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उत् इत्येतयोरुपपदयोरनयतेर्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'ni' (to lead) when the prepositions 'ava' and 'ut' are in composition

As अवनायः 'throwing down'; उन्नायः 'elevation'.

How do you explain उन्नयः in उन्नयः चकार्यानाम् ? Here the affix is 'ach' by III. 3. 113.

प्रे द्रस्तुश्रुवः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, द्र-स्तु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेशब्द उपपदे द्रु स्तु लु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'dru', 'stu' and 'śru', when the word in composition is 'pra'.

As प्रद्रावः, प्रस्तावः, प्रस्तावः । But not so in द्रवः, स्तवः and श्रवः ।

निरभ्योः पूल्वोः । २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्-अभ्योः, पू-ल्वोः (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरभिपूर्वयोः पूल्वोर्धात्वोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pû' (to purify) and 'lu' (to cut) when 'nir' and 'abhi' are respectively in composition.

The word पू refers to both पूङ् and पूज्. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus निर् comes before पू, and अभि before लू. As निष्पावः 'winnowing'; अभिलावः 'moving'. But पवः and लवः, without these prepositions.

उन्नयोर्ग्रः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-न्योः, ग्रः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उन्नयोरुपपदयोः गृ इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grî' when the upasargas 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition.

The verb गृ here refers to both the verbs गृ 'to make sound', and गृ 'to swallow'. As उद्गारः चञ्चुद्रव्य 'the roaring of the sea'; निगारो देवदत्तस्य 'the swallow-

ing of Devadatta'. But when without these prepositions, we have गरः ।

कृ धान्ये ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, धान्ये, (घञ्, उन्नयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ इत्येतस्माद्भातोऽन्नयोः रूपपदयोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति धान्यविषयश्चेद्भातवर्णो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'kri', when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb कृ here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As उत्कारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'; निहारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भैक्षोत्करः 'a heap of alms', पुष्पनिकरः 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

यज्ञे समि स्तुवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञे, समि, स्तुवः, (घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञविषये प्रयोग संपूर्वात्स्तौतेर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्तावरद्ध-दोगानाम् 'the Sanstâva of the Chhandogas; संस्ताव=समेत्य स्तुवन्ति यस्मिन् देये छंदोगाः स देशः) means 'the place which the Brâhmanas repeat- ing hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice' the orchestra.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तवरद्धात्रयोः 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

प्रे स्त्रोऽयज्ञे ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, स्त्रः, अयज्ञे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तृञ् आच्छादने अस्माद्भातोः प्रथमद्वयपदे घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, नचेदायज्ञविषयः प्रयोगो भवति ॥

32. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'strî' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice'.

As, शंखप्रस्तारः 'a bed of conch'; मणिप्रस्तारः 'strewing of gems'.

प्रथने वावशब्दे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथने, वौ, अशब्दे, (स्त्रः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तृञ् आच्छादने अस्माद्भातोर्विश्वद्वयपदे घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रथने सम्प्रसारणे तच्चेत्प्रथनं शब्दविषयं न भवति ॥

33. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stri' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.

The word *प्रयत्नः* means 'extent, circuit, range'. As *पटस्य विस्तारः* 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, *दृषविस्तरः* 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe *विस्तरे वचसां* 'proximity of words'.

छंदो नास्ति च ॥ ३४ ॥ छंदः, नास्ति, च, (वी, छः, च०)

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रवर्तस्त्वृणातेरछन्दोनास्ति चञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ghañ' comes after 'stri' with the upasarga 'vi' when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word *छन्दः* here means prosodial metre such as Gâyatri &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word *नास्ति* would not have been used. Thus *वि + स्तृ + चञ्* = *वि + स्तृ + चञ्* (VIII.3.94) = *विष्टारः* 'the name of a metre called Vishtâra-Pankti'.

The whole word *विष्टारपङ्क्ति* is the name of a metre, and is not a word *ending* with the affix *ghan*; only a member of this word, i. e. the first part ends with *ghan*. The seventh case-affix in the word *छन्दोनास्ति* has the force of location i. e. when the word so formed occurs in a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the full name, but it is in the name i. e. forms a portion of the name.

उदि ग्रहः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, ग्रहः, (च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् पपदे ग्रहेर्द्विर्तोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचि ॥ छन्दसि निप्रवर्दपीयते सुगुदानननिपातनयोः ॥

35. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix *अप्*. As *उद्ग्राहः* 'lifting up'.

Vart:—In the Vedas this affix is applied even, when the word *ग्रह* is preceded by *नि*; and the *ह* is changed into *भ*; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, *उद्ग्राभं च निग्राभं च ब्रह्मदेवा अवीवृधन्*.

सनि सुष्टौ ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, सुष्टौ, (ग्रहः, च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुष्टुपपदे ग्रहेर्द्विर्तोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति सुष्टुविषयश्चेद्भात्वर्थो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah' when in composition with the preposition 'sam' when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word *सुष्टि* means 'boxing', 'fist'; as, *अहो नस्त्वस्य संग्राहः* 'O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; *अहो सुष्टिकस्य संग्राहः* 'O! the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe *संग्रहो चाण्यस्य* 'a collection of grain'.

परिच्योनीशोद्यूताभूषयोः ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ परि-च्योः, नी-इलोः,
द्यूत-अभूषयोः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दे निशब्दे चोपपदे यथासंख्यं नि यद्वाप्यव धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, अत्रो-
पवाहः, यतः अभूषयोः ॥

37. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'ni' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sūtra. The verbs परि + नी and नि + इ, take घञ् when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिखायेन शरान् इन्ति 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman'. Here परिखाय = समन्तान्नय means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also नि + इ + घञ् = नि + ऐ + घञ् = नि + आय = न्यायः 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिणयः 'marriage', and न्ययः 'decay'; as न्ययङ्गतः पापः 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अभूष means पदार्थानामनपवारो यथाप्राप्तकरणम् ।

पराधनुपात्यय इलुः ॥३८॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, अनुपात्यये, इलुः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दे उपपदे इलो धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति अनुपात्यये गन्धमाने ॥

38. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As पर्यायः 'turn, succession'; तव पर्यायः 'thy turn'; मम पर्यायः 'my turn'.

Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालस्य पर्यायः 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुपात्ययः = क्रमप्राप्तस्यानतिपातः 'not breaking the series or order'.

व्युपयोः श्रुतेः पर्याये ॥३९॥ पदानि ॥ वि-उपयोः, श्रुतेः, पर्याये, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि उप इत्येतयोरुपपदयोः श्रुतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'sī' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, तव विश्रयः 'thy turn of sleeping' (i. e. the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); मम विश्रयः 'my turn of rest'; तव राजोपश्रयः = तव राजानसु पश्यितुमर्पयः 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपश्रयः 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विश्रयः 'doubt'.

हस्तादाने चेरस्तेये ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्ताद ने, चेः, अस्तेये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तादाने गन्धमाने चिनोतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, नचेत् स्तेयं चौर्यं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उच्यते प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix 'ghañ' comes iditer the root 'chi' (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying 'taking by hand' the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पप्रचायः 'gathering flowers by hand'; फलप्रचायः 'gathering fruits by hand'.

Why do we say 'taking by hand'? Observe वृक्षाग्रस्थानां फलानां यष्टया प्रचयं करोति 'he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree'.

Why do we say 'when not meaning to steal'? Observe पुष्पप्रचयश्चौर्येण 'the gathering of flowers by theft'.

Vart — Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word उच्यते 'gathering'; as पुष्पोच्यते 'gathering of flowers by hand';

निवासचितिशरीरोपसमाधानेच्वादेश्च कः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-
वास-चिति-शरीर-उपसमाधानेषु, आदेः, च, कः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवास चिति शरीर उपसमाधान, एतेष्वर्थेषु चिनोतेर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातोरादेश्च ककार आदेशो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'ghañ,' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather), and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in these senses viz.—'a dwelling', 'a fire on the funeral pile', the body, and 'collection'

That in which people dwell (निवसति) is called निवासः or 'dwelling'. That which is gathered together (चयते) is called चिति or 'funeral pile'. शरीर means the body of all living beings; and उपसमाधान means making a heap. Thus निवासः 'a dwelling'; as in काशीनिकायः 'Kāśī-dwelling'; आकायमग्निं चिन्वीत 'let him arrange the ākāya fire i. e. the funeral fire'; कायः body', as अनित्यः क्षायः 'a perishable body'; महान् गोमयनिकायः a heap of cow-dung'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Observe चयः 'gathering'. Why is not this rule applied in महान् काष्ठनिचयः 'a large heap of wood'? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

संघे चानौत्तराधर्ये ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघे, च, अनौत्तराधर्ये,
(चेः, आदेश्च, कः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघे वाच्ये चिनोतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति आदेश्च कः ॥

42. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather) and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in

the sense of 'a multitude or assembly' (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word *संघ* means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts:—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications, or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by *paryudā* a negation the other is taken. Thus *भिक्षुकनिघातः* 'the assembly of beggars'; *ब्राह्मणनिघातः* 'the assembly of Brâhmanas'; *वैयाकरणनिघातः* 'the assembly of Grammarians'.

But *वृहन्निसंघः* 'a herd of hogs'; because it is a mere collection: So also *कृताकृतसमुच्चयः* 'the collection of what is done and not done'; *प्रमाणसमुच्चयः* 'the collection of proofs'. Here there is no *संघ* in either of the two senses, it not being a collection of living animals, the affix *ghan* is not employed.

कर्मव्यतिहारे णच् स्त्रियाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म-व्यतिहारे,
णच्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे मन्त्रयाने चातीर्णप्रत्यये णचति स्त्रीलिङ्गे वाच्ये ॥

42. The affix 'nach' comes after a root, in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender:

The word *कर्म* means 'action' and is not the technical 'Karma' meaning the accusative case. *व्यतिहार* means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere 'action' (*भाव*) also. The *anubandha* च in णच् is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in *sûtra* V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus वि + अव + कृष् + णच् + ञ् + डीप् = व्यावक्रोशी (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) 'mutual abuse'. So also व्यावहारी, व्यावलेखी. The affix णच् forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix ञ् by V. 4. 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix डीप् of the feminine is added.

Why do we say 'in the feminine'? Observe व्यतिपाशो वर्तते ।

The making of this a separate *sûtra* by itself, and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms, that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with क्तिन् &c, then the affixes that would have debarred क्तिन् &c, would *a fortiori* have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar क्तिन् &c, do not debar this. Thus व्यावचोरी, व्यावचर्ची: Here वृच् being a वृज् class root would have taken वृच् (III. 3. 107) in the femi-

nine, as चोरिषा; and चर्च् would have taken चर्च् by III. 8. 104, as चर्च्. The roots ईष् and ईह्, by III. 3. 102 and 103, take च् by debarring क्त्वि. This debarring affix च्, however, is not debarred by this rule; as व्यतीषा, व्यतीहा are the proper feminine forms, and not व्यतीषी &c. The form व्यावृषी is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of बहुलं taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविधौ भाव इनुष् ॥४४॥ पदानि॥ अभिविधौ, भावे, इनुष् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिविधौ गन्धमाने चातोर्भावे इनुष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44 The affix 'inuṣ' comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविधि means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus चरा-विषद् 'a general or tumultuous uproar'; सं+कूट्+इद्+अण् (V. 4. 15. and VI. 4. 164) = संकूटिनश्च 'a general confusion'; so चत्स्रविणश्च 'a general flow or stream'.

Why do we say 'when meaning co-extensiveness'? Observe संकोटा, संरावः, संद्रावः ।

Why do we use the word भाव again in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti was already flowing from sūtra III. 3. 18? The object is that the वाऽचरूप rule (III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence च्च् never comes in this sense. Pātañjali says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes क्त्वि &c. are prohibited; so that the affixes क्त्वि &c. should not come in the neuter with the force of भाव ।

The separateness of this sūtra is for the same purpose as in the last aphorism. The affix इनुष् is not, however, prohibited; as संकुटनश्च. See rule कृत्वइनुटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113). The affix इनुष् (the operative part being इद् forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix अण् by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशेऽवयोरग्रहः ॥४५॥ पदानि॥ आक्रोशे, अवययोः, ग्रहः, (चच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव नि इत्येतयोश्चपदयोर्ग्रहोर्चातोर्ग्रन्थयो भवति आक्रोशे गन्धमाने ॥

45. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), in composition with 'ava', and 'ni'; when malediction is meant.

Though इनुष् is immediately near, we take the anuvṛitti of चच् (III. 3. 16), because we see that its anuvṛitti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means 'cursing'. As अवयाहो हन्त ते वृषलभ्यात् 'cursed be thou, O! sinner'. So also निग्राहस्ते भूयात् ।

Why 'when meaning 'cursing'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य; निग्रहचोरस्य ।

मे लिप्तायाम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मे, लिप्तायाम्, (ग्रहः, चच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्दउपपदे ग्रहेर्भातोर्घजप्रत्ययो भवति लिप्तायास् गन्वज्ञानायास् ॥

46 The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', when the word 'pra' is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition

As पात्रप्रग्राहेण चरति भिक्षुः पिण्डार्थी 'the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand'; लुवप्रग्राहेण चरति द्विजो दक्षिणार्थी 'carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brāhmaṇa walks about for his fee'. The word लिप्ता means the wish to have something'.

Why do we say 'when meaning desire of gain'? Observe प्रग्रहे देवदत्तस्य ।

परौ यज्ञे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, यज्ञे, (ग्रहः, घ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपपदे ग्रहेर्घजप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', in composition with 'pari' when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As उत्तरपरिग्राहः 'the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar'; अधरपरिग्राहः 'the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar'.

Why do we say 'when relating to sacrifices'? Observe परिग्रहः देवदत्तस्य 'the fencing of Devadatta'.

नौ वृ धान्ये ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, वृ, धान्ये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्दउपपदे वृ हृत्येतस्माद्भातोर्धान्यविशेषेऽभिधेये घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'vri' preceded by 'ni'; when the sense is that of grain.

The वृ here means both वृद्ध and वृज्. This debars the affix षप्. As नीबाराः 'rice growing wild or without cultivation'.

Why do we say 'meaning grain'? Observe निवरा कन्या 'a virgin girl'.

उदि अयतियौतिपूद्रुवः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, अयति-यौति-पू-द्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छब्दउपपदे अयत्यादिभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verbs 'śri', 'yu', 'pû' and 'dru' when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix *ach* (III. 3. 56) Thus उच्छ्रायः 'rising of a planet'; उद्यावा 'mixing'; उत्पावः 'purifying ghee'; and उद्रावः 'flight'.

How do you explain the form ससुच्छ्रायः in पतनान्ताः ससुच्छ्रायः? The word विमाया 'optionally' in the next sūtra, exerts a retrospective effect on this sūtra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is

called सिंहावलोकनवायः 'the maxim of the lion's backward glance'. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

विभाषा ऽऽङि रूप्लुवोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा; आङि; रूप्लुवोः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङि उपपदे रौतेः प्लवतेरच विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verbs 'ru' (to roar) and 'plu' (to float), when the preposition 'ân' is in composition.

As आरम्भः or आरवः 'noise'; आप्लावः or आप्लवः 'bathing'.

अवे ग्रहो वर्षप्रतिबन्धे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, ग्रहः, वर्ष-प्रतिबन्धे, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति विभाषा वर्षप्रतिबन्धेऽभिधेये ॥

51. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the root 'grah', when the word 'ava' is in composition, the sense being withholding of rain.

The word 'optionally' is understood here. The word वर्षप्रतिबन्ध means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived: as अवग्रहः or अवग्रहो देवस्य 'the draught of rain'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'obstruction of rain'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य ।

मे वणिजाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ मे, वणिजाम्, (विभाषा, ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मे शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तवाच्यरचेद् वणिजं सम्बन्धी भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra' when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words *grah* and *vibhāshā* are understood here. By 'relation to commerce' is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुलाग्रहः or तुलाग्रहाहः, as तुलाग्रहाहेण चरति or तुलाग्रहणेण चरति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say 'when belonging to commerce'? Observe प्रग्रहो देवदत्तस्य 'the whip of Devadatta'.

रश्मी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रश्मी, च, (ग्रहः, विभाषा, मे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मे शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति रश्मिरचेत्प्रत्ययान्तेनाभिधीयते ॥

53. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रश्मि means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control; as मयः or मयः 'a rein'.

वृणोतेराच्छादने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृणोतेः, आच्छादने, (विभाषा, प्रे, चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मयः इत्यपदे वृणोतेर्भाषा चञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तेन चेदाच्छादनविशेष उच्यते ॥

54. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'vri' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means 'a sort of covering'.

As प्रावारः or प्रवरः 'a clock, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering'? Observe प्रवरः गी ।

परौ भुवो ऽवज्ञाने ॥ ५५ ॥ परौ, भुवः, अवज्ञाने, (विभाषा, चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशुद्धे अपदे विभाषा चञ् प्रत्ययो भवति अवज्ञाने गण्यमाने ॥

55. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bhû', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word अवज्ञान means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As परिभाषः or परिभवः 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard'? The word परिभवः may be then construed to mean रुच्यते भवनं = परिभवः 'surrounding'.

एरच् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अच्, (अकर्तरि संज्ञायाम्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एवर्णान्तादातोर्भावे अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अश्विधी भयादिनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्रयस्यो हन्दिषि वक्तव्यो ॥

56 The affix 'äch' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'î' (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sūtras 18 and 19; and these words are to be applied in every subsequent sūtra as far as sūtra 113 of this chapter. This debars चञ् The च् in अच् is qualitative, in sūtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, चयः 'collecting'; गयः 'going'; जयः 'victory'; व्ययः 'wasting'

Vart.—In this connection the words जव &c. should also be enumerated. As भी + अप् = भयप् 'fear'; वर्षप् 'rain'. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix क् &c. but for this Vârtika.

Vart.—The words जव and जव are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As ऊर्वोरस्तु ने जवः पंचोदनजवः । These roots जु and जु would have otherwise taken the affix अप्. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. Veda I 112. 21, and Yaj. XI 2.

ऋदीरप् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-ओः, अप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारात्तेभ्य उवर्णात्तेभ्यश्च अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. After a root ending in long 'rî', short 'u', or long 'û', there is the affix 'ap'.

This debars चञ्. The प् is indicatory for the sake of accent (III. 1. 3); as, कृ + अप् = करः 'scattering'; गृ + गरः 'beverage, poison'; यु + यरः 'arrow'; पु + पवः 'barley'; लू + लवः 'reaping'; पू + पवः 'winnowing corn'.

The इ in ऋद् is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not ह changed into इ; for then by the rule "that which follows ह is also called तपर" short ह only would have been taken and not long ऋ (I. 1. 70).

ग्रहवृद्धनिश्चिगमश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रह वृद्ध निश्चि-गमः, च,

(अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो ऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वगिरपयोषपसंख्यान् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पञ्चम्य कविधानं स्यात्स्वापाव्यविहिनियुध्यर्थम् ॥

58. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'grah'. 'vri' 'dri', 'niśchi' and 'gam'.

This debars चञ्; and in the case of निश्चि the affix अप् is debarred. As ग्रहः 'a planet'; वरः 'a boon'; दरः, 'tearing' a cave'; निश्चयः 'certainty'; गमः 'march'.

The verb निश्चि would have taken अप्, but takes अप् which causes difference of accent.

Vart.—The roots वञ् and रञ् should also be included in this; as वयः 'obedient'; रण 'battle'.

Vart.—When the sense is that of चञ् the affix क् is directed to be employed, after the following verbs:—स्था, स्ना, पा, व्यप्, हृन् and पुष्. As प्रस्था 'a table-land' (on which they move); प्रस्नः 'a vessel for bathing, (in which they bathe); प्रपाः 'a place where water is distributed to travellers' (that out of which they drink); आविचः (VI I. 16) 'an awl, a drill' (that by which they pierce); विष्णः 'an obstacle' (in which they are obstructed); आयुधः 'battle, (where they fight),

उपसर्गेऽदः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, अदः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदेऽर्धांतोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विचसः (II. 4. 38,) 'half-chewed morsel'; प्रचसः 'voracious'.

Why do we say 'when compounded with an upasarga'? Observe चासः 'grass'; अद् + घञ् = घस् + अ (II. 4. 38).

नौ ख च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, ख, च, (अद्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्द उपपदे अदेर्धातोर्लःप्रत्ययो भवति चकारादप् च ॥

60. And the affix 'na' as well as 'ap', comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition.

As नि + अद् + ण = नि + आद् + ण = न्यादः (VII. 2. 116) 'feeding'; नि + अद् + अप् = नि + घस् + अ (II. 4. 38) = निघसः 'eating, food'.

व्यधजपोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यध-जपोः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यध जप इत्येतयोरनुपसर्गयोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'vyadh' and 'jap', when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars घञ्. As व्यधः 'wound'; जपः 'muttering'.

Why do we say 'when upasarga-less'? Observe आढ्याधा, उचजाया ।

स्वनहसोर्वा ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वन-हसोः, वा, (अप्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वनहसोरनुपसर्गयोर्वा अप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'svan' and 'has' when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वनः or स्वानः 'sound'; हसः or हासः 'laughter'. But with upasargas, we have only one form; प्रस्वानः 'a loud noise'; प्रहासः 'a loud laughter'.

यमः समुपनिविषु च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, यम्-उप-नि-विषु, च, (अनुपसर्गे, वा, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम् उप नि वि इत्येतेषूपपदेषु अनुपसर्गेऽपि यमेर्वा अप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. And the affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'yam' when the upasargas 'sam', 'upa' 'ni' and 'vi' are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars घञ्. As संयामः or संयमः 'restraint'; उपयामः or उपयमः 'marriage'; नियामः or नियमः 'restrictive rule'; वियामः or वियमः 'check, distress'; यामः or यमः ॥

नौ गदनदपठस्वनः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, गद-नद-पठ-स्वनः, (अप्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघञ् उ वपदे गद नद पठ स्वन इत्येतेभ्यो घातुभ्यो वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'path' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.

This debars चञ्. Thus निगदः or निगादः 'recitation'; निनदः or निनादः 'noise'; निपठः or निपाठः 'reading'; निस्वनः or निस्वानः 'a noise';

क्वणो वीणायां च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्वणः, वीणायाम्, च, (नौ, वा, अनुपसर्गे, अप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ क्वणतेर्घातोर्निघ्नवाद्दनुपसर्गाच्च वीणायां वा अप्प्रत्यया भवात् ॥

65. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvan' (to jingle), when 'ni' is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when 'flute' is meant.

This debars the affix चञ्. Thus निकृणः or निक्राणः, a musical tone'. क्वणः or क्राणः 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि, as कल्याणप्रकृणा वीणा.

But not so here. छतिक्राणो वर्तते where the upasarga being छति and the word not referring to 'a flute', no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be नि or no upasarga at all, for the optional application of the affix अप्. To sum up, क्वण् takes अप् optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by नि, or 2ndly when having no upasarga, or 3rdly when it refers to 'flute', and then it must have some upasarga.

नित्यं पणः परिमाणे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, पणः, परिमाणे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पण उयवहारे स्तुतौ च, अस्माद्धातोर्नित्यमप्यप्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

66. The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'pan' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word नित्यं 'invariably' is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvritti of the word optionally. Thus मूलकपणः 'a handful of radishes'; शाकपणः 'a handful of vegetable'. These words secondarily have come to mean 'a measure equal to a handful', irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have पाणः 'trade'.

सदोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदोर्घातोर्नुपसर्गादप्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars चञ्. As विदामदः 'pride of knowledge'; धनमदः 'pride of wealth'; कुलमदः 'pride of family'. When compounded with upasargas, we have उन्मदः 'mad'; प्रमादः 'error or carelessness'.

प्रमदसम्मदौ हर्षे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमद-सम्मदौ, हर्षे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमद सम्मद इत्येते शब्दौ निपात्येते हर्षेऽभिधेये ॥

68. The words 'pramada' and sammada' are irregularly formed, meaning 'joy'.

As कन्यानां प्रमदः 'the joy of girls'; कोकिलानां सम्मदः 'the rejoicing of cuckoos'.

Why do we say 'when in a state of delight'? Observe प्रमादः 'carelessness'; उन्मदः 'frenzy'.

Instead of saying 'the verb mad preceded by pra and sam takes the affix ap', which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sūtra to indicate that these words are वृद्धि in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

समुदोरजः पशुषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उदोः, अजः, पशुषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोरजपदयोरेजतेर्डातोः पशुविषये घात्वर्थेऽपुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'aj' (to go), when the prepositions 'sam' and 'ut' are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars चञ्. The root अज 'means to go, to throw'. When preceded by सञ्, it means 'a collection'; and preceded by उत् it means 'driving'. As सजः पशूनां 'a herd of cattle'; उदजः पशूनां 'driving forth of cattle'.

Why do we say 'when applying to cattle? Observe समाजो ब्राह्मणानां, उदाजः वन्याणां ।

अक्षेषु ग्लहः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षेषु, ग्लहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लह इति निपात्यते अत्रविषयरचेडात्वर्थो भवति ॥

70. The word 'glaha' is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root गृह्. The verb गृह् takes the affix अप् and thus forms ग्रह्; and then irregularly र is changed into ल; as अचरय ग्लहः 'cast of the dice'.

Why do we say 'when referring to gambling'? Observe ग्रहः पादस्थः ।

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्लह् 'to gamble', by adding the affix अप्, and thus debarring चञ्. They suppose, therefore, the existence of the root ग्लह् to explain the form ग्लहः । The counter-example which they would give, is ग्लाहः 'receiving', formed by adding the affix चञ् :

प्रजने सर्त्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, सर्त्तः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्त्तर्थातोः प्रजने विषये अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'sri' (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars चञ्. The word प्रजनं means 'the first covering of a cow by a bull'. As गवाशुपवरः 'impregnation of cows'; पशुनाशुपवरः 'impregnation of cattle'.

ह्वः सम्प्रसारणे च न्यभ्युपविषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वः, सम्प्रसारणम्, च, नि-अभि-उप-विषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अभि उप वि ह्यतेर्दातोः सम्प्रसारणम् अप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' (to call), when the preposition 'ni' 'abhi' 'upa' and 'vi' are in composition with it, and its semivowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars चञ्. As नि + हे + अप् = नि + हु + अ (VI. 1. 108) = नि + हो + अ (VII. 3. 84) = निहव VI. 1. 78) 'invocation'; अभिहवः 'invocation'; उपहवः 'invitation'; विहवः 'calling'. But प्रहायः 'a summons'.

आडि युद्धे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आडि, युद्धे, (ह्वः, सम्प्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् उपपदे ह्यतेर्दातोः सम्प्रसारणम् अप् प्रत्ययो भवति युद्धेऽभिधेये ॥

73 The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' when the word in composition is the upasarga 'âñ', and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As आहवः 'battle' (where they challenge each other). But otherwise आहायः 'calling'.

निपानमाहावः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपानम्, आहावः, (आडि, ह्वः, सम्प्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्पूर्वस्य ह्यतेर्दातोः सम्प्रसारणम् अप्प्रत्ययो वृद्धिश्च निपात्यते निपानं वेदभिधेये भवति ॥

74. The word 'âhâva' is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word आहावः is irregularly formed from हे by the prefix आ, then samprasârana, and the vridhhi of the vowel. Thus आ + हे + अप् = आहु + अ = आहो + अ = आहावः 'a trough near a well for watering cattle'. Otherwise आहायः 'calling'. Even in the word आहावः the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.

भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, (हवः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गस्य हवतेः संप्रसारणप्रत्ययो भवति भावेऽभिधेये ॥

75. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

As हवः 'calling'; हवे हवे सुहवं गुरमिन्द्रम् ।

Why do we say 'when no upasarga is in composition with it'? Observe आह्वयः । Though the anuvṛitti of the word भाव was understood in this aphorism from sūtra 18, its repetition here shows that the anuvṛitti of sūtra 19, which was running, must not be taken; so that this word applies to agent-kāraka also.

हनश्च वधः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, च, वधः, (भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्दान्तोरनुपसर्गे भावे अप् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्संनियोगेन च वधादेशः, सचान्तोदात्तः ॥

76. The affix 'ap' comes after the root 'han' when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and 'vadha' is the substitute of 'han' before this affix.

Thus वध has udātta accent on its final. The affix अप् which is anudāt a generally (III. 1. 4) thus becomes udātta.

As वधश्चोराणां 'the killing of thieves'; वधोदस्यूनां 'the killing of robbers'.

When action is not denoted, the affix चङ् applies; as चातः 'a blow.

, also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as प्रचातः, चातः ।

The word च in the aphorism does not connect हन् with the substitute वध, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Thus we have the affix च also; as चातः 'killing'.

मूर्त्तौ घनः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूर्त्तौ घनः, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्त्ताविधेयायां हन्तेरप्प्रत्ययो भवति, घञ्चादेशः ॥

77. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han' when the word so formed means solidity, and 'ghān' is the substitute.

The word मूर्त्ति means 'hardness', 'solidity'. Thus अन्नघनः 'a mass of cloud'; दधिघनः 'solid'. How do we say घनं दधि? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.

अन्तर्घनो देशे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, घनः, देशे, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःपूर्वाङ्गान्तेरप्प्रत्ययो भवति घनादेशश्च भवति देशेऽभिधेये ॥

78. The verb 'han' preceded by the word 'antar' takes the affix 'ap', and 'ghan' is the substitute of the word 'han', when the word so formed means 'a country'.

As अन्तर् + हन् + अप् = अन्तरं = घन् + अ = अन्तर्घनः 'name of a country of Buhika'; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with a ण as अन्तर्घणः, that is also valid.

Why do we say 'when meaning a country'? Observe अन्तर्घातो 'striking in the middle'.

अगारैकदेशे प्रघणः प्रघाणश्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अगार-एकदेशे, प्रघणः, प्रघाणः, च, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य हन्तेः प्रघण प्रघाण इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते अगारैकदेशे वाच्ये ॥

79. The words 'praghana' and 'praghâna' are irregularly formed meaning 'a portion of a dwelling house'.

Thus प्रघणः or प्रघाणः 'a porch before the door of a house, a portico'. This is formed from हन् with प्र, irregularly.

Why do we say 'when meaning a portion of a house'? Observe प्रघातः ।

उद्घनोत्पाधानम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्घनः, उत्पाधानम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वस्य हन्तेः उद्घन इति निपात्येते उत्पाधानं चेद् भवति ॥

80. The word 'udghana' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'bench'.

This is formed from उत् + हन् irregularly. Thus उद्घनः 'a carpenter's bench' (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c).

When not having this sense, we have उद्घातः 'uneven'.

अपघनोऽङ्गम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपघनः, अङ्गम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वस्य हन्तेः अपघन इति निपात्येते, अङ्गं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

81. The word 'apaghana' is irregularly formed meaning 'a member of the body'.

This is formed irregularly from अप + हन्. Thus अपघनः 'a limp or member of the body'. The word अङ्गम् means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have अपघातः ।

करणोऽयोविद्रुषु ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, अयः-वि-द्रुषु, (हनः, अप्, घनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस् वि द्रु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु हन्तेर्घातोः करणे कारकेऽप्यप्रत्ययो भवति, घनादेशश्च ॥

82. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han'

when the words 'ayas', 'vi' or 'dru' are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and 'ghan' is the substitute of 'han'.

As अयोधनः 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); विधनः 'a mallet'; द्रुधनः 'an axe'. Some write द्रुधनः, the न being changed into ध either by rule VII. 4. 3. or by including this word in the class of आरीहणादि (IV. 2. 80).

स्तम्बे क च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्बे, क, च, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बश्च उपपदे कारणे कारके हन्तेः कः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादप् ॥

83. The affix 'ka' also comes after the verb 'han', when 'stamba' (a clump) is the word in composition, and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word च in the sūtra draws in अप् from the last aphorism and in that case च् replaces ह्. Thus स्तम्बध्नः or स्तम्बघनः 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are स्तम्बध्ना as well as स्तम्बघना । When क is added, we have स्तम्बध्नः । Thus ह् + च = ह् + अ (VI. 4. 98) = च् (VII. 3. 54). When अप् is added, ह् is totally replaced by च्. When instrument is not meant, we have स्तम्बघातः ।

परी चः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परी, चः, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे हन्तेर्हानोरपप्रत्ययो भवति कारणेकारके पश्चदशोदेशः ॥

84. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the upasarga 'pari' is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and 'gha' replaces 'han'.

Thus परिचः or पलिचः (VIII. 2. 22.) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

उपघ्न आश्रये ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपघ्न, आश्रये, (अप्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपप्रत्यय उपधालोपश्च निषात्यते ॥

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding अप् (III. 3. 76) to the verb ह् preceded by the upasarga उप, then eliding the penultimate अ of ह्; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi rules ह् is changed into घ्नः । This form would have been given by the affix क also, without any irregularity.

The word आश्रय refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus पर्वतोपघ्नः 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also ग्रामोपघ्नः 'bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'support'? Observe पर्वतोपघातः ।

संघोद्घौ गणप्रशंसयोः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-उद्घौ, गण-प्र-
शंसयोः, (अप्, घट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोषपदयोर्हन्तेर्द्वातोरपप्रत्ययद्विलोपो घट् च निपात्यते, यथासंख्यं गणेऽभिधेये
प्रशंसायां गण्यनानायाश् ॥

86. The words 'saṅgha' and 'udgha' are irregularly
formed in the sense of 'a collection', and 'a praise'
respectively.

These words are thus formed; सङ् + इङ् + अप् = सं + इ + अ = सं + ण् + अ = संघः ।
Thus संघः पशूनाम् 'a herd of cattle'; so also उद्घो ननुष्यः 'an excellent man'.
The word 'respectively' is inserted from I. 8. 10. When not used in these
senses, we have संघातः 'union'.

निघो निमित्तम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निघः, निमित्तम्, (हन्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघ इति निघूर्वाहन्तेरपप्रत्ययद्विलोपो घट् च निपात्यते निमित्ते चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

87. The word 'nigha' is irregularly formed in the
sense of 'as high as broad'.

The word निमित्त means 'measured all round' i. e. 'as high as broad'.
As निघा वृक्षाः 'trees as high as broad'. निघा शालयः 'square or cubic or circular
halls'. Otherwise, when not meaning 'as high as broad', we have निघः 'a blow'.
The word निमित्त = समन्तान्मितं, समारोहपरिणाहम् । It may be derived from ना or from
नि। In the first case it will mean 'measured' and in the other, 'erected, built'.
Professor Borthlingk refers to *Apastamba Dharma*. I. 20. 30 for the meaning
of this word.

द्वितः क्त्रिः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-इतः, क्त्रिः, (भावे, अकर्तरि,
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दु इदस्य तस्माद् द्वितो धातोः क्त्रिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. The affix 'ktri' comes after the verb which has
an indicatory 'du', when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases 'when the sense is that of mere action', and 'when the sense
is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name
is deduced, but not as agent', are of course understood in this, as in all the
previous aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix क्त्रि, णप् is always the aug-
ment) we must add ण, for we can not use the affix क्त्रि alone; but we must al-
ways use क्त्रिणम्. Thus दुपचप् to cook'—पक्त्रिणम् 'what is ripe'; दुषप्—उषक्त्रिणम् 'sown'
(VI. I. 15); दुकृज्—कृज्त्रिणम् 'artificial'.

द्वितोऽयुच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-इतः, अयुच्, (भावे, अकर्तरि
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दु इदस्य तस्माद् द्वितो धातोः अयुच् प्रत्ययो भवति भावादी ॥

89. After that verb which has an indicatory 'tu', the affix 'athuch' comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.

As दुवेष्ट—वेष्टुः 'a trembling'; दुओरिव—रव्युः 'swelling'; दुबु—बुष्टुः 'sneezing'; दुडु—दव्युः 'burning'.

यजयाचयतविच्छप्रच्छरक्षो नङ् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-याच-यत-विच्छ-प्रच्छ-रक्षः, नङ्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो नङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yâch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vichchh' (to shine), 'prachchh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'nan' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sūtras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The नङ् of नङ् is for the sake of prohibiting guṇa or vṛiddhi (I. 1. 5); as यजः 'sacrifice'; याचजा 'solicitation'; यतनः 'effort'; विरनः (VI. 4. 19) 'lustre'; प्रश्नः 'a question'; रक्षः 'protection'.

The root प्रच्छ, by VI. 1. 16, ought to have changed its र into ऋ before the डित् affix नङ्. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini, as we know from the fact that Pāṇini himself uses the form प्रश्नः in III. 2. 117.

स्वपो नन् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपः, नन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेर्धातोर्नन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix 'nan' comes, under similar circumstances after the verb 'svap' (to sleep).

The final न् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197); as स्वपनः 'a dream'.

उपसर्गे घोः किः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, घोः, किः, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदे घुमन्तकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix 'ki' comes under similar conditions, after a 'ghu' verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The क् is indicatory, by force of which the final आ is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus प्र + दा + कि = प्रदिः 'a present', प्रधिः 'the periphery of a wheel'; उपाधिः 'fraud'; अस्तर्हिः 'vanishing'.

कर्मण्यधिकरणे च ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अधिकरणे, च, (घोः, भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे पुंसंकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किःप्रत्ययो भवति, अचिकरणे कारके ॥

93. The affix 'ki' comes after a 'ghu' verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of 'location'.

As जलधिः 'the ocean (in which water is held)'; शरधिः 'a quiver (that in which arrows are put)'.

The word 'location' in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other significance. The word च in the aphorism draws in the affix कि from the last sūtra.

स्त्रियां क्तिन् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्, (भावे, अकृतरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावादौ धातोः क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्तिन्नामादिभ्यश्च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रुयजिस्तुभ्यः करणे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ग्लान्ताज्याहाभ्यो निः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रुकारत्वादिभ्यः क्तिन्निशब्दवति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तदादिभ्यः क्तिप् ॥

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'ktin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3. 18. and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes चञ्, अच् and अप् affixes. Thus कृतिः 'action'; चितिः 'a gathering'; सतिः 'understanding'.

Vart.—The affix *ktin* should be declared to come after the verbs आप् 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus आप्तिः 'getting'; राट्तिः 'accomplishment'; दीप्तिः 'shining'; स्त्रिप्तिः 'a slip'; ध्वप्तिः 'destruction'; लब्धिः 'gain'.

Vart.—So also after the verbs श्रु 'to hear', यज् 'to worship' and स्तु 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as श्रुतिः 'ear' (that by which we hear); so हृदिः 'a sacrifice'; स्तुतिः 'a praise'.

Vart.—The affix नि comes after the verbs ग्लै 'to be exhausted', ग्लै 'to fade', 'ज्या 'to grow old' and हा 'to leave'; as ग्लानिः 'exhaustion'; ग्लानिः 'fading'; ज्यानिः 'old age'; हानिः 'loss'.

Vant.—The affix क्तिन् coming after verbs ending in long श्रु and the verbs लू &c. is like a Nishṭhā. कीर्त्तिः 'scattering'; This form is thus evolved: कृ + क्तिन् = कृ + ति (VII. 1. 100) = कृ + ति (I. 1. 51) = कीर् + ति (VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, त् is changed into न् by the affix being treated as a Nishṭhā (VIII. 2. 42), and this न् is changed into च् by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so

also गीर्णिः 'praise'; वीर्णिः 'old age'; वीर्णिः 'drying'; लूनिः (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; वृनिः 'joining'; धूनिः 'agitation'; धूनिः 'destruction'.

Vart.—The affix कृप् comes after the verbs संपत् &c.; as संपत् 'prosperity'; विपत् 'calamity'; प्रतिपत् 'access'. The affix कृत् is also employed after these verbs:—as संपत्तिः, विपत्तिः. The verbs ल् &c. are 21 verbs of the kryādi class.

स्यागापापचो भावे ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्या-गा-पा-पचः, भावे, (स्त्रियां, कृत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्यादिभ्यो घातुभ्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावे कृत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. After the roots 'sthâ' (to stand), 'gâ' (to sing) 'pâ' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix 'kṭin' is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debarṣ the affix ञ् (III. 3. 106) which generally supersedes कृत् in cases of compound verbs ending in long आ. Thus प्रस्थितिः 'a journey' (VII 4. 40); उद्गीति 'a singing aloud'; गै + कृत् = गा + ति (VI. 1. 45) = गी + ति (VI. 4. 66); सगीतिः 'a concert'; प्रपीतिः 'a cistern'; सपीतिः 'drinking together'; पक्तिः 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भाव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛt-ti being understood from sūtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like अवस्था and संस्था? Pāṇini himself, in his sūtras, has used forms like व्यवस्था &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like अवस्था, संस्था &c. by applying the affix ञ् under rule 106, in spite of the present sūtra, which requires us to apply कृत् only.

मन्त्रे वृषेपचसनविद्भूवीरा उदात्तः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, वृष-इष-पच-सन-विद्-भू-वी-रा, उदात्तः, (भावे, स्त्रियां, कृत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रे विषये वृषादिभ्यो घातुभ्यः कृत्प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः ॥

96. In the Mantra literature, 'kṭin' acutely accented comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action:—'vṛish' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhû' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'râ' (to give).

The construction of this sūtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृष्टिः 'raining'; इष्टिः 'wishing'; पक्तिः 'cooking'; मत्तिः 'thinking'; वित्तिः 'knowing'; भूतिः 'being'; वीतिः 'consuming'; रातिः 'giving'.

The affix कृत् has been generally ordained by sūtra 94 after all verbs. The present sūtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From इप् we have also an irregular noun वृष्टा (III. 3. 101), and

another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rig Veda I. 116. 12; II. 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5, 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

ऊतियूतिजूतिषातिहेतिकीर्त्तयश्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊति-
यूति-जूति-षाति-हेति-कीर्त्तयः, च, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्त्यादयः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

97. And these words viz., 'ûti' (preserving sport), 'yûti' (joining), 'jûti' (velocity), 'sâti' (destruction), 'heti' (a weapon) and 'kîrti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvritti of the word मन्त्रे does not exist in this; but the word उदात्त of the last syllable is understood here. The word ऊति is thus formed :— अच् 'to protect' + क्तिन् = ऊ + तिः (VI. 4. 20.) = ऊतिः; this form is regular and could be evolved from sūtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in वृत्तिः and जूतिः consists in the lengthening of उ into ऊ; in सातिः the सा of the root सै which becomes सा by VI. 1. 45, is not changed into ह, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root सच् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sūtra : thus सच् + क्तिन् = सा + क्तिन् (VI. 4. 42) = साति. The form हेति may be derived either from हर् or हिनोति ।

इन्द्र वाजेषु नोऽव सुहृत्प्रधनेषु च । उग्रउग्रभिर्हृतिभिः ॥ (Rig. Veda. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

वृजयजोभावे क्यप् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृज-यजोः, भावे, क्यप्,
(उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृजयजोर्धात्वोः स्त्रिलिङे भावे क्यप् प्रत्यये भवति, उदात्तः ॥

98. The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraj' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus वृज्या 'wandering about'; इज्या (VI. 1. 15) 'worshipping'. The प् of क्यप् is indicative, and though it serves no purpose in this sūtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of क्यप् having प्, that we add a त by VI. 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

संज्ञायां समजनिषदनिपतननविदपुञ्शीङ्भृजिणः ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥
संज्ञायां, समज-निषद-निपत-नन-विद-पुञ्-शीङ्-भृज्-इणः, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्,
उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनञादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियां क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix 'kyap' comes after the following verbs in forming a word in the feminine denoting an 'appellative' and is acutely accented viz:—'sam-aj' 'nishad', 'ni-pat'. 'man', 'vid', 'suñ', 'śiñ' 'bhriñ' and 'in'.

Thus सनञ्या 'an assembly'; निपद्या 'a small bed or couch'; निपत्या 'slippery ground'; नन्या 'thinking'; विद्या 'knowledge'; वृत्त्या (VI. 1. 71) 'extraction of soma juice, parturition'; श्रुत्या 'bed'; श्रुत्या 'wages, service'; हृत्त्या 'a litter, palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards वृ. By rule III 1. 112, वृ would have taken क्यप्, and we could have got the form वृत्त्या by that rule also. But the वृत्त्या formed under that rule would not have denoted an appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. 1. 112 when it used the words असंज्ञायां, was rather too wide, for क्यप् does come in denoting संज्ञा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word असंज्ञायां there, must be qualified by the phrase, 'except in the feminine'. The test whether rule 112, is too widely worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भार्या meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix वयत् to the exclusion of क्यप् ।

संज्ञायां पुंलिङ्गं दृष्टत्वा न ते भार्या प्रसिध्यति ।

स्त्रियां भावाधिकारोऽस्ति तेन भार्या प्रसिध्यति ॥

The word भावाधिकारः is explained by the author of the Kāsikā as भावव्यापारो, वाच्यत्वेन विवक्षितः, ननु शास्त्रीयोऽधिकारः ।

कृजः छ च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, श, च, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेर्धातोः स्त्रियां शः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्यप् च ॥

100. And after the root 'kṛi' comes the affix 'śa' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'kyap'.

By the force of the word च we draw the affix क्यप् into this sūtra, and by the process called योगविभाग we can split up this aphorism into two:—

(1) कृजः 'after the root कृ there is the affix क्तिन्'

(2) छ च 'and the affix छ as well as क्यप्'. Thus क्रिया, कृत्या (VI. 1. 71) and कृतिः । When the affix छ is added, the root assumes the form क्रिय by III.1.67.

इच्छा ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा, (श) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्येधातोः शः प्रत्ययो योगभावरश्च निपात्येते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परिचर्यापरिचर्यावृणयाटाटयानाप्पुषसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ज्ञागतेरकारो वा ॥

102. The form 'ichebhā' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed: इप् + श = इच्छ + अ = इच्छा. The यक् ordained by III. 1. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.

Vart.—The following words are also irregularly formed :—परिवर्त्त 'perambulation'; परिचर्या 'attendance, service'; वृगवा 'hunting'; अटाटव 'the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant'.

Vart.—From the root जाव् we have either जागरा or जागर्वा 'waking'. The first is formed by the affix अ, the latter by य which brings in यक् (III. I. 67).

अ प्रत्ययात् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्रत्ययात्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययात्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix 'a', the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called धातु (III. I. 32), after these verbs the affix अ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ + वच् = चिकीर्ष् 'to wish to do'; this is a Derivative root; after this root चिकीर्ष्, we add अ. Thus चिकीर्ष् + अ (VI. 4. 48) = चिकीर्ष. Then we add टाच् by IV. 1. 4. and get चिकीर्षा 'the desire to do'; so also त्रिदोषा 'the desire to take'; पुत्रीया 'the desire to be like a son'; पुत्रकाम्या 'desire of a son'; लोलूया 'much cutting'; कण्डूया 'itch'. The sūtra is also found as अः प्रत्ययात् ।

गुरोश्च हलः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, च, हलः, (स्त्रियां, अ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तो यो धातुर्गुणान् ततः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix 'a' comes after that verb which has a prosodially heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debars क्तिन्. Thus कुपडा 'an adulteress'; वुरडा 'a tigress'; ईडा 'effort'; उडा supplying an ellipsis'.

Why do we say 'which has a prosodially heavy vowel'? Observe भक्ति 'devotion'. Why do we say 'which ends in a consonant'? Observe नीति 'polity'.

विद्भिदादिभ्योऽङ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विद्, भिद्-आदिभ्यः.

अङ्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्भ्यो भिदादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियामङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

104. The affix 'an' comes after those verbs that have an indicative 'sh', and after 'bhid' &c. when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus जृप् has an indicative प्, the real root being जृः. From it we have जरा 'old age' (VII. 4. 16); त्रुप्—त्रपा 'bashfulness'.

So also from verbs of the *Bhidadi* class we have भिदा 'breaking'; in the alternative we have भित्तिः. So also छिदा 'cutting'; छित्तिः 'cutting', खारा 'a knife, an

iron instrument'; चार्तिः 'distress'; धारा 'a stream'; घृतिः. The list of the *Bhidādi* verbs will not be found given in one place in the *Dhatupātha*. They have been collected from different *Ganas*, and are the following :—

भिदा, छिदा, बिदा, चिपा, गुहा, (गिर्योषधयोः), अडा, चेधा, मोधा, आरा, हारा, कारा, चिया, धारा, धारा, लेला, रेला, बडा, पीडा, वपा, ववा, वृजा, वृजा, कृपा, (कपेःसंप्रसारणं च) ॥

चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बिचर्चश्च ॥१०५॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्ति-पूजि-कथि-कुम्बि-चर्चः, च, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्ति पूजि कथि कुम्बि चर्च रभ्यो धातुभ्यो युचि प्राप्ते स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'an' as well as the affix 'yuch' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words:—'chint' (to think), 'pûj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of च् is to include the affix युच् into this sūtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the *Churādi* or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken युच् by III. 3. 107.

Thus चिन्ता 'thought'; पूजा 'worship'; कथा 'narration'; कुम्भा 'a covering', 'a thick petticoat'; चर्चर् 'recitation'.

When the affix is युच्, the forms are चिन्तना &c. (VII. 1. 1).

आतश्चोपसर्गे ॥१०६॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अदन्तरोपसर्गद्वयवृत्तिः ॥

106. The affix 'an' comes after those verbs which end in long 'ā' when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus प्रदा, प्रधा, उपदा, उपधा, &c.

Vart —For the purposes of this rule the particles अत् and अन्तर् should be treated like upasargas. Thus अडा 'faith' अन्तर्डा (I. 4. 59).

आसन्नन्थो युच् ॥१०७॥ पदानि ॥ आस-आन्नन्थः, युच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आसन्नन्थ इत्येताभ्यां च स्त्रियां युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षट्ठिविन्दिविदिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इषेदनिष्कार्यस्य युज्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परेर्वा ॥

107. After verbs ending in 'ni', and after 'ās' (to sit) and 'śranth' (to loose), there is the affix 'yuch' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix अ (III. 1. 102). Thus कृ + लिच् = कारि; कारि + युच् = कारवा (the व is elided by VI. 4. 51) 'the causing to do'; हारवा 'the causing to

take'; आसना 'the sitting'; अन्यना 'the loosening'. How do we get the form आस्या ? It is the feminine of आस्य formed by adding ण्यत् to the root आच् by III. 1. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. 1. 94, which declares that वाचस्पत्य rule does not apply to Feminine affixes? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase अस्त्रियाच् in III. 1. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—"Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 9), ण्यच् (III. 3. 98), ञ् (III. 3. 102). That is to say, an utsarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apavâda-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes *inter se* supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general कृत affixes". Now by the present sūtra the root आच् takes युच्; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like ञ् (III. 1. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix ण्यत् ।

The root अन्य् taken here belongs to the Kryâdi class, meaning 'to loosen' and is not the अन्य् of the Churâdi class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the Churâdi class which class of verbs take the affix णिच् ।

Vart.—The verbs पट् 'to move', वन्द 'to praise', and विद् 'to feel', should also be enumerated, as taking युच्. Thus पट्ना 'shaking', वन्दना 'praising', वेदना 'knowledge, feeling, pain'. The verb पट् here belongs to the Tudâdi class, and means 'to move' and not पट् of the Churâdi class, for that is already included by being लिङ्गन्त ।

Vart.—The affix युच् comes after ण्य् when it does not mean 'to desire'. Thus आन्वेयणा 'solicitation'; अन्वेयणा 'the searching after'.

Vart.—So also optionally when ण्य् takes the upasarga परि; as, पर्येषणा or परीष्टि: 'investigation by reasoning'.

रोगारुयायां एवुल्लङ्घुलम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोग-आरुयायाम्

एवुल्, लङ्घुलम्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगारुयायां गन्धनानायां धातोर्बहुलं एवुल्लङ्घुलं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धात्वर्थनिर्देशे एवुल्लङ्घुलम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इक्षितपौ धातुनिर्देशे इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वर्णातकारः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ रादिफः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मत्वर्थारब्धः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इज्जदिभ्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इक्षुड्यादिभ्यः ॥

108. The affix 'nvul' comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, being the name of 'diseases'.

This debars क्तिन् and all the rest. By using the word आख्या in the sūtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appellation of the disease. The word 'diversely' shows the usual license in the application of all the rules of grammar. Thus मूच्छर्दिका (VII. 1. 1.) 'vomiting'; प्रवाहिका 'diarrhœa'; विचर्चिका 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as शिरोर्त्तिः 'head-ache'.

Vart.—The affix *nvul* is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, आशिका 'to enjoy', शयिका to 'lie down' &c.

Vart.—The affixes इक् and रितप् (that is यप् and तितप्) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as भिदिः, छिदिः, पद्यतिः, पठतिः &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sūtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sūtra 49 of this chapter we have the root श्रि and यु exhibited as श्रयतिः and यौतिः. These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

Vart.—The affix कार is employed in merely pointing out letters; as ककारः means 'the letter क'; so also अकारः 'the letter अ'; इकारः 'the letter इ'.

Vart.—The affix इक् is employed in pointing out the letter इ; as रेक्.

Vart.—The affix छ comes after the word सत्वर्थ्य in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final अ; as सत्वर्थ्यः.

Vart.—The affix इञ् comes after the verbs अञ् &c; as आजिः, आतिः, आदिः.

Vart.—The affix इक् comes after the verbs कृप् &c; as, कृषिः, किरिः, &c.

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (खुल्, स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्बुलप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix 'nvul' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed'. वरणपुष्प-प्रवाहिका 'a sort of game'; आभ्युपखादिका; आचोपखादिका; शालभञ्जिका; तालभञ्जिका.

विभाषाख्यानपरिप्रश्नयोरिञ् च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आ-
ख्यान-परिप्रश्नयोः, इञ्, च, (खुल्, स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिप्रश्ने आख्याने च गम्यमाने धातोरिञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. And the affix 'iñ' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as; well^{as} as 'nvul' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिप्रश्न means 'question' and आख्यान means 'answer'; in the sūtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound आख्यानपरिप्रश्न may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand first (II. 2. 34,) and hence *ākhyana* is put first.

The force of च is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word एवुल् from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus: Q.—कां त्वं कारिन्कार्योः 'What work did you do?' A.—सर्वां कारिन्कार्यम् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कारिन् the following also. Q.—वां कारिकां, कृत्यां, कृतिं, क्रियां, अकार्योः A.—सर्वां कारिकां or कृत्यां or कृतिं or क्रियां अकार्यम् । Similarly, Q.—कां गणिं (गणनां, गणिकां &c.) अजीगणः A.—सर्वांगणिं &c. अजीगणम्. So also कां याजिस् or याजिकास्; कां याचिस् or याचिकां &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer'? Observe कृतिः and इतिः ।

पर्यायार्हलोत्पत्तिषु एवुच् ॥१११॥ पदानि॥ पर्याय-अर्ह-ऋण उत्पत्तिषु, गवुच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेष्वर्हेषु धातोर्णुच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'avuch' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पर्याय means turn or order of succession; अर्ह means worthy of respect; ऋण means debt owed to another; and उत्पत्ति means birth or production. This rule supersedes क्तिन् and other affixes. Thus: (1) भवतः शयिका 'your turn of sleeping'; भवतोऽग्रयासिका 'your turn of eating first'. (2) अर्हति भवानिहभक्षिकास् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) इहभक्षिकां मे धारयसि 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; आदन्नभोजिकां 'a meal of rice'; पयःपायिकां 'a drink of milk'. (4) इहभक्षिका मे उदपादि ।

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra also; as चिकीर्षोत्पन्नते ।

The forms given by एवुल् and एवुच् are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. 1 193, and VI. I. 163).

आक्रोशे नञ्यनिः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, नजि, अनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गन्धमाने नञ्युपपदे धातोर्ननिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix 'ani' comes after a verb when the particle 'nañ' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word आक्रोश means to curse. This supersedes the affixes क्तिन् &c. Thus अकारिणस्ते वृषल भूयात् 'may failure be to thee, O 'sinner'! तस्याकारिणरेवास्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe अकृतिस्तस्य कटस्थ 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when नञ् is in composition'? Observe इतिस्ते वृषल भूयात् 'may death be to thee, O! sinner'!

कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, ल्युटः, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया ल्युट् च बहुलपर्येषु भवन्ति ॥

113. The affixes called 'kritya' (III. 1. 95) and the affix 'lyut', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvṛitti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sūtras III. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sūtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the *kritya* affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the *kāraka* is other than the objective. Thus स्नानीयं दूर्ध्वं 'powder for bathing'; दानीयो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brāhmaṇa to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd. case, and in the second the 'Brāhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, ल्युट् is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजभोजनाः शालयः 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजाच्छादनानि वस्त्राणि 'dresses to be worn by the 'king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the *krit* affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus पादाभ्याश्च द्वियते = पादहारकः । गले चोप्यते = गलेचोपकः । For accent see VI. 2. 150.

नपुंसके भावे क्तः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसके, भावे, क्तः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोः क्तः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

114. The affix 'kta' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns : thus, हसितम् 'laugh'; जल्पितं 'speech'; शयितं 'sleeping'. So also गतं, चरितं &c.

ल्युट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्युट्, च, (नपुंसके, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोर्ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. The affix 'lyut' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus हसनं छात्रस्य 'the laughter of the student'; शोभनं 'beauty'; जल्पनं 'speech'; शयनं 'sleep'; आसनम् 'seat'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of *lyut* only runs, and not that of क्त ।

कर्मणि च येन संस्पर्शात् कर्तुः शरीरसुखम् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥

कर्मणि, च, येन, संस्पर्शात्, कर्तुः, शरीर-सुखम् (नपुंसके, भावे, ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन कर्मणा संस्पृश्यमानस्य कर्तुः शरीरसुखमुत्पद्यते तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदेधातोर्नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

116. The affix 'lyut' is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates thing, from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This sūtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix ल्युट् comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix *lyut* would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sūtra, the framing of this sūtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a नित्य or invariable compound i. e., a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every उपपद compound is a नित्य compound (II. 2. 19). Thus पयः पानं सुखं 'the pleasure of drinking milk'; ओदनभोजनं सुखं 'the pleasure of eating rice,'

Why do we say 'when the word in construction is in the accusative case'? Observe हलिकाया उत्थानं सुखं 'rising from a bed of down is pleasant'. Here there is no compounding as the upapada हलिका is in the ablative case.

Why do we say 'from the contact'? Observe अग्निकुंडस्योपासनं सुखं 'it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth'. Here there being no contact between 'fire' and 'body', there is no compounding.

Why do we say 'to the agent'? Observe गुरोः स्नापनं सुखं 'to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe'. Here the word गुरुः is not the agent but the object of the verb स्नापयति ।

Why do we say 'corporally'? Observe पुत्रस्य परिद्वञ्जनं सुखम् 'embracing of the son is a pleasure'. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say 'a pleasant sensation'? Observe कंटकानां मर्दनं दुःखम् 'it is painful to rub thorns'. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sūtras.

करणाधिकरणयोश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करण-अधिकरणयोः, च, (ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणेऽधिकरणे च कारके धातोर्ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix 'lyut' comes after a root, when

the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus **इष्मप्रवृचनः** 'an axe' (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); **पलाशघातनः** 'palâsa-cutter'; **गोदोदनी** 'a milk-pail' (a vessel into which milk is milked; so also **सक्तुधानी**). In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

पुंसि संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसि, संज्ञायाद्, घः, प्रायेण, (करणाधिकरणयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंल्लिङ्गयोः करणाधिकरणयोरभिधेययोर्धातोर्घः प्रत्ययो भवति क्लृदायेन चेत संज्ञा गच्छते ॥

118. The affix 'gha' generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the masculine gender.

The force of the word **प्रायेण** 'generally' is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus **दन्तच्छदः** 'the lip'; **छादि** 'to cover' + **घ** (VI. 4. 96) = **छद** lit. 'that by which the teeth are covered'; so also **उरच्छद** 'a breast plate'; **घट**. These denote instruments.

So also in denoting 'location'. Thus **आ + कृ + घ = आकरः** 'a mine', so named because men work (*okurvanti*) in it, **आसवः** 'a house' that in which men settle down.

Why do we say 'in the masculine gender'? Observe **मण्डपचक्र** 'a comb'; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is *lyut*.

Why do we say 'when the complete word so formed is merely an appellative'? Observe **महर्षो दण्डः** 'the beating stick'.

The indicatory **घ** is merely qualifying; for the application of sūtra VI.4. 96. by which after the causative **छादि**, when **घ** is added, the long **आ** is shortened.

गोचरसंचरवह्वृजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोचर-संचर-वह-वृज-आपण-निगमाः, च (घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोचरादयः शब्दाः प्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते पूर्वेष्वभिधेयार्थे ॥

119. And the words 'gochara', 'samchara', 'vaha', 'vraja', 'vyaja', 'âpana' and 'nigama' are anomalous.

These words are irregularly formed by the affix **घ** with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an *aparâda* or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix **चञ्** is added. Thus **गोचरः** 'pasturage', (lit. that in which the cows graze); **संचरः** 'a passage', (lit. through which they move); **वहः** 'a vehicle' (lit. by which men are carried); **वृजः** 'a cow-pen' (by which they go); **व्यजः** 'a fan' (by which they move the air); the anomaly

in this consists in to replacing the अञ् of व्यञ् (वि + अञ्) by the substitute वी as required by sūtra II. 4. 56; आपण 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and traffic); निगमः 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they enter).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus कषः, निक्षः 'a touch-stone' (lit. that on which they rub).

अवे तृस्त्रोर्घञ् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, तृ-स्त्रोः, घञ्, (करणाधि-
करणयोः संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र उपपदे तस्तेस्तृणातेश्च धातोः करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायां घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'trī' (to cross) and 'stri' (to spread), when the upasarga 'ava' formed is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes च : The ञ् is indicatory and causes the vṛiddhi of अ (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicatory च् is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus अवतारः 'the descent' (or incarnation of a deity); अवस्तारः 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply अवतार also in phrases like अवतारो नद्याः 'the descent of rivers', for here the word *avatāra* is not an appellative ? This use is also allowed, because the anuvṛitti of the word प्राद्य is understood here also ; so that these words *avatāra* &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलश्च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, (पुंलि, संज्ञायां, करणाधि-
करणयोः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताद्धातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghañ', (when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and thereby the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sūtra from sūtra III. 3. 118. This excludes च. Thus लेखः 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed); वेदः 'the Veda' (that by which all is known); वेषः 'dress' (that which is *worn into*); वन्धः 'obstruction'; मार्गः 'a way' (that on which they seek); अवाचार्गः 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away); रागः, Rāma' (i. e. in which the devout delight).

अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्याय-
न्याय-उद्याव-संहार-आधार-आवायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यायादयः शब्दाः घञन्ता निपात्यन्ते ॥

122. And the words 'adhyâya', 'nyâya', 'udyâva', 'samhâra', 'âdhâra' and 'âvâya' are anomalous

These words are formed by adding the affix घञ् to the exclusion of घ which would have come by rule III. 3. 118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus अधि+इ+घञ्=अध्यायः 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी—न्यायः 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are led); उत्+यु—उदायः 'mixture' (lit. that in which they blend); चक्ष्+हृ—संहारः 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); आ+धृ—आधारः 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); आ+वि—आवायः=आवयन्ति अस्मिन् ।

The force of घ is to include others not enumerated above; as, अवहारः ।

उदङ्कोऽनुदके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदङ्कुः, अनुदके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदङ्कु इति निपात्यते अनुदक विषयश्चेद् धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

123. The word 'udaṅka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: उत्+अञ्+घञ्=उदङ्कुः 'a vessel'.

Would not the affix घञ् have come by sūtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water'.

Thus तैलोदङ्कुः 'a leathern vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe उदकोदञ्जनः 'a bucket for drawing water' (उद्+अञ्ज+लुट्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix घ to the root उदञ्? Because the form evolved by applying घ, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by घञ्; even the accent would be the same. For by sūtra VI. 2. 141, the udâtta accent, in the case of घञ्, will fall on the final.

जालान्नायः ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जालम्, आनायः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय इति निपात्यते जाल चेत्तद्वति ॥

124. The word 'ânâya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ+नी+घञ्=आनायः 'a net' (by which they are caught); as आनायो मत्स्यानां 'a net for fish'; आनायो वृणाणां 'a net for wild deer, &c'.

खनो घ च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खनः, घ, च, (करणाधिकरणे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनतेर्ङीतोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घः प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् घञ् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ङो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ङो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ङो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इक्षवको वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), (when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location).

The affix खञ् has been read into the sūtra by force of the word ख । Thus आखानः or आखनः 'a spade, a hoe'.

Vart.—The affix उ also comes in this sense after the verb खञ्. Thus आखन्+उ=आखः 'a spade'. The indicatory इ showing that the final portion called टि should be elided.

Vart.—The affix हर also comes in the same sense : as आखरः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So also the affix इक्; as आखनिकः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So too the affix इक्षवक as आखनिकवकः 'a spade'.

ईषद्दुःखु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रायेषु खल् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-
खु, कृच्छ्र-अकृच्छ्र-अयेषु, खल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषत् दुस् दु इत्येतेष्वपपदेषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रायेषु धातोः खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. In the sense of 'hard and difficult' or 'light and easy', the affix 'khal' is added to a verb, when 'ishad', and 'dur' and 'su' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word कृच्छ्र means heavy, and दुर् has the force of conveying that sense. The word अकृच्छ्र means 'light, easy'; and the words ईषत् and सु convey that sense. Thus ईषत्करो भवता कटः 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also दुष्करः 'made with difficulty'; सुकरः 'made with ease'. Similarly ईषद्भोजः 'eating pleasantly'; दुर्भोजः and सुभोजः ।

Why do we say 'after ईषत् &c.'? See कृच्छ्रेण कार्यः कटः 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light'? Observe ईषत्कार्यं 'a small work'.

Of the affix खल्, the letter ख and ल् are indicatory; ख causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called वुच augment, VI. 3. 67); and ल् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment वुच will be added in the subsequent sūtra, the ख thus having no work in this sūtra.

कर्तृकर्मणोश्च भूकृजोः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः, च, भू-
कृजोः, (ईषद्-दुः-खु, खल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेः करोतेश्च धातोर्यथासंख्यं कर्तरि कर्मणि षोडशे चकारादीषदादिषु च खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्तृ कर्मणोश्चयोर्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhû' and 'kri', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'asnad' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus ईषदादयः भव 'being enriched easily'; दुरादयः भवच् 'to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वादयकते देवदत्तो भवता 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

Vart.—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix चिच् (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III. 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here स्वादेयन भूयते or आदेयन भुञ्जते ॥

आतो युच् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युच्; (ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्रा-
कृच्छ्रार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु ईषदादिषूपपदेषु आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'â', (when 'ishad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty)

The word ईषद् &c. are to be read into this sūtra, not so the words कर्तृ-कर्मणश्च &c. This supersedes the affix खल्. Thus ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; दुष्पानः 'difficult to be drunk'; सुपानः 'easy to be drunk'. दधद्दानो गौर्भवता 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; दुर्दानः, सुदानः &c.

कृन्दसि गत्यर्थेभ्यः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृन्दसि, गति-अर्थेभ्यः,
(ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदादिषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषूपपदेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्चकृन्दसि विषये युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129 The affix 'yuch' comes in the Chhandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'ishad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debars the affix खल्. Thus सुपसदनोऽग्निः ; सुपसदनमन्तरिक्षम् । See T. S. 7. 5. 20. 1.

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,
(गत्यर्थेभ्यः, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्यो गत्यर्थेभ्यश्चकृन्दसि विषये युच् प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां चासिपुषिदृशिपुषिदृशिभ्यो युच् वक्तव्यः ॥

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after verbs also, than those meaning 'to go'.

Thus जुदोह नाम कृषोद् ब्रूयते गां ; so also जुवेद नाम कृषोद् ब्रूयते गां ॥ (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

Vart.—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix 'yuch' comes after the verbs शास्, धृष्, हृष्, वृष्, and वृष्; as दुःशासनः 'Duhśāsanah'; दुर्योधनः 'Duryodhanah'; दुर्दर्शनः, दुर्दर्पणः and दुर्भर्षणः ।

वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानावह्ता ॥ १३१ ॥ पदान् ॥ वर्तमान-समीप्ये, वर्तमान-वत्, वा, (भूते भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्तमानसमीप्ये भूते भविष्यति च वर्तमानादातोर्वर्तमानवत्प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words समीप्य and सामीप्य are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix च्यङ्. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Pāṇini's using the word सामीप्य, that the affix च्यङ् also comes with a self-descriptive (svārtha) force, and the words चातुर्वर्ण्यः &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with sūtra III. 2. 123 (वर्तमाने लट्) and end with III. 3. 1 (उणादय बहुलं,) are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question कदा देवदत्ताऽगतोसि 'when didst thou come Devadatta', it may be replied, either अयमागच्छामि 'I come now'; or आगच्छन्तमेव नां विद्धि 'know me even to have come'; or अयमागतम् 'I have now come'; or एयोस्त्वागतः 'I have come now'. So also to the question कदा देवदत्त गन्तिष्यसि 'when will you go Devadatta', it may be replied, either एष गच्छामि 'I go now' or गच्छन्तमेव नां विद्धि or एष गन्तिष्यामि or गन्तास्मि &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (वत्) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (महृति), and words in compositions (उपपद), and restrictive significations (उपपत्ति), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and these circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus शान् by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakritis श् and यञ् in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after श् and यञ्, and so on. Thus पयनानः, यजनानः, अलंकरिषुः (III. 2. 136) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (सामीप्य)'? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.

As चरद् अगच्छत् पाटलिपुत्रम् 'he went day before yesterday to Pataliputra'; चरेत् भविष्यति 'he will go in a year'.

One may say that "the word गच्छाति can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense; and hence the present sūtra is superfluous". To such we reply that the present sūtra and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit; but for those only who do not know this.

Dr. Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—'Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense'.

आशंसायां भूतवच्च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसायाम्, भूतवत्, च, (भविष्यति, वर्तमानवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले आशंसायां गन्धमानायां घातोर्वा भूतवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकाराद् वर्तमानवच्च ॥

132. The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed.

The word 'optionally' is understood here also. The phrase 'not remote from the present' is not valid in this aphorism. The word आशंसा means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of च is to draw the word वर्तमानवत् from the last sūtra in this aphorism. This sūtra has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—"When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (लृट्), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदगमत् or आगतः, or आगच्छति or आगन्निष्यति वा हते उपाकरणमप्यगीच्छद्, or अधीतवन्तः or अधीमहे or अध्येद्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by लृट् (Aorist); and not by लङ् or लिट्. For लृट् denotes past time in general, while लङ् and लिट् denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase भूतवत् making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to लिट् or लङ् which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe आगन्निष्यति 'he will come'.

क्षिप्रवचने लृट् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिप्र-वचने, लृट्, (आशंसायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रवचन उपपदे आशंसायां गत्यन्तानायां धातोर्लुट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lrit' is employed after the root, when 'hope' is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future only can be employed. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेत्तद्विप्रनागमिष्वति (or उपाध्यायश्चेदागतः—*Apts.*) विप्रं व्याकरणमभ्येक्ष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar'.

By force of the word वचन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of विप्र also, such as शीघ्रं, आयु, त्वरितम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word लुट् in the sūtra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever hope is indicated. Sūtra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sūtra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus; —न विप्रवचने 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debaring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express hope". To them we say, that there are two future tenses, लृट् and लुट् । By specifying लृट् we mean that लुट् should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:—इवः विप्रमभ्येक्ष्यामहे 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

आशंसावचने लिङ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसा-वचने, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशंसा येनोच्यते तदाशंसावचनं तस्मिन्नुपपदे धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in denoting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing 'hope'.

This is also an *apavada* of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छेद्, आशंसे युक्तोऽधीयीष्य 'if the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence'. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of 'quickness' are in composition. Thus आशंसे विप्रमधीयीष्य 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, अवकरूपये युक्तोऽधीयीष्य, &c.

नानद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अनद्यतन-वत्, क्रिया-प्रबन्ध-सामीप्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति क्रियाप्रबन्धे सामीप्ये च गत्यन्ताने ॥

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15, through

the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes लृट् (Imperfect Past) and लृट् (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sūtra prohibits these two affixes. The word क्रियाप्रवचनः means 'performing an action with continuity'; an सानीप्य means 'not remoteness of time, immediateness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus'. Thus यावज्जीवं भुज्यन्तमदात् (not अददात्) 'he gave food throughout his life'; भुज्यन्तं दास्यति 'he will give much food'. यावज्जीवं पुत्रोऽप्यापिपत् 'throughout his life he taught', or यावज्जीवं अप्यापिप्यति 'throughout his life he will teach'. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus येन पूर्णमास्यतिष्ठान्ता, एतस्याहुवाध्यायोगीनाधित or सेनेनावद्ध or गामदित 'during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow'. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. द्वेयमावास्याऽऽगमिनी, एतस्याहुवाध्यायोगीनाधास्यते or सेनेन यज्यते, or स गं दास्यते 'on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow'. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative न अनद्यतन 'not non-to-day' implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

भविष्यति नर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् ॥ १३६ ॥ यद्गानि ॥ भविष्यति, नर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, (नानद्यतनवत्) ॥

यतिः ॥ भविष्यति काले नर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् प्रविभागेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति ॥

136. The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III. 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase नानद्यतनवत् is valid in this sūtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, 'continuity of action' and 'immediateness', however, do not apply here. Thus योऽयमध्वान्तव्य आपाटलिपुत्रात्तस्य यदवरं कौशाब्द्यास्तत्रोदनं भोषयामहे, तत्र सक्तुपास्यामः 'on this side of the road from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu'.

Why do we say 'in denoting future time'? Observe योऽयमध्वान्त आपाटलिपुत्रात् तस्य यदवरं कौशाब्द्यास्तत्र यक्ता अध्यैमहि 'on this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, we read together &c.

Why do we say 'when signifying limit'? Observe योऽयमध्वानिरवधिक

नन्तव्यस्तस्य यदवरं कौशाभ्यास्तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे, वक्तुं पातास्मः । Here the First Future is employed.

Why do we say 'when the word अवर is in construction'? Observe योऽयं न च्चागामी तस्य यत्परं कौशाभ्यास्तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit; in the subsequent sūtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

कालविभागे चानहोरात्राणाम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-विभागे, च, न-अहः-रात्राणाम्, (भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, च, अनद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सत्त्वरस्मिन्विभागे भावयति कालेऽनदनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न चेदहोरात्रवचनधी विभागस्तेषां च विभागे प्रतिषेधः ॥

137 The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word 'avara' is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of 'day' or 'night'.

The whole of the last sūtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that sūtra III. 3. 136 referred both to the limit of *space* and *time*, while sūtra III. 3. 137 refers to the limit of *time* only; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions of day and night. The *yoga-vibhāga*, the separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तत्र यदवरमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येस्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together'; तत्रोदनं भोक्ष्यामहे we shall eat rice then &c'.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: योऽयं वत्सरोऽतीतस्तस्य यदवरमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येमहि 'in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we read together'; तत्रोदनमभुञ्जमहि 'we ate together &c.'

Why do we say 'limit'? Observe योऽयं निरवधिकः काल आगामी तस्य यदवरमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येतास्महे—तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे ।

The limit must be 'on this side, i. e., अवर side'. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sūtra.

Why do we say 'when not divisions of day and night'? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case; as, योऽयं मास आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रः or योऽयं त्रिंशद्वात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरोऽर्धमासः or योऽयं त्रिंशदहोरात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रस्तत्र युक्ता अध्येतास्महे तत्र वक्तुं पातास्मः । Here Luṭ or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.

परस्मिन् विभाषा ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मिन्, विभाषा, (भविष्यति, नर्यादावचने, कालविभागे, अनहोरात्राणाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालनर्यादाविभागे सति भविष्यति काले परस्मिन् प्रविभागे विभाषाऽनव्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविवर्तनं भवति, न चेदहोरात्रसंज्ञन्धी प्रविभागः ॥

138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made with regard to that side of a limit of time,

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: The sūtra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word पर is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of day or night".

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the पर side of a starting limit. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तस्व यत् परमाग्रहायययास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येष्यामहे or अध्येतास्महे 'we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next'.

All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word पर instead of अवर.

लिङ् निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ् निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रिया-अतिपत्तौ, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुहेतुषतोर्लिङित्येवमादिकं लिङो निमित्तं, तत्र लिङ् निमित्ते भविष्यति काले लृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्याम् ॥

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Liñ' the affix 'Lrin' is employed in the Future tense when the non-completion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for the affix लिङ् are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sūtras III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लृङ् is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—*Apte's Guide*.

Thus सुवृष्टिश्चेदभविष्यत् तदा सुभिक्षमभविष्यत् 'if there had been good rain, then there would have been plenty of food; or if there were to be good rain then there would be plenty of food'. It is implied that there was not good rain nor consequent plenty: or that the occurrence of good rain is dubious, and the desirable consequence equally so.

So also here, दक्षिणेन चेदावाहयन् न शक्यं पर्याभविष्यत् 'if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् आवाहयन् न शक्यं

यथाभवित्यत् 'if he were to call Kamalaka (which he will not), the carriage would not be upset'; आभोषयत भवात् पृतेन यदि नत्तन्नीपत् आगमित्यत् 'you would eat food with clarified butter, if you (were to) come to me (but you will not come)'.

All these sentences refer to future time. The non-upsetting is a future contingency and is an effect the cause of which is the 'calling of Kamalaka.' The speaker—having apprehended the cause and effect, and having also learned from other sources that such an effect will not take place, that is to say, that Kamalaka will not be called, and the carriage will be upset—has employed this conditional tense to express his idea. The whole sentence यदि कनककत् &c. really gives this sense:—That both actions, 'the calling' and 'the non-upsetting', which are subjects of a future time, and which are related as cause and effect, will not be completed; that neither Kamalaka will be called, nor the impending fate averted from the carriage. The sūtra may also be thus rendered according to Professor Bohtlingk:—In a conditional sentence, which would require a Potential according to III. 3. 156, is used, if the sense is that of Future time, the Conditional Tense, when the action is not complete.

भूते च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, च, (लिङ्निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रियति पत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूते च काले लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्यात् लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. And (where there is a reason for affixing 'Lin', the affix 'Lrin' is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sūtra enjoined लृङ् in the Future tense; this sūtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing लिङ् are given in sūtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sūtras III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—दृष्टो मया भवत्पुत्रोऽन्नार्थं चङ्क्रम्यमाद्यः अपरश्च द्विजो ब्राह्मणार्थं, यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत्, तदाऽभोषयत, न तु भुक्तवान्, अन्येन पया स गतः । 'I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brāhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice-born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road'.

The conditional sentence यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत् तदाऽभोषयत is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.

बोताप्योः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आ-उताप्योः, (भूते, लिङ्निमित्ते, क्रियातिपत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ्गिति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मात् सूत्रावधेयेदित् जर्ध्वनञ्जुक्कनिष्पन्नः, अत्र भूते लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ लृङ् वा भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

141. From this point as far as sūtra III. 3. 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the sūtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing 'Liñ', the 'Liñ may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous sūtras to complete the sense. This sūtra consists of three words वा 'optionally', आ 'as far as' and उताप्योः (the sūtra III. 3. 152). The words वा + आ + उ form वा by the rules of conjunction. The particle आ in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The *optional* use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohtlingk translates this aphorism thus: "optionally so, in connection with उद् and अपि, the conditional tense may be employed".

गर्हायां लङ्पिजात्वोः ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायां, लङ् अपिजात्वोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्हायां गन्धमानायां अपिजात्वोरुपपदयोर्गर्हातोर्लङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix 'Lat' is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it the words 'api' or 'jātu', the sense implied by the sentence being that of 'censure'.

The word गर्हा means 'censure', 'blame'. The affix लङ् has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general, which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present sūtra.

Thus अपि तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयात् 'even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sūdra'; जातु तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयति गर्हामहे, अहो अन्याय्यमेतत् 'possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sūdra'; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of लिङ्, of course, we cannot employ लृङ् to denote the non-completion of the action

So also अषि or जातु जायां त्यजसि 'Fie ! you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife'!

विभाषा कथमि लिङ् च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कथमि, लिङ्, च, (गर्हायां, लट्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथंशब्द उपपदे गर्हायां गन्धमानायां धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्यया भवति, चकाराल्लट्च ॥

143. The affix 'Lin' as well as 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root, when the word 'katham' is in construction with it, and censure is implied.

The word 'censure' is understood, and by च we draw लट् from the previous sūtra into this. By using the word 'optionally' in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयति or याजयिष्यति 'Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

So also कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयिता, अयाजयत् or याजयांचकार ।

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (लृङ्); therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can *optionally* employ the Conditional also (लृङ्). As कथं नाम तत्र भवान् लृषलम् अयाजयिष्यत् or याजयेत् 'Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sūdra (in vain)'.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (लृङ्) must *invariably* be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कथं धर्मम् अत्यजिष्यः 'why will you (attempt to) give up your duty'.

किंवृत्ते लिङ्लृटौ ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिङ्-लृटौ, (गर्हायाम्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे गर्हायां गन्धमानायां धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

144. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lrit' come after a verb, when the interrogative words like 'kim' &c, are in composition with it, and censure is implied.

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word 'censure' is understood here; not so, however, the word 'optionally'. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word लिङ् in this sūtra, is for the sake of excluding लट्, whose anuvṛitti would also have run into this sūtra, had we taken the anuvṛitti of लिङ् from the last sūtra, instead of repeating it. Thus कः कतरो वा हरिं निन्देत्, निन्दिष्यति वा 'who will censure Hari ?'

In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृङ्); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as को नाम वृषलो यं तत्र भवान्वाजयिष्यत् 'who is the Sûdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)'. This sūtra may be rendered thus also:—"In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future".

अनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनवकृप्ति-अ-मर्षयोः, अकिंवृत्ते, अपि, (किंवृत्ते, लिङ्लृटौ, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तेऽकिंवृत्ते चोपपदेऽनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोर्धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'censure' ceases. The word अनवकृप्तिः means 'impossibility, not to be believed'. The word अमर्षः means 'not endurable or not to be tolerated'. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd. Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोः, the word अनवकृप्तिः ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word अमर्ष (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of यत्तत्तत्त्वं, (I. 3. 10). does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sūtra then being 'that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd. Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated'. This is not, however, the interpretation which we should put upon the sūtra.

Thus नावकर्तुमिदं, न संभावयामि, न श्रद्धये, तत्र भवान् नाम वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयिष्यत् 'I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sûdra'. न मर्षयामि तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयिष्यति 'I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृङ्), but necessarily so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नावकर्तुमिदं तत्र भवान् नाम वृषलं याजयिष्यत् 'I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sûdra.

किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंकिल-अस्त्यर्थेषु, लृट्, (अनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषूपपदेऽनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोर्धातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

146. The affix 'Lrit' (the First Future) is used after a root, when the words 'kimkila' or those having the sense of 'asti' (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The word within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किंकिल is to be taken as an upapada and not the word किं and किल separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of *asti* are अस्ति, भवति and विद्यते । This rule supersedes the Potential (लिङ्). Thus किंकिल or अस्ति or भवति or विद्यते नास तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयिष्यति, न नर्षयामि, न नृददधे 'Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sûdra? I cannot believe or tolerate it'.

As there is no occasion for लिङ् here, we cannot have the Conditional (लृङ्) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न नृदधे न नर्षये वा काकल त्व यूदान्नम् भोक्ष्यसे 'I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sudra'; अस्ति भवति विद्यते वा यूद्रीं गमिष्यसि 'Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sûdra'.

जातुयदोर्लिङ् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु-यदोः, लिङ्, (अनवकृ-
पत्यनर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु यदित्येतयोरेकपदयोरेकलृङ् पत्यनर्षयोरन्यवानयोधोतोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जातुयदोर्लिङ् विधाने यदायदोरेकसंख्यानम् ॥

147. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'jātu' and 'yat' being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or 'Lrit'. जातु तत्र भवान् वृषलम् याजयेत्, or यन्नास तत्र भवान् वृषलम् याजयेत्, न नृदधे, न नर्षयामि ।

Vart.—The words यदा and यदि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and यत् in this rule. As यदा or यदि वा त्वादृशो हरिं निन्देन्नावकल्पयामि न नर्षयामि 'neither do I think, nor do I tolerate that one like you should blaspheme Hari'.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (लृङ्) is necessarily employed in denoting future time, and optionally so in denoting past time. As जातु, यत्, यदा or यदि त्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् or अनिन्दिष्यत् नावकल्पयामि, न नर्षयामि वा 'neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari'. यदि नुरभिनवात्स्यस्तन्मुखोच्छ्वासागन्धम् तव रजि रभविष्यत् पुण्डरीके किमस्मिन् 'if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus'?

यच्चयत्रयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यच्च-यत्रयोः, (अनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोः, लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोरनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोर्गन्धमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. Thus यच्च यत्र वा त्वमेव कुर्याः न श्रद्धये, न नर्षयानि 'I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so'.

The Conditional (लृङ्) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

गर्हायां च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायाम्, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति गर्हायाम् गन्धमानायां ॥

149. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root in all tenses when the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words *anavaklipti* and *amarsha* ceases. This debars all other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् श्रद्धो वृद्धः सन् द्राक्ष्यः, गर्हान्हे, श्रद्धो अन्याय्यमेतत् 'we blame you who being an opulent, old Brâhmana (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sûdra, O ! It is improper' !

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As यच्च or यत्र त्वं हरिं निन्देः or अनिन्दिष्यः, गर्हान्हे 'we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari', &c.

चित्रीकरणे च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्रीकरणे, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्रयोरुपपदयोरिचित्रीकरणे गन्धमाने धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix 'Lin' comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' and the sense implied is that of 'wonder'.

The word चित्रीकरणं means 'wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c'. This debars all the other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् आश्चर्यमेतत् 'this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं याजये: or अयाजयिष्य: 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sûdra'; आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं अयाजयिष्य: 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sûdra perform a sacrifice.

शेषे लृङ्यदौ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लृट्, अयदौ, (चित्रीकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे उपपदे चित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातौ लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति यदि शब्दरचनेन प्रयुज्यते ॥

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than 'yachcha' and 'yatra', the affix 'Lrit' is employed after a root, except when the word 'yadi' is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words यच्च or यत्र are not employed, as well as where the word यदि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आश्चर्यं, चित्रं, अद्भुतम् अन्धो नाम पर्वतमारोहयति, बधिरो नाम व्याकरणम् अध्वे-
ष्यते 'it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar'.

Not so, when the word यदि is employed. Thus आश्चर्यं यदि वाद बोधयीत 'a wonder, if he study'. आश्चर्यं यदि स भुञ्जीत 'a wonder, if he eat'.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potential, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sûtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत-अप्योः, समर्थयोः,

लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत अपि इत्येतयोः समर्थयोर्धातौ लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

152. The affix 'Lib' comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words 'uta' and 'api', both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to उत and अपि is that of वादच् 'assuredly, certainly, surely, really'. Thus उत कुर्वद् 'certainly he does'; अपि कुर्वद् 'assuredly he does'; उताधीकीत 'certainly he studies (will study &c.)'; अप्यधीकीत 'surely he studies &c'.

Why do we say 'when they mean certainly'? Observe उत दंडः पतियति 'will the stick fall?' अपि द्वारं धास्यति 'he shuts the door'. Here उत is employed in asking questions, and अपि with धा means 'to shut'. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (लृङ्) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of लिङ् (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, लृङ्

must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but *सुह्* must be employed where *sûtras* III. 3. 139 and 140 require it.

कामप्रवेदनेऽकचिचति ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम-प्रवेदने, अकचिचति,
(लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काम इच्छाभिलाष इत्ययोरन्तरम्, तस्य प्रवेदनं प्रकाशनम्, तस्मिन् प्रत्ययानेऽकचिच-
इत्यपदे वातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

153. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word 'kachochit' is in composition with it.

The phrase कामप्रवेदन means the expression of one's wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कामो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् = अभिलाषो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् 'it is my wish that you will eat'.

Why do we say 'except the word कचिचत्'? Observe कचिचञ्जीवति ते माता कचिचञ्जीवति ते पिता । नारदिव् त्वां वृच्छानि कचिचञ्जीवतिपार्वती ॥ I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living. I ask thee, O māravid ! (Parrot), I hope that Pārvaṭi is living'.

संभावनेऽलमिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संभावने,
अलम्, इति, चेत्, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगे, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संभावनं, क्रियासु योग्यताध्यवशानंशक्तिप्रदानम्, तदिदानीमलमर्थेन विशेष्यते, तच्चेत् संभावनं, पर्याप्तमवितथं भवति, सिद्धाप्रयोग इत्यलमो विशेषणं, सिद्धाप्रयोगोऽप्रयोगः, क्वाची सिद्धः, यत्र गम्यते चाथो नचाची प्रयुज्यते, तदीदृशे संभावनोपाधिकेऽर्थे वसन्मानुषातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'Lin' is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than 'alam'.

The word लिङ् is understood here. the word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलं. The word अलं means 'adequate'; so that the above-mentioned संभावनं must be completed, full and true, i. e., realised. The phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे qualifies अलं, and means 'if the non-employment or omission of अलं is valid or unobjectionable'. When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलं is implied by the sentence, but this word itself is not used? The Potential Mood is employed when the expectation is of the kind above described. This rule debars all other tense-affixes. Thus अपि पश्यत गिरसा भिन्दात् 'I expect he will break even the hill with his head'; अपि द्रोण-पाकं भुञ्जीत 'I expect you will eat away even a *drona* of cooked food'.

Why do we use the word अलं 'competent to do'? Observe, विदेशस्यापी

देवदत्त मायेव ननिश्चति प्राप्तम् 'I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country'. Here though 'expectation' is expressed the idea conveyed by चक्ष, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase चिह्नप्रयोगे 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, चक्ष देवदत्तो वस्तिन इनिश्चति 'Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also'.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (युच्) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohlingk translates the sūtra thus: "The Potential is employed when it is expressed that some one is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place'.

विभाषा धातौ सम्भावनवचनेऽप्याह ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धातौ, सम्भावन-वचने, अथदि, (संभावने, ऽलनिति, चेत्, चिह्नप्रयोगे, लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्भावनवचने धातायुच्यते वच्छब्दवर्जिते चातोर्लिङ् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

155. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses 'expectation', in construction with it, but not so when the word 'yat' is used.

The whole of the last sūtra qualifies this sūtra; the 'expectation' indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last sūtra and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an 'expectation' is expressed such as संभावय चक्षि, or चक्षिष्याम, is called संभावय वचन. This sūtra enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus सम्भावयामि युज्यते or भोज्यते भवात् 'I expect you will eat'; चक्षयिष्यामि युज्यते or भोज्यते भवात् 'I hope you will eat'; वदयति युज्यते or भोज्यते भवात् 'I believe you will eat'. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यत् is employed. As सम्भावयामि यत् युज्यते भवात् 'I expect you will eat'.

The sūtra may also be rendered thus. "The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of 'to hold as possible', but not when यत् is employed."

हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-हेतुमतोः, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभूते हेतुमति चार्थे वचनानाद् धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्यये भवति ॥

156. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and it consequence.

The word हेतु means 'cause or condition' and हेतुन्त means 'consequence or effect'. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, 'in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the *protasis* (हेतु) and *apodosis* (हेतुन्त), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it'. Thus:—दक्षिणेन वेद्यावाग्नं यकटम् पर्यामयेत् 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; यदि कलनकम् आहूयेन्न यकटम् पर्यामयेत् 'if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the *protasis* (हेतु), and 'not-upsetting' the *apodosis* (हेतुन्त).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus दक्षिणेन वेद् यादवति न यकटं पर्यामिष्यति 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word विभाषा 'optionally' used in the sūtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the *anuvṛitti* of लिङ् could have been taken from the last aphorisms, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: हन्तीति पलायते 'he kills, therefore he flies'; वर्षति इति धावति 'it rains, therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (लृट्) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sūtra III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेषु, लिङ्लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु चातुष्टयपदेषु चातोर्लिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आनप्रवेदनइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

157 The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' are employed after a root, when another verb having the sense of 'wishing' in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing 'wish', such as इष्, कम्, प्रार्थ &c., are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus इच्छामि आशये or प्रार्थये भुञ्जीव भवान् or भुङ्क्तां भवान् 'I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat'.

Vart.—It is only when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb 'to wish' or its synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are not used here: इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'.

The sūtra may be rendered thus: 'In connection with a verb in the sense of 'wishing' the Potential or the Imperative may be employed'.

समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकेषु, तुमुन्,
(इच्छार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु पातुषु समानकर्तृकेषु पदेषु चातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

158. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb, when another verb meaning 'to wish' is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus इच्छति, वटि or वांछति भोक्तुम् 'he desires to eat'; कामयते भोक्तुम् 'he wishes to eat'; पिनाकपाणिं पतिम् आप्तुम् इच्छति 'desires to obtain for her husband the Pinâka-handed God Siva.'

But why do we say 'when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same'? We can not say देवदत्तं भोक्तुम् इच्छति यज्ञदत्तः: 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of भुञ् and इप् are not the same. We must say, भुञ्जानम् instead of भोक्तुम् ।

Why do not we use it here:—इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in तुम् is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

लिङ् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, (इच्छार्थेषु, समानकर्तृकेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु समानकर्तृकेषु पातुषु पदेषु चातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix 'Lin' is used after a verb when verbs meaning 'to wish' are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying 'wish', the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus भुञ्जीय इति इच्छति 'he wishes that he may eat'; अधीयीषेतीच्छति 'he wishes that he will read.'

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेभ्यो विभाषा वर्तमाने ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेभ्यः,
विभाषा, वर्तमाने, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेभ्यो पातुभ्यो वर्तमाने काले विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. After roots meaning 'to wish', the Potential (Lin) is optionally used in denoting the present time.

This ordains लिङ् where there would have been otherwise लृट्. Thus इच्छति or इच्छेत् 'he wishes'; वटि or उग्रयात्; कामयते or कामयेत् ।

विधिनिमन्त्रणामन्त्रणाधीष्टसंप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥
विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यादर्थेषु चातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

161. The affix 'Lin' comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधिः means 'commanding or directing a subordinate'; निमन्त्रणं 'means giving invitation'; आनन्त्रणं means 'expressing permission to do as one likes'; अधीष्टः means 'to politely express a wish'; चन्मदनः means 'a question'; and प्रार्थना means 'a prayer'.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus:—

(1) कटं कुर्यात् 'let him make the mat'; ग्रामं भवान् आनन्देत् 'you come to the village';

(2) and (3) इह भवान् भुञ्जीत 'you will or may dine here'; इह भवान् आसीत 'here you will or may sit';

(4) अधीष्टानो भवन्तं मातुर्वकं भवानुपमयेत् 'we wish that you should condescend to invite this boy';

(5) किं नो व्याकरणमधीयीत उत तर्कम् ? 'Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic ?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणं अधीयीत 'this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar'.

लोट् च ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च, (विधि-निमन्त्रण-आनन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटप्रत्ययो भवति पातावप्यादिष्वर्चेषु ॥

162. The affix 'Lot' also is employed after a root in the sense of commanding, &c.

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛitti of लोट् only runs and not those of others. Thus:—

(1) कटं तावद् भवान् करोतु 'make the mat'; ग्रामं भवान् आनन्दतु ।

(2 and 3) अनुज भवान् आस्तात् 'there you are invited to, or you may, sit'.

(4) पुत्रम्भवान् अध्यापयतु 'you will teach, I hope, the son'.

(5) किं नो वेदमध्ययै उत तर्कं 'Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic?'

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणमध्ययै छन्दोऽध्ययै 'this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody'.

प्रेषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याश्च ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष-अतिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, च, (लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषणं प्रेषः, कामचारान्धनुस्त्राणमतिर्गर्गः, निमित्तभूतस्य ज्ञातृश्यामवरः प्राप्त-काशः, एतेष्वर्चेषु पातोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

163. The affixes called 'Kṛitya', and the affix 'Loṭ' come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word *प्रेष* means 'direction'; *अतिवर्गः* means 'permission to do as one likes'; *प्राप्तकालः* means 'arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action'. The force of *च* is to introduce the word *लोट्* into this aphorism. Thus *नवता कटं करणीयः, कर्तव्यः, कृत्यः* or *कार्यः* 'you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat'.

So instead of the Passive-Potential Participles, for such the Kṛitya affix (III. 1. 95 &c.) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus *करोतु कटं* 'you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat'.

It might be asked 'Why the *kṛitya* affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c'. They have been ordained most generically to come in denoting action in the Abstract (*चाप*) and object (*कर्त्तु*) and *a fortiori* they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that *लोट्* being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an *apavāda* or special rule excludes an *utsarga* or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule) exclude *kṛitya* affixes; we would reply, that *kṛitya* affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) will apply'.

To this objection we answer 'the special mention of the word *kṛitya* in this sūtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim:—

'The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) does not necessarily apply in all cases after sūtra III. 3. 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed'.

Q.—What is the difference between the word *विधि* and *प्रेष*? Some say *विधि* means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while *प्रेष* means mere 'direction'.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वनीहृतिके ॥ १६४ ॥ षदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-नीहृतिके, (प्रेषातिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, लोट्) ॥

इति ॥ प्रेषादिषु नव्यनामेषु ऊर्ध्वनीहृतिकोर्ध्वे वर्तमानाङ्गानोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययेन नवदि यकाराद्वयाप्राप्तश्च ॥

164. The affix *Liṅ* (as well as the 'Kṛitya' and 'Loṭ') is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a *Muhūrta* (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies 'at this very moment').

The words *सैष &c.* of the last sūtra must be read into this. The force of *च* is to introduce the words *कृत्या* and *लोट्* from the last sūtra, into this. Thus *अर्धं शुद्धार्द्धपरि शुद्धतस्य भवता खलु कटः कर्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः, or भवान् खलु कटं कुर्यात्* (Potential) or *करोतु* (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or 'you must &c.', or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III.3. 3. 9.

स्मे लोट् ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मे, लोट्, (मैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु, अर्धवर्गनीहृत्तिके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म अर्धवर्गपदे मैषादिषु गन्धनानेव अर्धवर्गनीहृत्तिकेऽर्थे वर्तमानादातोर्लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

165. The affix 'Loṭ' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) &c. and referring to time future by a Muhūrta.

This supersedes the Potential (लिट्) and Potential Passive Participles (कृत्या). Thus *अर्धं शुद्धार्द्ध भवान् कटं करोतु स्म, ग्रामं गच्छतु स्म, नाशवकनध्यापयतु स्म* 'you (may, must or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Mānavaka just now'.

अधीष्टे च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधीष्टे, च, (स्मे, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म अर्धवर्गपदेऽधीष्टे गन्धनाने चातोर्लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word *स्म* is understood here. The word *अधीष्टे* has already been explained in sūtra III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus *अङ्ग स्म राजश् नाशवकनध्यापय or अङ्ग स्म राजन्नग्निहोत्रं शुद्धि* 'O ! King ! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-समय-वेलासु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिषूपपदेषु चातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kāla', 'samaya', and 'velâ' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus *कालो भोक्तुं* 'time to eat'; *समयः खलु स्नानभोजने सेवितुम्* 'it is time to bathe and take food'; *वेला भोक्तुम्* 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in *तुमुन्* may be used with words meaning 'time'; as *अवचरोऽयमात्मानं प्रकाशयितुम्* 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here ? *कालः पचति भूतानि* 'time de-

vours. all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c', is understood in the sūtra; so when 'direction &c' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, कालो भोजनस्य 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix ल्युट् (by which the word भोजन is formed). As we have already said in sūtras III. 3. 163 that after sūtras III. 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sūtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an *Anitya* or a non-universal rule.

लिङ् यदि ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यदि, (कालस्य भोजनस्य)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दे उपपदे कालादिषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a root, when the word 'yad' is in composition, and the words 'kāla', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in 'tūmun'. [Thus कालः, वनयो, वेला वा यद् भवान् भुञ्जीत 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अहं कृत्यतृचश्च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहं, कृत्य-तृचः, च, (लिङ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहं कर्त्तरिवाच्ये न्यनाने वा धातोः कृत्यतृचः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

169. The affixes 'kritya', and the affix 'trich' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'liṅ').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (लिङ्) into this, from the last. Thus भवता खलु कन्या वोढव्या वाग्वा or वदनीया, (kritya); or भवान् खलु कन्या वोढा (trich); or भवान् खलु कन्यां वहेत् (liṅ) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin 'kritya' and 'trich' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would *a fortiori*, be applied when *fitness* is to be denoted? Because the लिङ् being specially enjoined to denote fitness, and being an *Apavāda*, would have debarred *kritya* and *trich*, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

आवश्यकान्वययोर्लिङ्गिनिः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ आवश्यक-आध-

अन्ययोः, लिङ्गिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवश्यकान्वयविशिष्टे आधनपर्यविशिष्टे च कर्त्तरिवाच्ये धातोर्लिङ्गिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170 The affix 'nini' is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'

or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus कर्तव्यं करी 'must be done'. The compounding here takes place by II. 1. 72. So also दत्तं दायी 'ought to be given a hundred'; ददन् दायी; निष्कं दायी &c.

कृत्याश्च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, च, (आवश्यकान्तर्भावयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्याश्चकार प्रत्यया आवश्यकावसर्येवोपपादितयोर्भातिर्भवति ॥

171. The affixes called 'kritya' also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of 'necessity or obligation'.

Thus भवता सहु कर्तव्यं कटः कसेर्यः, करणीयः, कोर्यः or कृत्यः 'you ought to make the mat'; भवता दत्तं दातव्यं, देयं, &c, 'you ought to pay a hundred'.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The *kritya* affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix चिनि of the last sūtra, which comes especially with the force of 'necessity' and 'obligation'.

Q.—Not so, for चिनि comes in denoting the 'agent' (कर्ता), while *kritya* denotes the 'action' (भाव) and the 'object' (वर्तन); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A.—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that *kritya* words like कर्तव्य, देय &c. (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the *agent*, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of *kritya*-formed words in general.

शक्ति लिङ् च ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति, लिङ्, च, (कृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तात्पदावापि च शक्त्यर्थे लिङ्प्रत्यये न भवति प्रकारात् कृत्याश्च ॥

172. And the affix 'Lin' as well as the 'kritya' affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of 'capability'.

The word 'capability' qualifies the root so that the sense of capability must be inherent in the root. Thus भवता सहु भारो वोढव्यः, वहनीयः, वाहनः (*kritya*), or भवत् सहु भारं वहेत् 'you can carry the load'.

Though *kritya*-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this sūtra is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्, for rule III. 1. 94 is not universally valid.

प्राथम्ये लिङ्छोटौ ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आथिचि, लिङ्-छोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राथम्ये लिङ्छोटौ वर्तमानादासौ लिङ् छोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

173. The affixes 'Liñ' and 'Lot' come after a verb by which 'benediction' is intended.

The word **आशीस्** means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one's good wishes. The **किच्** here referred to is what is known as the **आशीर्निच्** or the Benedictive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary **किच्** which we have called the Potential or Optative; as **चिरं जीव्याद् भवाच्** or **चिरं जीवतु भवाच्** 'may you live long'!

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'. Observe **चिरं जीवति देवदत्तः** 'Devadatta lives long'.

किच्-क्त्वा च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किच्-क्त्वा, च, संज्ञा-याम्, (आशिचि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिचि विषये चातोः किच्-क्त्वा प्रत्ययौ भवतः सनुदायेन चेतसंज्ञा गच्छते ॥

174. The affixes 'ktich' and 'kta' are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, 'give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.' Thus **वृत्तिः = तनुताच्** 'a weaver' (lit. may he weave); **चातिः** or **वृत्तिः = सनुताच्** (VI.4.45) wealth or gift'; **भूतिः = भवताच्** 'success'; **मन्निः = मनुताच्** 'respect'. These are examples of words formed by the affix **किच्**. Of words formed by **क्त्वा** in this sense, we have **देवदत्तः = देवा दन् देवातुः** 'Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix **क्त्वा** has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by **किच्**. The **च्** of **किच्** is qualifying only, distinguishing it from **क्त्वा** &c. and is useful in sūtra VI. 4. 39.

नाडि लुङ् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडि, लुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix 'Lun' comes after a verb when the word 'mān' is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As **नाना कर्षीत्** 'let him not do' **नाना हर्षीत्** 'let him not take'.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence, instead of the Aorist? **नाना भवतु तस्य पापं नाना भविष्यति**. This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another **नाना** which has not the indicative **ङ**; and with that **नाना**, other tenses may be used. The augment is elided after the prohibitive particle **नाना**, by VI. 4. 74.

स्मोत्तरे लङ् च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्म, उत्तरे, लङ् च, (नाडि,
लुङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दोत्तरे नाङ्गुषपदे धातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारालुङ् च ॥

176. When the word 'mân' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Lañ' as well as 'Luñ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लुङ् into the aphorism. Thus नास्म करोत् or कार्षीत् 'let him not make'; नास्म हरत् or हार्षीत् 'let him not take'.

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER VI.

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धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातु-सम्बन्धे, प्रत्ययाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वर्थाणां सम्बन्धो धातुसम्बन्धः, विशेषणविशेष्यभावः, तस्मिन्वति अयथाकालोक्तं अपि प्रत्ययाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

1, When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sūtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk :—"Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied)". Thus II. 2. 85 has taught that words like अग्निहोत्रयाजिन् have a past significance, i. e., they denote a person who *has* already performed the ceremony of Agnishtoma. According to the present sūtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अग्निहोत्रयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जायिष्या means 'to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agnishtoma sacrifice'.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be something like this: "Affixes are employed in denoting relation (सम्बन्ध) between the senses of verbs". The word धातुसम्बन्ध is a Genitive Compound meaning 'relation of root'. The word धातु 'root' is figuratively used for धात्वर्थ 'sense of root'; so that the above compound means 'relation of the senses of roots'. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pāṇini: "It is to be observed" that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time of the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned."

Thus तत्र बबन् ददर्श 'living there, he saw'; अग्निहोत्रयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जनितः 'to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnishtoma sacrifice'; कृतः कटः खो भविता 'he will be to-morrow maker of the mat'; भाविहृत्यनासीत् ।

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by बबन् is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with reference to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of बबन्, which therefore may remain as it is. In other words, affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence'.

Similarly the word अग्निहोत्रयाजी is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word जनितः is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb भविता does not affect the special time of the qualifier. *Agnishtomayāji*.

Q.—Why has the word प्रत्यय been repeated in this sūtra, when it was understood in this form III. 1. 1 ? Ans.—The repetition for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (धातु), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गोमानासीत् 'he was possessed of a cow'; गोबन् भविता 'he will be possessed of a cow'. Here the Taddhita affix चतुष् is added to the noun गो 'cow', with a present sigdification (V. 2. 94), the word गोबन् meaning 'who has cows' or 'in which there are cows.' This word गोबन्, however, is related and validly so, to the words आसीत् and भविता—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

क्रियासनभिहारे लोट् लोटो हिस्वी वा चतध्वमोः ॥२॥ पदानि॥
क्रिया-सनभिहारे, लोट्, लोटो, हि-स्वी, वा, च, त-ध्वमोः, (धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनभिहारविशिष्टक्रियावचनाद्वागोर्लोप्प्रत्ययो भवति सर्वेषु कालेषु, सर्वव्यवहाराणां प्रवादः तस्य च लोटो हि स्व इत्येतावादेशो भवतः, तध्वभाविनस्तु वा भवतः ॥

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix 'Lot' is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes 'hi' and 'ava', or the affixes 'tâ' and 'dhvam' are the substitutes of 'Lot'.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this as follows: "When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural."

The phrase धातुसम्बन्ध of the last sūtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called सनभिहारः । This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, "when the sense of frequency &c. is under-

stood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots."

'This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in connection with all mood. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada (हि and त्; and 2nd. person singular and plural Atmanepada (स्व and च्वत्). In other words, "the Imperative second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject of the main verb be different any the verb be in and tense." Thus कुनीहि कुनीहीत्येवाव कुनीहि 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him 'cut thou, cut thou'. कुनीहि कुनीहीत्येव इनी कुनीतः or इने कुनन्ति 'they cut often and often'. So also कुनीहि कुनीहीत्येव त्वं कुनीहि, युवाच कुनीषः or वृषं कुनीष 'thou or you two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut you'.

So also कुनीत कुनीहीत्येव वृषं कुनीष, अहं कुनीमि, अयुनवावीह &c. 'you cut I cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'. Similarly with Atmanepada roots; as अधीष्याधीष्येत्येवाव नधीते, इनी अधीयाते इने अधीयते &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them study thou, study thou'.

So also अधीष्यन्धीष्यन्तित्येव वृषन्धीष्ये &c. Similarly in every tense, mood and person; as. अधीष्याधीष्येत्येवाव नधीये, आवा नधीयहे, ववन्धीयहे ।

The Intensive verbs in षच् also have this meaning of frequency, but there the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. 1. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohulink), but in Marathi.

समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, अन्यतरस्याम्, (लोट्, लोटो, हिस्वी, वा, तद्ध्वनीः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुच्चयश्चान् क्रियावचनाद्वातोऽन्यतरस्यां लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति, तच्च लोटो हिस्वा-वादेशो भवतः ॥

3. The affix 'Lot' is similarly added to the root optionally, when several themes follow one after another.

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed; namely, हि, स्व, or त् and च्वत् । Thus आच्छन्त नटन्त सङ्हरन्त स्यात्स्यविधाननटेत्येवाव नटति or इनावटतः, or इनेऽटन्ति ।

Similar examples can be formed as is in the last aphorism; only the Imperative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly अन्तोऽधीष्य, व्याकरणधीष्य, निवृत्तधीष्येत्येवाव नधीते, or इनावधीयाते or इनेऽधीयते 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar, learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणधीते,

कन्दोऽधीते, निवृत्तनधीते, हत्येवायनधीते, इनावधीयाते, इनेऽधीयते । कन्दोधीते, व्याकरणधीते, निवृत्तनधीते, हत्येव त्वनधीते, पुषानधीयाते, ग्रयनधीधे । कन्दोधीते व्याकरणधीते, निवृत्तनधीयह्ये वाहनधीते, आवागधीनहे, वयनधीनहे ।

यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-विधि, अनु-प्रयोगः, पूर्वस्मिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्मिन् लोट् विधाने यथाविध्यनु प्रयोगो भवति ॥

4. In the first case (comprised under sūtra III. 4. 2) the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under sūtra III. 4. 2. We cannot say लूनीहि लूनीहीत्येवायं छिनत्ति; we must use a verb from the root लू 'to cut' Such as लुनाति, &c. So also अधीष्वाधीष्व takes अधीते only after it and not a synonymous verb like पठति &c.

समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, सामान्य-व-चनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये लोट् विधाने समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य धातोरनुप्रयोगः कर्तव्यः ॥

5. In the second case (III. 4. 3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus खोदनं भुङ्क्ष्व, सक्तून्पिब, घानाः खादेत्येवायनस्यवहरति 'he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking saktu, and tasting fried corn'. Here the verb अभ्यवहरति has a sense common to all the verbs in the Imperative mood. The object of taking the second verb, having the senses common to all the antecedent verbs, is to prevent the repetition of all the previous ones. In the secular vernacular, the brevity, however, is often not approved.

कन्दसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः, ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्दसि, लुङ्-लङ्-लिटः, (धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्दसि विषये धातुसम्बन्धे सर्वेषु कालेषु लुङ् लङ् लिटः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words धातुसम्बन्ध and अन्यतरस्याद् are understood here also. By saying 'optionally', other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus देवो देवेभिरागमन् (Rig. I. 1. 5.) 'O God Agni! come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist आगमद् has the force of the Imperative. दे भूतस्य प्रवेतव

इदं तेभ्योऽकरं नमः 'I make salutation &c. &c'. (Rig. X. 85. 17) Here अकरं is Aorist (अकृ) and has the sense of the Present.

So also अग्निमदा होतारमवृषीतायं यजमानः । Here अह् is used instead of अट् ।

So also अद्वा नमार = अद्वा द्विवते । Here लिट् is used instead of लट् ।

**लिङर्थे लेट् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङर्थे, लेट्, (कन्दसि, अन्यतर-
स्याम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङर्थे वस्त्र लिङ् विधीयते, विष्वादिहेतु हेतुनतोर्लिङित्ये वनादिस्तत्र कन्दसि विषये
अन्यतरस्यां लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix 'Let' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., लेट् may be employed instead of लिङ्. This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus वाचिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful', वारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase', वतावि विद्भुत् (Rig, VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall', भवति (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also नदिषत्, नेता, नेषत्, तदिषत्, उदधिं प्यावयात्रि ।

**उपसंवादात्संज्ञयोश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसंवाद-आशंकयोः, च,
(कन्दसि, लेट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसंवादे आशंकायां च न्ययवाक्यां कन्दसि विषये लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix 'Let' is employed after a root, in the Chhandas Literature.

The word उपसंवाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus यदि मे भवानिदं कुर्याद् अहमपि भवत इदं दास्यामि 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपसंवाद ; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called आशङ्का 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus अहमेव पशुनामीयै ॥ नदग्रा एव वो ग्रहा सुखान्ते ॥ नददेवत्याग्येव वः पात्राण्यु-
प्यान्ते ॥ नेत्रिज्झावन्त्यो (or नेत्रिज्झावन्त्यो) नरकं यतान् ॥ (Nir. I. 11. Bohtlingk) = जिह्वापरसेन
नरकपात आशंकयते ॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the
Subjunctive (Let) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not option-
ally, which anuvṛitti was understood in the last sūtra.

तुमर्थे **सिसेनसेअसेनकसेकसेनध्यैअध्यैन् अध्यैकध्यैन् शध्यैतवे-
तवेङ्-तवेनः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमर्थे, से-सेन्-असे-असेन्-कसे-कसेन्-अध्यै-अध्यैन्-
कध्यै-कध्यैन्-शध्यै शध्यैन्-तवे-तवेङ्-तवेनः, (कन्दसि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमर्थे तुमर्थे, तत्र कन्दसि विषये चातोः स्यादवः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come

after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz:— 'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', 'adhyai', 'adhayin', 'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'śadhyai', 'śadhyain', 'tavai', 'taven' and 'taven'.

In the Vedic literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes. These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of the following five affixes :— 1) ले=ले, लेत् and ल्ये ॥ (2) क्ये=क्ये, क्येत् and क्येत् ॥ (3) ऋये=ऋये, ऋयेत्, कृये, कृयेत्, ऋये and कृयेत् ॥ (4) क्ये ॥ (5) तये=तयेत् and तयेत् ।

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz. इ, क्, व् and ङ्. The forces of इ, व् and ङ् have already been explained; the indicatory क् makes the word take the *udatta* accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus वे is acute (III. 1. 36 वेङ् has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. 1. 197); कवे has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); कवेङ् throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory व् makes the numbers 11 and 12 Sârvadhâtuka, and the root takes the proper Vikarâṇa of its class before these affixes; while before कवे, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. 1. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is meant by **हुन्** 'the sense of the affix हुन्'. The word **हुन्** is here equivalent to **अव** or 'action'; for the *pratyayas* or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to **हुन्**, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, i. e., it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) **हे—वर्षे रावः**। (2) **हेन्—तद्वासेवे^१ दधानाव्** (Rig. V. 66. 3). (3 and 4) **अवे** and **अवेन्—अस्ते यत् युरदो जीवसे^१ वा** (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also **कृत्वे दधानाव् जीवसे^१** (Rig. X. 57. 4). With **अवेन्** the word will be **जीवसे**। (5) **कृत्वे—मेवे भगाव्**। (6) **कृत्वेन्—गर्भानिव निवसे** (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the **निट्** accent (VI. 1. 197) which would have given us **निवसे**। (7 and 8) **अच्ये**, **अच्येन्—जनवपुष्यारच्ये**। (9) **अच्ये—इन्द्राग्नी आहुवच्ये** (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) **अच्येन्—निवच्ये**। (11 and 12) **अच्ये अच्येन्—निवच्ये** (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on **वि**। **सह नाद्वच्ये** (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) **तच्ये—खोदनिन्द्राव पातच्ये**। (14) **तच्येन्—तं हे गर्भे दधानावे दधसे नावि वृतसे** (Rig. X. 184. 3) (15) **तच्येन्—संतसे** (Rig. I. 46. 7); **संतसे** (Rig. I. 85. 9), **हर्तसे**।

ग्रये रोहिष्ये अथ्यधिष्ये ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रये, रोहिष्ये,
अथ्यधिष्ये, (तुनये, खंदसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथं रोहिण्यै श्रवणयिष्यै हृत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ह्रस्वसि विषये ॥

10. The words 'prayai', 'rohishyai' and 'avyathishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.

Thus (1) प्रवै देवेभ्यो नहीः (Rig. I. 142. 6); प्र + वा + कै = प्रवै = प्रयातुम्। (2) अपानी वशीनां रोदिव्यै । वृ + इव्यै = रोदिव्यै = रोदवाय । (3) ज + व्यच् + इव्यै = जव्यविव्यै = जव्ययनाय ।

दृशे विरुये च ॥११॥ पदानि॥ दृशे, विरुये, च, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशे विरुये इत्येती छन्दसि निपात्येते ॥

11. The words 'driśe' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यश्च (Rig. I. 50. 1) = द्रष्टुश्च । विरुयेत्वा इरानि = विरुवोतुश्च ।

शकि यमुल्कमुलौ ॥१२॥ पदानि ॥ शकि, यमुल्-कमुलौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ यजोती पावातुपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे यमुल्कमुल् इत्येती प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

12. The affixes 'namul' and 'kamul' are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'śak' (to be able).

Of the affix यमुल् the real affix is यच्; the letter य् causes vridhhi (VII. 2. 115; and च regulates the accent (VI. 1. 193). So also of कमुल्, the letter क् prevents guṇa and vridhhi substitution (I. 1. 5).

Thus अग्निं वै देवा विभाजं नायजुश्च 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni' विभज् + यमुल् = विभाजं = विभक्तुश्च । So also अपबुधं नायजुश्च, instead of अपबुधोतुश्च ।

ईश्वरे तोषुन्कमुनौ ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईश्वरे, तोषुन्-कमुनौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरश्च उच्यते छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे चातोस्तोषुन्कमुन्प्रत्ययौ भवतः ।

13. The affixes 'tosur' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the words 'isvara' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोऽभिषरितो = अभिषरितुश्च । ईश्वरो विलिखः विलिखितुश्च । ईश्वरो वितुदः = वितर्दितुश्च ।

कृत्यार्थे तवैकेनूकेन्यत्वनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-अर्थे, तवै-केनू-केन्य-त्वनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानामर्थो नायजुर्भवति, वस्तित् कृत्यार्थे छन्दसि विषये तवै केनू केन्य त्वन् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

14. The affixes 'tavai,' 'ken,' 'kenya' and 'tvan' are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the 'Kṛitya-affixes.'

The force of *kṛitya* affixes is to denote 'action' (भाव) and 'object' (कर्मन्). Thus अन्वेतवै = अन्वेतव्यम् परिधातवै = परिधातव्यम्; नायगाहै = नायगाहितव्यम्, विदुषेवः (Rig.

I. 146. 5) = विद्वितव्यश्च; कुर्वन्नेयः = कुर्वितव्यश्च; कर्तव्यश्च; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्तव्यश्च।

The affix तच्चे was mentioned in sūtra III. 4. 9 also; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle, For its accent, see VI. 1. 200; 2. 51.

अवचक्षे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवचक्षे, च, (कृत्यार्थे, क्त्वादि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाच्चादिह दृष्टप्रत्ययो निष्ठात्वते ॥

15. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus रिपुणा नावचक्षे (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नावचक्ष्यातव्यश्च। अव + चक्ष् + एच् = अवचक्षे। The sūtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलक्षणे स्थेकृज्ज्वदिचरिहुतनिजनिभ्यस्तोसुन् ॥१६॥ पदानि ॥

भाव-लक्षणे, स्थे-कृज्-ज्वदि-चरि-हु-तनि-जनिभ्यः, तोसुन्, (कृत्यार्थे, क्त्वादि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावो लक्ष्यते येन तस्मिन्मर्थे वर्तमानेभ्यः स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यश्च क्त्वादि विषये तुमर्थे तोसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz:— 'sthâ' (to stand), 'in' (to go), 'krin' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्थे is not to be read into this sūtra. The word भावलक्षणे 'qualifies the sense of the root (भावो लक्ष्यते येन). Thus, स्था—आ संस्थातोर्वैकां सीदन्ति = आसन्नाहेः सीदन्ति। इच्—पुरा सूर्यस्योदेताराधेयः। कृज्—पुरा यत्सन्नामयाकर्तोः। ज्व—पुरा प्रवदितोरग्नौ प्रहोतव्यश्च। चर्—पुरा प्रचरितोराग्नीध्रीये होतव्यः। (Gopatha Brahmana II. 2. 10) हु—आ होतारप्रसक्तस्तिष्ठति। तच्—आ तनितोराशेत (Taith. Br. I. 4. 4. 2) जन्—आ विजनितोः सन्मयास Taith. S. II. 5 1. 5).

सृपितृदोः कसुन् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृपि-तृदोः, कसुन्, (तुमर्थे, क्त्वादि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृपितृदोर्द्वात्वोर्भावलक्षणेऽर्थे वर्तमानयोश्च क्त्वादि विषये तुमर्थे कसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes after the verbs 'srip' (to creep) and 'trid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus विसृषः। पुरा मूरस्य विसृषः (Yaj. I. 28.); आतृदः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12); पुरा ममृष्य आतृदः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40.

अलंखल्वोः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां क्त्वा ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥ अलं-खल्वोः, प्रतिषेधयोः, प्राचां, क्त्वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलं खलु इत्येतयोः प्रतिषेधवाचिनोरुपपदयोर्वातोः स्या प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvâ' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu,' expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvritti of the words 'in the Vedas &c.' does not extend further. Thus अलं कृत्वा 'do not make'; खलु पीत्वा 'do not drink'; अलं वासे ददित्वा 'do not weep, O girl!

Why do we say 'when there are अल and खलु'? Witness नाकार्षीः 'do not make.' Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition'? Observe अलङ्कारः 'decoration.'

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अलरोदनेन 'do not weep.' Or if rule III. 1. 94 be applied, then the use of the word प्राचां is for the sake of merely showing respect (pūjārtha); the rule could have stood without it.

उदीचां नाडो व्यतीहारे ॥१९॥ पदानि॥ उदीचां, नाडः, व्यतीहारे, (कृत्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाडो धातोर्व्यतीहारे वर्तमानादुदीचामाचार्याणां नतेन स्याप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvâ' is added to the root 'men' (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अप्नित्य याचते 'having offered an exchange, he asks' अप+ने+कृत्वा = अप+या+हवप् = अप+मि+दुक्+व (VI. 1. 45 and 71) = अप+मित्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, याचित्वाऽपयनते 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of *ktvâ*; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time *anterior* to that of the other; see rule 21. The present sūtra is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root नेङ् has been exhibited in the sūtra as नाङ्, with the vowel आ instead of ए. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhâshâ:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either ए, ओ or ऐ, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either ए, ओ, or ऐ, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhâshâ दैप् must be regarded as ending in ऐ, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ऐ (VI. 1. 45), even while प् remains, दैप् does assume the form दाप् and is consequently, by the prohibition अदाप् in sūtra I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed दुः

परस्परयोगे च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-योगे, च, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेण पूर्वस्य योगे गम्यमाने अवरोधे च परस्य धातोः उवा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix 'ktvā' is added to a root, to denote what is situate on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation on the पर 'the other' side and अवर 'this' side, is called परावरयोगः । Thus अप्राप्य नदीं पर्वतः स्थितः 'the mountain is situate without having reached the river, i. e., on this side of the river, the river being on the other side. Here the word पर्वत is qualified by the word नदी which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly अतिप्रस्थं तु पर्वतं नदी स्थिता 'the river is situate on the other side of the mountain.' Here the relation between the 'mountain' and the 'river' is of अवर and पर ।

In other words :—"The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with reference to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action denoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other"—G. P.

सनानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनान-कर्तृकयोः, पूर्व-काले, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनानःकर्ता वयोः पूर्वात्त्वर्थयोस्तत्र पूर्वकालेधात्वर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोः क्त्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आत्वं व्यादाय स्वपिति सम्मील्य ह्यतीत्युपसंख्यानमपूर्वकालत्वात् ॥

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix 'ktvā' comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i. e. the Absolute in 'tva' refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having eaten he goes'; पीत्वा व्रजति 'having drunk, he goes.'

The rule is not confined to the case of two verbs: thus, स्नात्वा, पीत्वा, भुक्त्वा, दत्त्वा व्रजति 'having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes.'

Why do we say 'having the same agent'? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus भुक्तवति ब्राह्मणे गच्छति देवदत्तः the 'Brahmana having been fed, Devadatta goes.'

Why do we say 'which denotes prior action'? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus व्रजति च जल्पति च 'he goes and chatters.'

Vart.—The phrase आस्यं व्यादाय स्वपिति, संसीदय इवति 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed', is valid, though the affix क्त्वा is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

आभीक्ष्येणमुल् च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि॥ आभीक्ष्ये, णमुल्, च,
(समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affixes 'namul' and 'ktvâ' come after a root, when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases 'when the agent of both the verbs is the same' and 'after the verb whose actions occurs first in time' are to be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix क्त्वा into this sūtra. The affixes *ktvâ* and *namul* express 're-iteration' then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. 1. 4. Thus भोजं भोजं व्रजति 'having eaten repeatedly, he goes'; similarly भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा पायं पायं व्रजति 'having drunk repeatedly he goes'.

न यदि नाकाङ्क्षे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, अनाकाङ्क्षे,
(क्त्वा, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दउपपदे धातोः क्त्वाणमुलो प्रत्ययो न अवतोऽनाकाङ्क्षे वाक्ये ॥

23. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are not added to a root, when the word 'yad' is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word आकाङ्क्षा means 'inter-dependence' or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense, in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb; in such a case, *ktvâ* and *namul* are not used, when the word *yad* is in composition. This sūtra prohibits the affix *ktvâ* also, though the affix *namul* is in immediate context. Thus यद्यं भुङ्क्षते ततः पचति, यद्यनधीते ततः शेते, having 'eaten, he cooks; having read, he sleeps'.

But when there is inter-dependence or आकाङ्क्षा, we have यद्यं भुक्त्वा व्रजति, अधीत एव ततः पचत् । Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus: "In connection with यद् the above-mentioned Absolutives will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement."

विभाषायेप्रथमपूर्वेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि । विभाषा, अग्रे-प्रथम-
पूर्वेषु, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रे प्रथम पूर्व इत्येतेषूपपदेषु समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले धातोः क्त्वाणमुलो प्रत्ययो विभाषा भवति ॥

24. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition:—'agre', 'prathama' and 'pûrva'.

This is an *Aprâpta-vibhâshâ*. The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus अग्रे, प्रथमं, पूर्व वा भोजं भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having first eaten he goes'.

By using the word 'optionally' it is indicated that the regular Tenses, such as the Present &c., may be employed also. Thus अग्रे भुङ्क्ते ततः व्रजति he eats first and then goes'.

Q.—The affixes of *Lat* (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of वाचस्पत्य (III. 1. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this sūtra indicates the existence of this *Paribhashâ*:—"The rule III. 1. 94 has no concern with the affixes *ktvâ* and *namul*, when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule".

Therefore, we cannot apply III. 1. 94 and use the affixes *Lat* &c., when 're-iteration' is meant. That is the exclusive province of क्त्वा and णमुल्.

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only णमुल् been enjoined by this sūtra, and not क्त्वा also, then we could have formed the उपपद समास, for such is the force of the word ख in that sūtra.

कर्मण्याक्रोशे कृजः खमुज् ॥२५॥ पदानि॥ कर्मणि, आक्रोशे, कृजः,

खमुज् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे कृजो धातोः खमुज् प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गत्यर्थान्ते ॥

25. The affix 'khamuñ' is added to the verb 'kri' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'.

Of the affix खमुज्, the efficient portion is ख्; the indicatory ख introduces the augment भु (VI. 3. 67). Thus चोरं कारणाक्रोशति 'he reviles him as thief, i. e., he calls out in abuse 'thou art a thief, thou art a robber, &c. &c.' The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one's indignation.

स्वादुमि णमुल् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वादुमि, णमुल्, (कृजः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाद्वयैष्युपपदे कृजो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs 'kri' and another have the same agent', the affix 'namul' is added to the verb 'kri' (which is concerned

about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sūtra by anuvṛitti from III. 4. 21. Thus स्वादुङ्कारं or लवणङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned'.

In the sūtra, the word स्वादुच् is used ending with a च्. It is an anomalous form, and indicates that a च् must be added to the upapadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. 1. 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादु ending in व is formed by long ई, does not apply here. Thus स्वाद्वीच् कृत्वा यवान् भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं यवान् भुङ्क्ते । Here though यवान् is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादु and not स्वाद्वी ।

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix खञ् ? That will solve all difficulties ; and will give us the augment भुच् । To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment भुच् will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will not come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix च्वि and all *chvi*-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix खञ् will not remove the difficulty in the following case ; अस्वाद्वी स्वाद्वी कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having first sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix लवा in the alternative. Thus स्वादु कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते । All these affixes form abstract nouns (भाव) as they have the sense of the affix लुप् (III. 4. 16). In connection with लुप्, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, *i. e.* we cannot use the Passive construction ; *e. g.* स्वादुङ्कारं यवान् भुज्यते देवदत्तेन will be wrong.

अन्यथैवं कथमित्यसु सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत् ॥२९॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यथा-एवं कथम्-इत्यसु, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत्, (कृज, लमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यथादिपूषपदेषु कृजो लमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्करोतेर्भवति ॥

27. When the words 'anyathâ' (otherwise), 'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'namul' comes after 'kri' (to make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कृज् valid ? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting कृ, *i. e.* when without employing it, the same idea will be expressed. Thus अन्यथाङ्कारं, एवंङ्कारं, कथङ्कारं or इत्यङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence अन्यथाङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते is equivalent to अन्यथा भुङ्क्ते ।

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid' ? Witness

असूया कृत्वा क्षिरो भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having turned his head aside'. Here कृञ् could not be spared.

यथातथयोरसूयाप्रतिवचने ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-तथयोः, असूया-प्रतिवचने, (कृञः, शसुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथा तथा शब्दयोश्चपदयोः कृञो यशुल् प्रत्ययो भवति, असूया प्रतिवचने गण्यमाने ॥

28. The affix 'namul' is added to the root 'kṛi' (to make), the words 'yathā' and 'tathā' being compounded with it, when angry reply is made : (if the omission of 'kṛiñ' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus तथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं त्वानेन 'I will eat in that way ; what is that to you' ? Similarly यथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं त्वानेन ।

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made' ? Observe यथाकृत्वाऽहं भाक्ष्ये तथा तत्त्वं द्रक्ष्यसि 'in what way I will eat' that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of कृञ् would be valid' ? Witness यथाकृत्वाऽहं क्षिरो भोक्ष्ये किं त्वानेन 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat' ?

कर्मणि दृशिविदोः साकल्ये ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, दृशि-विदोः, साकल्ये, (शसुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे साकल्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे दृशिविदोर्दार्ढ्यार्थशुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'dṛiṣ' (to see), or 'vid' (to know) takes the affix 'namul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कन्यादयं वरयति 'he woos every girl that he sees, i. e., all the girls seen'. ब्राह्मणवेदं भोजयति 'he feeds as many Brāhmaṇas as he knows, i. e., all'.

Why do say 'when denoting the total number of such objects' ? Observe ब्राह्मणं दृष्ट्वा भोजयति 'having seen the Brāhmaṇa he feeds him'.

यावति विन्दजीवोः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यावति, विन्द-जीवोः, (शसुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावच्छब्द उपपदे विन्दतेर्जीवितेश्च शसुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jīv', (to live), when then the word 'yâvat' is combined with them.

As यावद्देदं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats all that he gets'. यावज्जीवनधीते 'he studies as long as he lives, i. e. throughout his 'life'.

चर्मोदरयोः पूरेः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर्म-उदरयोः, पूरेः, (कर्मणि, णामुल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चर्मोदरयोः कर्मलोपपदयोः पूर्यतेर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the words 'charman' and 'udar' are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरपूरं भुंक्ते 'he eats so as to fill his belly' ? चर्मपूरं स्तृणाति 'he spreads so as to cover the skin.'

वर्षप्रमाणं ऊलोपरचास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ष-प्रमाणे, ऊ-लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (कर्मणि, णामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्यतेर्डातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ऊलोपरचास्य पूर्यतेरन्यतरस्यां भवति समुदायेन चेद्वर्षस्य प्रमाणनिर्दिष्टता गम्यते ॥

32. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill)' when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long 'û' of this 'pûr' is elided.

Thus गोक्षपदपूरं or गोक्षपदं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil).' चीतापूरं or चीतापं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up all furrows.'

Why have we used the word अस्य 'of this pûr' in the sūtra ? The long ऊ of पूर is to be elided, and not the long ऊ, if there be any, of the upapada. Thus नृपिकाविलपूरं or नृपिकाविलपं वृष्टो देवः । Here the long ऊ of नृ is not shortened.

चेले क्नोपेः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेले, क्नोपेः, (कर्मणि, णामुल, वर्ष-प्रमाणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्नोपेः शब्दे उन्दने च, अस्नाययन्ताडातोश्चेलार्येषु कर्मसु उपपदेषु णामुल् प्रत्ययो भवति वर्षप्रमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

33. The affix 'namul' comes after the causative of the root 'knûy' (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting 'clothing,' in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb क्लोपि is the causative root formed from the simple root क्लूय 'to wet.' Thus चेलक्लोपं वृष्टो देवः or वस्त्रक्लोपं or वसनक्लोपं &c. 'it rained so as to wet the clothes.'

निमूलसमूलयोः कषः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निमूल-समूलयोः, कषः (कर्मणि, णामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूल समूलशब्दयोः कर्मवाचिनीपपदयोः कर्षेर्डातिर्गुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'kash' (to rub), when the words 'nimûla' and 'samûla' are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमूलकायं कषति 'he scrapes down to the roots'; समूलकायं कषति 'he scrapes up to the roots.' In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमूलकायंकषति being equal to निमूलं कषति. From this sūtra up to sūtra III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see sūtra III. 4. 46.

शुष्कचूर्णरूक्षेषु पिषः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क-चूर्ण-रूक्षेषु, पिषः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्कादिषु कर्मवाचिपूषपदेषु पिषेर्डातिर्गुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when the words 'śushka' (dry), 'chûrna' (powder), and 'rûksha' (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus शुष्कपेषं पिनष्टि = शुष्कं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'; चूर्णपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds to powder'; रूक्षपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry.' Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिष् must be used to govern the gerund.

समूलकृतजीवेषु हन्कृज्ग्रहः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समूल-अकृत-जीवेषु, हन्-कृज्-ग्रहः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूल अकृत जीव इत्येतेषु शब्देषु कर्मसूचकपदेषु यथासंख्यं हन् कृज् ग्रह इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'han' (to kill), 'kri' (to make) and 'grah' (to seize), when the words 'samûla,' 'akrita' and 'jîva' in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus सञ्जलपातं हन्ति (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) 'he destroys so as to tear up by the roots, i. e., he totally extirpates'; अकृतकारं करोति 'he does a thing which was not done before'; तं जीवग्राहं गृह्णाति 'captures him so as to preserve his life, i. e., captures him alive.' Here also appropriate verbs from the same roots are used to govern the gerund.

करणे हनः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, हनः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करण उपपदे हन्तेर्डातिर्गुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'ban,'

when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाणिघातं वेदिं हन्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54) = पाणिना वेदिं हन्ति 'he strikes the Veda with the hand'; पादघातं भूमिं हन्ति 'he strikes the ground with the foot.' Reading this sūtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हन् here does not mean 'to kill,' and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sūtra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sūtra III. 4. 48; or this sūtra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पादघातः ।

According to Pātanjali, this affix comes after हन् under this aphorism, even when हन् means 'to injure'; thus counteracting rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule I. 4. 2. Thus अस्त्रिघातं हन्ति 'he kills with the sword'; शरघातं हन्ति 'he kills with arrows.'

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

स्नेहने पिषः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नेहने, पिषः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नेहनवाचिनि करणे उपपदे पिषेर्धातार्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus उदपेषं पिनष्टि = उदकेन पिनष्टि (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; तैलपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds with oil.' Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

हस्ते वर्तिग्रहोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्ते, वर्ति-ग्रहोः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तवाचिनि करणे उपपदे वर्तयतेर्गृह्णातेऽथ णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vrit) and 'grah,' when a word denoting 'hand,' in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus हस्तवर्त, करवर्त or पाणिवर्त वर्तयति = हस्तेन वर्तयति 'he revolves by the hand.' So also, तन् हस्तग्राहन् गृह्णाति 'he takes him by the hand': so पाणिग्राहन्, करग्राहन् &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

स्वे पुषः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वे, पुषः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्ववाचिनि करणे उपपदे पुषेर्धातार्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'push' (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of 'sva' is in composition.

The word स्व means 'self,' 'kinsmen' and 'property.' Thus स्वचोषं पुच्छति 'he feeds himself,' आत्मचोषं, गोचोषं, पितृचोषं, नातृचोषं, धनचोषं, रैचोषं &c. See I. 1. 68. Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकरणे बंधः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, बंधः, (शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिन्युपपदे बध्नातेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root *bandh*. Thus चक्रबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds to the wheel'; कूटबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in a snare'; शुष्टिबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the fist.' चोरकबन्धं बध्नाति = चोरके बध्नाति ।

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (बंधः, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञावाच् विषये बध्नातेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus कौचबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the manner called *krauncha-bandhan* or 'heron-knot.' मयूरिकाबन्धं बध्नाति or बद्धः 'he binds or is bound in a 'peacock-knot,' अट्टालिकाबन्ध बद्धः 'bound in a knot called *attālikā bandhan*.'

All the above, *krauncha-bandhan* &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots.' The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

कर्त्रोर्जीः पुरुषयोर्नशिवहोः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्रोः, जीव-पुरुषयोः, नशि-वहोः, (शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीवपुरुषयोः कर्तृवाचिनोरुपपदयोः यदासंख्यस् नशिवहोर्द्धातोर्णमुल्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'naś' (to perish) and 'vah' (to carry), when the words 'jīva' (life) and 'puruṣa' (person) expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus जीवनायं नश्यति = जीवो नश्यति 'perishes, so that his life perishes, i. e., dies away'; पुरुषवाहं वहति 'the man carries', i. e., the man becoming a servant, carries another on him = पुरुषः प्रेक्ष्य भूत्वा वहति ।

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवेन नष्टः 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषेनोहः 'carried by a man.'

ऊर्ध्वं शुषिपूरोः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्ध्वं, शुषि-पूरोः, (कर्त्रीः, शसुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वशब्दे कर्तृ वाचिष्युपपदे शुषिपूरोर्द्धात्वोर्णुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'śush' (to dry), and 'pūr' (to fill), when the word 'ūrdhva,' denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus ऊर्ध्वशब्दं शुषयति वृषः = ऊर्ध्वं शुषयति 'the tree is dried up while it is still standing.' Compare यदूर्ध्वशेषतृणवद्विशुषकः 'or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up' (Bhatti. III. 14); ऊर्ध्वपूरं पूर्यते 'is filled full to the brim.' Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also.

उपमाने कर्मणि च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमाने, कर्मणि, च, (कर्त्रीः, शसुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमाने कर्मण्युपपदे चकारात् कर्तरि चातोर्णुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word 'agent' is read into the sūtra, by virtue of the word च 'also.' That with which any thing is compared is called उपमान or 'object of comparison or similitude.' As घृतनिधायश्च निहितश्च जलम् 'water was kept as ghee would be kept.' सुवर्णनिधायश्च निहितः 'was kept as gold.' The force is that of च; thus घृतनिधायश्च निहितः = घृतनिध निहितः । So also when the object of comparison is as agent: thus, आजनाथे नष्टः 'he perished like a goat.' So also ब्रह्मकनाथश्च, इत्यनाथश्च, &c.

कषादिषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष-आदिषु, यथा-विधि, अनुप्रयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलयोरित्येतदारभ्य कषादयः, एतेषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs 'kash' &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sūtra III. 4. 34 up to sūtra III. 4. 45 a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as *anuprayoga*, from which the gerund in *namul* was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aphorisms.

The present is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. This chapter deals with affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (चातुस्रसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः). See III. 4. 1: so a gerund in *namul*, would, of course, be followed by some verb as *anuprayoga*; the present sūtra declares that the *other* verb must be from the same root as the gerund.

उपदंशस्तृयायाम् ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ उपदंशः, तृतीयायां, (समुल्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दंश् दग्ने, अस्माद्वातेः उपप्रातृतृतीयास्त उपपदे समुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'namul' comes after the root 'dans' (to bite) preceded by the preposition 'upa'; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The *Upapada samása* is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus दूतको-
पदंश्च भुङ्क्ते or नूलकोपदंश्च भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with
radish.' Similarly आर्द्रकोपदंश्च or आर्द्रकोपदंश्च 'relished with ginger.'

The words नूलक &c. in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb
उपदंश्च and 'instruments' of the verb भुङ्क्ते ।

By the rule of वाजसक्प (III. 1. 94) the affix लव् (or its substitute ल्यप्) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix समुल् । Thus नूलको-
पदंश्च भुङ्क्ते ।

हिंसार्थानां च समानकर्मकाणाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसा-अर्थानां,
च, समान-कर्मकाणां, (समुल्, तृतीयायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिंसा प्रायुषघातः, तदर्थानां घातनामनुप्रयोगात्तुनां समानकर्मकाणां तृतीयास्त
उपपदे समुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'namul' comes after roots having the sense of 'hins' (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus दण्डोपघातम् नाः कालयति 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club.' The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.) Thus we have also दण्डो-
पघातम् । Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिंस; thus, दण्डताडम् or
दण्डेन ताडम् ।

Why do we say 'when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb'? When the objects are different, समुल् will not be employed. Thus चोरम् दण्डोपहत्य, गोपालको नाः कालयति 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows.'

सप्तम्यां चोपपीडरुधकर्मः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, च, उप-
पीड-रुध-कर्मः, (तृतीयायां, समुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वेभ्यः पीडरुधकर्मभ्यः सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे चकारात्तृतीयास्त उपपदे समुल् प्रत्ययो
भवति ॥

49. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'pid' (to press), 'rudh' (to obstruct), and 'krish' (to draw),

The word परीक्षा means 'haste, hurry'. Thus गच्छोत्थाय (or गच्छाय उत्थाय) धावति 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c., but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly रन्ध्रापकर्ष्य चयः पिबति 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture रन्ध्रापकर्ष्यनूप्राह भक्षयति 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting til they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry'? Observe, आसनादुत्थाय गच्छति 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix लप् (लवप्) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायां, च, (परीक्षायां, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे परीक्षायां गच्छनायां धातोर्लुप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. The affix 'namul' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus यद्दिग्राह्य (or यद्दि ग्राह्य) युज्यन्ते 'they fight, having taken up sticks'. That is, they are in such haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defensive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c. Similarly लोष्ट्र ग्राह्य or लोष्ट्र ग्राह्य ।

स्वाङ्गेऽध्रुवे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, अध्रुवे द्वितीयायां, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्रुवे स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्लुप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus अक्षौ विक्षेपं कथयति 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all direction'. अक्षिनिक्वाणश्च जल्पति 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The स्वाङ्ग word is "a word denoting a thing which not being liquid or gaseous, and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being, or though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually, (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being."

The word अध्रुव means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix

अमुल् in the following, as *head* is not an अङ्गुल limb:—उत्तिष्ठत्य शिरः कथयति 'he narrates, having thrown the head on one side.' Compare VI. 2. 177.

परिक्लिश्यमाने च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने, च, (स्वाङ्गे, द्वितीयायां, अमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्नामुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

55. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word परिक्लिश्यमान means 'completely hurt or affected.' Thus उरः प्रतिषेधं or उरःषेधं युज्यन्ते = कृत्स्नभुरः पीडयन्तः 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom.' So also शिरःषेधं or शिरःप्रतिषेधं ।

The difference between this and the last sūtra consists in this, that this sūtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast,' 'head' &c.; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

विशिपतिपदिस्कन्दा व्याप्यमानासेव्यमानयोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥
विशि-पति-पदि-स्कन्दां, व्याप्यमान-आसेव्यमानयोः, (द्वितीयायां, अमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे विशयादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो अमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति व्याप्यमाने आसेव्यमाने चार्थे गम्यमाने ॥

56. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'vis' (to enter), 'pat' (to fall), 'pad' (to go) and 'skand' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word व्याप्ति (or व्याप्यमान्) means the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs विश्, &c). The word आसेवा means 'assiduous performance of any action, or absorption into it.' In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आसेवा । The word व्याप्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आसेवा to the verb (such as विश् &c). These two words have the same significance here as the words नित्य and वीर्य in sūtra VIII. 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21. makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if व्याप्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आसेवा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गेहानुप्रवेशमास्ते, (or गेहं गेहानुप्रवेशमास्ते or गेहानुप्रवेशमनुप्रवेशमास्ते, 'having entered the house, he sits down,' meaning either, 'having en-

tered every house in succession, he sits down,' or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down.'

Similarly with the root पठ्, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots पद् and स्कन्द् । Thus गेहानुप्रपातमास्ते (or गेहं गेहमनुप्रपातमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रपातमनुप्रपातमास्ते); गेहानुप्रपादमास्ते (or गेहं गेहमनुप्रपाद् or गेहमनुप्रपादमनुप्रपादम्); गेहावस्कन्दमास्ते (or गेहं गेहमवस्कन्दम् or गेहमवस्कन्दमवस्कन्दम्) ।

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of *all* or *frequency* ? Observe गेहमनुप्रविशः भुङ्क्ते 'having entered the house, he eats.'

Q.—By sūtra III. 4. 22, *namul* would have been valid, when *abhik-hna* was meant; and *abhikshna* and *aseva* mean the same thing, *i. e.*, 'frequency.' Why then ordain *namul* again, by the present sūtra, in the sense of *aseva* ? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix क्त्वा", that is not so. For क्त्वा would come by वाऽवरूप rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of *Upapada-samasa* with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no *upapada*, while in the present case there is an *upapada*.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus :—"विष्, पठ्, पद्, and स्कन्द in composition with an accusative, from the absolutive gerund in अस् (namul), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

अस्यतितृषोः क्रियांतरे कालेषु ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-तृषोः, क्रिया-अंतरे, कालेषु, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रिया सन्तरयति क्रियान्तरः, क्रियाव्यवधायकः, क्रियान्तरे धात्वर्थे वर्तमानाख्या-भस्यातितृषिभ्यो द्वितीयान्तेषु कालवाचिषूपपदेषु णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'trish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word क्रियान्तर means 'the interval between two actions.' Thus द्वयहात्यासं or द्वयहमत्यासम् गाः पाययति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, *i. e.* every third day.' So also द्वयहतर्षं or द्वयहं तर्षं गाः पाययति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink.' That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs अस् and तृष्' ? Because the affix णमुल् will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus द्वयदुषोऽयं भुङ्क्ते 'having fasted for two days, he eats.'

Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe अहरत्यस्येष्टं गतः ; here there is no intermission in the action of 'going.'

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe योजनमत्यस्य गाः पाययति 'allowing an interval of eight miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows, i. e., he waters the cows at every eight miles.' Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time,' and hence the affix is क्त्वा and not णमुल् ।

नाम्नयादिशिग्रहोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नान्नि, आदिशि-ग्रहोः, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामशब्दे द्वितीयान्त उपपदे आदिशिग्रहे च चाते णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'ādis' and 'grah,' when the word 'nāman' (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus नामादेशक'ग्रहे 'he mentions it, telling his name.' नामदात्रं नामाहूयति 'he calls me by taking my name (i. e. by my name).'

अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने कृजः क्त्वाणमुत्तौ ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यये, अयथा-अभिप्रेत-आख्याने, कृजः, क्त्वा-णमुत्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय उपपदेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने गम्यमाने करोतेः क्त्वाणमुत्तौ भवतः ॥

59. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kri' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word अयथाभिप्रेताख्यान means literally 'to denote the expression of that which is not really intended', i. e., a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix क्त्वा may be replaced by क्त्वाप्. Thus we have three forms नीचैः कृत्य, नीचैः कृत्वा, or नीचैः कार. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किं तर्हि वृषल नीचैः कृत्वा, नीचैः कृत्य or नीचैः कारमाचक्षे"; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as ब्राह्मण कण्ठ्याते गर्भिणी in a loud voice, the other may reply "किं तर्हि वृषलोच्चैः कृत्वा, उच्चैः कृत्य, or उच्चैः कारमाचक्षे" । (See II. 2. 22 for compounding.)

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe उच्चैः कृत्वाऽऽचक्षे पुत्रस्ते जातः । Here only क्त्वा is added. Why have we repeated क्त्वा in this sūtra, when in this chapter, by the rule of वाऽवरूप (III. 1. 94), ktvā would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of samāsa or composition, by the application of II. 2. 22. The repetition

of णमुल् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of kṭvā and namul runs concurrently.

तिर्य्यच्यपवर्गे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तिर्य्यचि, अपवर्गे, (कृजः, क्त्वा-णमुलो) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिर्य्यक्शब्द उपपदे कृजः क्त्वाणमुलो प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽपवर्गे यस्यमाने ॥

60. The affixes 'kṭvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kri,' when the word 'tiryak' is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end.'

The word अपवर्ग means 'completing or finishing.' Thus तिर्य्यक् कृत्य, तिर्य्यक् कृत्वा or तिर्य्यक्कारं गतः = समाप्य गतः 'having completed, he went away.'

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe तिर्य्यक् कृत्वा काष्ठं गतः 'having placed the wood *obliquely*, he went away.' Here णमुल् is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word तिर्य्यचि is the locative of the *word-form* तिर्य्यच्, and not of the *word* तिर्य्यच् । Other examples are : एतदाय (V. 3. 5); अदसो मात् (I. 1. 12).

स्वाङ्गे तस्प्रत्यये कृभ्वोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, तस्-प्रत्यये, कृ भ्वाः, (क्त्वा-णमुलो) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्प्रत्यये स्वाङ्गवाचिनि उपपदे करोतेर्भवतेश्च घातोः क्त्वाणमुलो प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

61. The affixes 'kṭvā' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kri' (to make) and 'bhû' (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one's own body; when the affix 'tas' is joined thereto.

The word स्वाङ्ग has already been defined in sūtra III. 4. 54. The *svānga* word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix तस्—a *tad lṛita* affix technically called तसि and तसिल् (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots कृ and भू, and there are two affixes to be applied, i. e., क्त्वा and णमुल्; yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus सुखतः कृत्य गतः or सुखतः कृत्वा गतः or सुखतः कारंगतः । Similarly पृष्टतः भूयः तिष्ठति or पृष्टतः भूत्वा तिष्ठति or पृष्टतः भावं तिष्ठति ।

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe सर्वतः कृत्वा गतः ।

Why do we say 'ending in the affix तस्'? Observe सुखीकृत्य गतः, सुखी-भूय गतः ।

Why do we use the word 'the affix'? If तस् is not an affix, but a verb the rule will not apply. Thus सुखे तस्यति = सुखतः 'throws in the mouth.' With this सुखतः so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus सुखतः कृत्वा गतः ।

नाधार्थप्रत्यये च्छयर्थे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ना-धा-अर्थ-प्रत्यये,
चवी-अर्थे, (कृ-वोः, क्त्वा-शमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाधार्थप्रत्यये शब्दे च्छयर्थउपपदे कृ-वोर्धातोः क्त्वाशमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

62. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kri' and 'bhû', when a word ending in the affix 'nâ' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhâ' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' (to make or to become something with it had not been before, V. 4. 50), is in composition.

Two words नाना 'various' and विना 'without' are formed by the affix ना (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of धा are धा, च्छ, धस् and यधा (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of *chvi* has already been explained.

Thus अनाना नाना कृत्वा गतः = नाना कृत्य गतः Similarly नाना कृत्वा or नानाकारं गतः । So also विना कृत्य, विना कृत्वा or विना कारं गतः । So also नाना or विना भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । With words formed by धा and cognate affixes, we have:—द्विधा or द्वेषं कृत्य—कृत्वा—कारं—भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । But not so in द्विक् कृत्वा, पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we use the word 'affix (प्रत्यय)' in the sūtra? Without it, the sūtra would have run thus: नाधार्थे च्छयर्थे, and then any word, having the sense of ना, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of धा which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कृ or भू. would have taken the affix शमुल् and क्त्वा. But that is not so. Thus the words द्विक् 'except' and पृथक् 'separately' have the sense of ना and धा respectively; as द्विक् कृत्वा, or पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix *chvi*'? Observe नाना कृत्वा काष्ठानि गतः ।

The word अर्थ in नाधार्थ qualifies only the term धा, and not ना, for there are no other affix having the sense of ना, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of धा । The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

तूष्णीमि भुवः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूष्णीमि, भुवः, (क्त्वा-शमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूष्णीशब्दउपपदे भवतेर्धातोः क्त्वाशमुलौ भवतः ॥

63. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the root 'bhû', when the word 'tûshnîm' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तूष्णीभूय, तूष्णी भूत्वा, or तूष्णीभावस् 'having become silent'. The repetition of भू in this sūtra, shows that the anuvṛitti of कृ does not run into it and altogether ceases.

अन्वक्तवानुलोम्ये ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्वचि, आनुलोम्ये, (भुवः, क्त्वा-गमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्वक्शब्दउपपदे भवतेर्घांतोरानुलोम्ये त्वाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

64. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come after the root 'bhû', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word आनुलोम्य means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अन्वग्भूय—अन्वग्भूत्वा or अन्वग्भावनास्ते 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अन्वग्भूत्वा तिष्ठति 'he remains behind'.

शकधृषज्ञाग्लाघटरभलभक्रमसहाह्रास्त्यर्थेषु तुमुन् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥

शक-धृष-ज्ञा-ग्ला-घट-रभ-लभ-क्रम-सह-अर्हा, अस्ति-अर्थेषु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकादिपुपपदेषु अस्त्यर्थेषु वा य तु नात्रातु तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'śak' (to be able), 'dhrish' (to make bold), 'jñâ' (to know), 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghat' (to strive), 'rabh' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in तुमुन् formed by this rule, differs from that given in sūtra III. 3. 10. In that sūtra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an *upapada* in construction, though that *upapada* is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such *upapada*.

Thus शक्नोमि भोक्तुम् 'I am able to eat'. Similarly जानाति—ग्लायति—घटते आरभते—लभते—प्रक्रमते—सहते—अर्हति—अस्ति—भवति—or विद्यते भोक्तुम् 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This sūtra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says अर्थग्रहण-वस्तिनैव सम्बध्यते अनन्तरत्वात् i. e., the sūtra gives roots from शक् to अर्ह and roots having the same sense as अस् 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, पारय 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पारयाभि निवेदयितुम् (S. 4), पारयिष्यत्यत्रभवत्यपरादधुम् (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विद् 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but न च वेद स्यग् द्रष्टुम् न वा (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose

that the sūtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अर्थ with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sūtra, connecting अर्थ with all the above roots.—*Aptes Composition.*

पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याप्ति-वचनेषु, अलम्-अर्थेषु, (तुमुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु पदेषु चातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

66. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb having in composition with it, 'alam' and its synonyms, when these words express to be capable of something.'

The word पर्याप्ति means 'capability, ability, fulness.' Thus लिखितमपि सलाटे प्रोज्झितुम् कः समर्थः (Hitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead.' लोकान् अलं दग्धुम् हि तत्तपः (Kumāra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds.' अस्ति मे विभवः सर्वं परिज्ञातं, (Vikramorvasi 2) 'I have power to know every thing.' भोक्तुम् प्रवीणः कुशलः पटुर्धा 'skilful in eating.'

Another interpretation of the sūtra is "the affix *tumun* is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्याप्ति or अलम् or a synonym of *alam* having the sense of *parýāpti*. Thus पर्याप्तो भोक्तुम्, अलं भोक्तुम्, भोक्तुम् चारयति ।

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability'? Observe अलम्कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलम्'? Observe पर्याप्तम् भुङ्क्ते । The word यक् in the preceding sūtra has not the sense of अलम् in that aphorism. With the sense of अलम्, the present sūtra will apply: as शक्यमेवं कर्तुम् ।

कर्तरि कृत् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, कृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतसंज्ञकाः प्रत्ययाः कर्तरि कारके भवन्ति ॥

67. The affixes called 'krit' are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by *krit* affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to *krit* affixes like रुयुन् (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like एबुल् and वृष् &c. (III. 1. 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कर्ता 'an agent'; नन्दनः 'one who causes happiness'; ग्राही 'who seizes'; पचः 'who cooks.'

भव्यगेयप्रवचनायोपस्थानीयजन्याप्यव्यपत्या वा ॥ ६८ ॥ पठ ॥

भव्य-गेय-प्रवचनीय-उपस्थानीय-आव्य-आप्तपात्याः, वा, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव्यादयः शब्दाः कर्तरि वा निपात्यन्ते ॥

68. The words 'bhavya,' 'geya,' 'pravachaniya,'

'upasthâniya,' 'janya,' 'âplâvya' and 'âpâtya' may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by *kritya* affixes and therefore by rule III. 4. 70, they would generally denote an action in the abstract, and the object, but not the agent. The present sūtra, however, makes them denote optionally the agent also. In the alternative they denote the action-name and the object also. Thus भव्य may mean 'existed,' 'existence,' or 'one who exists'; गेय means 'a singer,' 'a song,' or 'singing'; प्रवचनीय means 'one who explains,' 'what ought to be explained,' or 'an explanation'; उपस्थानीय means 'who waits upon,' 'what ought to be waited upon or served,' or 'waiting upon or attendance'; जन्म = जायतेऽसौ or जन्यमनेन means 'one who gives birth, i. e., a father,' 'birth' or 'what is born'; आप्लाव्य = आप्लवतेऽसौ or आप्लाव्यमनेन means 'who immerses,' one 'immersing,' or 'what ought to be immersed'; आपात्य = आपतत्यसौ or आपात्यमनेन means 'what falls upon,' 'falling upon,' or 'what ought to fall upon.' Thus गेयो नाणवकः सामानं 'the boy is the singer of the Sâma'; or गेयानि नाणवकेन सामानि 'the boy ought to sing the Sâma'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुः स्वाध्यायस्य 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुणा स्वाध्यायः 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; उपस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी गुरोः 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानी- विद्येण गुरुः 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil.'

लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः ॥६९॥पदानि ॥ लः, कर्मणि, च, भावे, च, अकर्मकेभ्यः, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लकारः कर्मणिकारके भवन्ति, चकारात् कर्तरि च, अकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो भावे भवन्ति, पुनश्चकारात् कर्तरि च ॥

69 The tense-affixes called 'la' are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent.

The term ल् means the ten affixes known as लट्, लिट्, &c.; ल् is the common element of them all; and these affixes when stripped of all indicatory letters, leave behind only the letter ल् which is thus common name for them all. The लः in the sūtra, is the nominative plural of ल् । By the word च in the sūtra, we draw in the word कर्ता or 'agent' from the last sūtra into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (भाव) or it may denote the 'agent.'

The verb itself denotes the action; to be or to do, generally; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गच्छते ग्रामो देवदत्तेन 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here ते of गच्छते denotes the object

and is in passive construction. गच्छति ग्रामं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix ति of गच्छति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb गच्छ being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; आस्यते देवदत्तेन 'it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb आस्यते here denotes merely भाव or 'action.' In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. आसते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sits'; here the verb आसते denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus:—"A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action." The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

तयोरेव कृत्यक्तखलर्थाः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः, एव, कृत्य-क्त-
खलर्थाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरेव भावकर्मणोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः क्तखलोर्याश्च प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

70. The affixes called 'kritya' and the affix 'kta' and those that have the sense of 'khal,' have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object (bhāva and karma).

The word तयोः 'of those two' refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act,' and कर्म, 'object.' The word एव 'only' is used in the sūtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कर्तव्यः कटो भवता 'the mat must be made by you'; भोक्तव्यः ओदनो भवता 'the rice must be eaten by you.' Here the affix तव्य has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also आशितव्यं भवता 'thou must eat'; शयितव्यं भवता 'thou must lie down.' Here the sense of the affix तव्य being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix क्त denotes both the object and the action; कृतः कटो भवता 'the mat is made by you'; भुक्त ओदनो भवता 'the rice is eaten by you.' Here क्त is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly त may be used in denoting the mere act; आसितं भवता 'you sat'; शयितं भवता 'you lay down.'

Similarly the affixes having the sense of खल् (III. 3. 126) denote both

the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; ईषत्करः कटो भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकरः 'what is made with ease'; दुष्करः 'what is made with difficulty.' In the following examples the affixes denote the act. ईषदाढ्यभव भवता and स्वाढ्यभवं भवता ।

After transitive verbs, the *kritya* the *kta* and the *khalārtha* affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भाव or 'an Impersonal action.'

आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि च ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-कर्मणि, क्तः, कर्तरि, च, (भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिकर्मणि यः क्तो विहितः स कर्तरि भवति, चकारात् यथाप्राप्तं भावकर्मणोः ॥

71. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिकर्मणि means 'the beginning of an action' or when the action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having been simply begun. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the क्त may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः here the agent is denoted. प्रकृतः कटो देवदत्तेन; here the object is denoted. प्रकृतश्च देवदत्तेन; here mere action is denoted. Similarly प्रभुक्तं ओदनं देवदत्तः (agent); प्रभुक्तं ओदनो देवदत्तेन (object); प्रभुक्तं देवदत्तेन (act),

गत्यर्थकर्म कश्चिपशीङ्स्यासवसजनरुहजीर्यतिभ्यश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ प-
द नि ॥ गत्यर्थ-अकर्म-क-श्चिप-शीङ्-स्या-आस-वस-जन-रुह-जीर्यतिभ्यः, च,
(क्तः, कर्तरि, भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽकर्म केभ्यः श्लिषादिभ्यश्च यः क्तः स कर्तरि भवति, चकारादाया-
प्राप्तं च भावकर्मणोः ॥

72. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting the agent as well as the act and the object, after verbs implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the verbs 'ślish' (to embrace), 'śī' (to lie down), 'sthā' (to stand), 'âs' (to sit), 'vas' (to dwell), 'jan' (to produce), 'ruh' (to mount) and 'jri' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the sūtra by virtue of the word च. Thus गतो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta is gone to the village' (agent); देवदत्तेन ग्रामः गतः 'the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); गतं देव-दत्तेन 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs denote the agent and the act only; or in other words, they are used impersonally and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the object. Thus ग्लानो भवान् 'you were wearied' (agent), ग्लानं भवता (object); आसितो

भवान् 'you sat' (agent), आसितं भवता (object); उपश्लिष्टो गुरुश्च भवान् 'you embraced the teacher' (agent), उपश्लिष्टो गुरुः भवता 'the guru was embraced by you' (object), उपश्लिष्टश्च भवता 'you embraced' (act); उपशयितो गुरुश्च भवान् 'you lay near the guru' (agent), उपशयितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपशयितं भवता (act); उपस्थितो गुरुश्च भवान् (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपस्थितं भवता (act); उपाशितो गुरुश्च भवान् (agent), उपाशितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपाशितं भवता (act); अनुषितो गुरुश्च भवान् (agent), अनुषितो गुरुः भवता (object), अनुषितं भवता (act); अनुज्ञातो माणवको माणविकाश्च (agent), अनुज्ञाता माणवकेन माणविका (object), अनुज्ञातं माणवकेन (act); आहूतो वृक्षं भवान् (agent), आहूतो वृक्षो भवता (object), आहूतं भवता (act); अनुजीर्णो वृषलीं देवदत्तः (agent), अनुजीर्णो वृषली देवदत्तेन (object), अनुजीर्णं देवदत्तेन (act). The verbs श्लिष् &c, become transitive with certain prepositions or *upasargas*, hence they have been mentioned here. Otherwise there was no necessity of mentioning them separately; as they, being intransitive verbs, when without prepositions, would be included in the word *akarmaka* of the sūtra.

दाशगोघ्नौ संप्रदाने ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश-गोघ्नौ, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाशगोघ्नौ शब्दौ संप्रदाने कारके निपात्येते ॥

73. The word 'dāśa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word दाश comes from the root दाश् 'to give' by adding the affix अच् under rule III. 1. 134. This being a कृदन्त word would have otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sūtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus दाश means 'to whom something is given i. e. a servant'. Similarly goghna does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word goghna which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c, and not the regularly-formed word goghna which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandāl'. Thus दाशः = दाशन्ति तस्मै; गोघ्नः = तस्मै दातुं गं घ्नन्ति ॥

भीमादयोऽपादाने ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीम-आदयः, अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भीमादयः शब्दा अपादाने निपात्यन्ते ॥

74 The words 'bhîma' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by *Unādi* affixes. Thus भी + मक् = भीम (Un. 1. 145, 148); भी + घृक् + मक् = भीष्म (Un. I. 148) &c. By the next sūtra, *Unādi* words do not denote ordinarily the recipient and the ablation.

The present sūtra makes them do so in the case of भीमादि words. The following is a list of Bhimādi words :—भीमः, भीष्मः, भयानकः (Un. III. 82), वधः, वधूः,

(Un. I. 7), भूमिः (Un. IV. 45), रजः (Un. IV. 217), संस्कारः, संक्रन्दनः, समुद्रः, सुषः, or सुवः (Un. II. 61), स्तब्धः (Un. II. 62) खलतिः ।

लभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः ॥१५॥पदानि॥ ताभ्यां, अन्धत्र, उणादयः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः शब्दास्ताभ्यामपादानसंप्रदानाभ्यामन्यत्र कारके भवन्ति ॥

75. The words formed by 'Unādi' affixes denote other ideas than these two, i. e., recipient and ablation.

The *Unādi* affixes being a subdivision of *krit* affixes, would have, by rule III. 4. 67, denoted the agent. By the present sūtra they are made to denote the object, the instrument and the location also. The word ताभ्यां has been used in the sūtra in order to include the word *sampradāna* also. For had the sūtra been अन्यत्रोणादयः, only the *Apādna kāraka* would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the *Sampardāna kāraka*. Thus कृषितोऽसौ = कृषिः (Un. IV. 120) 'agriculture i. e. what is ploughed' (object); तन्यत इति = तन्तुः Un. I. 69) 'a thread i. e. what is drawn out', वृत्तमिति वर्तते (Un. IV. 145) 'a way i. e. what is established'; चरितं = चर्म (Un. IV. 145) 'skin' (in which they live).

क्तोऽधिकरणे च ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥

क्तः, अधिकरणे, च, ध्रौव्य-गति-प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः, (क्तः, भावे, कर्मणि, कर्तरि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यो यः क्तो विहितः सोऽधिकरणे भवति चकाराद्यध्याप्राप्तं च ॥ ध्रौव्यार्थेभ्यः कर्तृभावाधिकरणेषु, गत्यर्थेभ्यः कर्तृकर्मभावाधिकरणेषु, प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः कर्मभावाधिकरणेषु ।

76. The affix 'kta' which is ordained after roots denoting fixedness (to cling to a place), motion and taking, gives the sense of location as well.

The verbs denoting ध्रौव्य or 'persisting in a place' are Intransitive verbs. The word *pratyavasāna* means 'eating' also; the force of च in the sūtra is that the affix *kta* expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting 'fixedness' or *dhrauvyārtha* it denotes the agent, the act and the location; after verbs denoting 'motion' it gives the sense of agent, object, act and location; after verbs denoting 'taking or eating', it has the sense of object, act and location. Thus आसिवो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sat'; आसितस् तेन 'sitting by him (act); इदमेषामासितम् 'this was their seat' (location); यातो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta went to the village' (active); यातो देवदत्तेन ग्रामः (passive); यातं देवदत्तेन (abstract); इदमेषां यातम् 'this is their place of going' (location); भुक्त आदो देवदत्तेन (passive); भुक्त आदनं देवदत्तः (active); देवदत्तेन भुक्तम् (abstract); इदमेषां भुक्तम् (location); कथं भुक्ताब्राह्मणोः । पीता गायः । The आ in भुक्ता and पीता has the force of भित्तुप् (IV. 2. 85) भुक्तमेषामस्ति or पीतमेषामस्ति ।

लस्य ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्येत्ययमधिकारः, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्वामो लस्येत्येवं बह्वेदितम्यम् ॥

77. In the place of 'la' will be substituted the affixes which we shall announce hereafter.

Thus sūtra consists of one word लस्य meaning 'of ल'. It is an *adhikāra* sūtra. The word लस्य is the genitive singular of ल, the अ in ल being for the sake of pronunciation. The ल means the ten affixes: लट् present, लिट् perfect, लुट् first future, लृट् second future, लोट् imperative लेट् Vedic subjunctive, लङ् imperfect, लिङ् potential and benedictive, लुङ् aorist, लृङ् conditional. Six of these tenses have indicatory ट्, and four have indicatory ङ् ।

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus :—In the following sūtras the word लस्य should be supplied to complete the sense, i. e., the phrase 'in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as ल' ।

तिसस्फिप्थस्यमिठ्वस्मस्तातामृथासायामृध्वमिड्वहिसहिङ्
॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिप्-तस्-फि-तिप्-थस्-थ-मिप्-वस्-मस्-त-आताम्-फ-
यास्-आयाम्-ध्वम्-इट्-वहि-महिङ्, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्य तिबादय आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

78. The following are the substitutes of 'la':—'tip,' 'tas,' 'jhi'; 'sip,' 'thas,' 'tha'; 'mip,' 'vas,' 'mas'; 'ta,' 'âtâm,' 'jha'; 'thâs,' 'âthâm,' 'dhvam'; 'it,' 'vahi,' mahin.

These are the well-known Conjugational-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sūtra II. 4. 85, III. 1. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or लट् that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration

The प in तिप्, सिप् and मिप् is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4); the ट् in इट् for distinguishing it in the sūtra इटोऽत् (III. 4. 106); and the ङ in महिङ् for forming the *Pratyāhāra* तिङ् which is the general name of the above 18 conjugational or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicatory letters, the following table shows the conjugational affixes as added under various tenses :—

PRESENT TENSE.—लट् ।

	Parasmaipada.				Atmanepada.		
	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	मि	वस्	मस्		ए	वहे	महे
2nd. "	सि	थस्	थ		से	आये	ध्वे
3rd. "	ति	तस्	अन्ति		ते	आते	प्रन्ते

IMPERFECT OR FIRST PRETERITE.—अङ् ।

Parasmaipada.

Atmanepada.

	Sing.	Dual..	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	अङ्	व	म		इ	वहि	महि
2nd. „	स्	तस्	त		यास्	आयास्	ध्वस्
3rd. „	त्	तास्	अन्		त	आतास्	अन्त

POTENTIAL OR OPTATIVE.—विधिलिङ् ।

1st. pers.	यास्	याव	याम		ईय	ईवहि	ईमहि
2nd. „	यास्	यातस्	यात		ईयास्	ईयायास्	ईध्वस्
3rd. „	यात्	यातास्	युम्		ईत	ईयातास्	ईरन्

IMPERATIVE.—लोट् ।

1st. pers.	आनि	आव	आम		रे	आवहे	आमहे
2nd. „	हि	तस्	त		स्व	आयास्	ध्वस्
3rd. „	तु	ताम	अन्तु		तास्	आतास्	अन्तास्

PERFECT OR SECOND PRETERITE.—लिट् ।

1st. pers.	अ	व	म		य	वहे	महे
2nd. „	थ	अयुस्	अ		से	आये	ध्वे
3rd. „	अ	अतुस्	उस्		ए	आते	द्वरे

FIRST FUTURE OR DEFINITE FUTURE.—लुट् ।

1st. pers.	तास्मि	तास्वस्	तास्मस्		ताहे	तास्वहे	तास्महे
2nd. „	तासि	तास्यस्	तास्य		तासे	तासाये	ताध्वे
3rd. „	ता	तारी	तारस्		ता	तारी	तारस्

SECOND FUTURE OR INDEFINITE FUTURE.—लृट् ।

1st. pers.	स्यामि	स्यावस्	स्यामस्		स्ये	स्यावहे	स्यामहे
2nd. „	स्यसि	स्यथस्	स्यथ		स्यसे	स्यथे	स्यध्वे
3rd. „	स्यति	स्यतस्	स्यन्ति		स्यते	स्येते	स्यन्ते

AORIST OR THIRD PRETERITE.—लुङ् ।

1st. pers.	सस्	स्व	स्म		सि	स्वहि	स्महि
2nd. „	सीस्	स्तस्	स्त		स्यास्	सायास्	ध्वस्
3rd. „	सीत्	स्तास्	सुस्		स्त	सातास्	सत्

PRECATIVE OR BENEDICTIVE.—आशीर्लिङ् ।

1st. pers.	यास्यस्	यास्व	यास्म		सीय	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd. „	यास्	यास्तस्	यास्त		सीष्टास्	सीयास्थास्	सीध्वस्
3rd. „	यात्	यास्तास्	यासुस्		सीष्ट	सीयास्तास्	सीरन्

CONDITIONAL.—लृङ् ।

1st. pers.	स्यस्	स्याव	स्याम		स्ये	स्यावहि	स्यामहि
2nd. „	स्यस्	स्यतास्	स्यत		स्यथास्	स्येथास्	स्यध्वस्
3rd. „	स्यत्	स्यतास्	स्यन्		स्यत	स्येतास्	स्यन्त

टित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टितः, आत्मनेपदा-
नाम्, टेः, ए, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टितो लकारस्य स्थाने यास्यात् आत्मनेपदानि तेषां टेरेकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicatory 't.'

The ल or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory ट are six:—लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लोट्, लेट् । In these tenses the final portion called टि of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into ए । Thus त becomes ते, आताच् becomes आते, क becomes के &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes ज्ञानच्, and कानच् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into ए as in पचमानः, यजमानः ? Because the word आत्मनेपदानां in the sutra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the pratyâhâra तिङ् ।

थाप्तस्ते ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ थाप्तः, से, (लस्य, टितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टितो लकारस्य यस्यास्तस्य चेशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

80. The word 'se' is the substitute of 'thâs' in those tenses that have an indicatory 't.'

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sutra, the Atmanepada यास् is replaced by से, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पचसे, पेचिसे, पक्तासे, पश्यसे ।

लिटस्तभ्योरेशिरेच् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटः, त-भ्योः, एश्, इरेच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशयोस्तभ्योर्यथासंख्यमेश् इरेच् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

81. The words 'es' and 'irech' are the substitutes of 'ta' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The श् of एश् indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix त (I. 1. 55) The च् of इरेच् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 165). Thus पेचे, पेचाते पेचिरे । See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

परस्मैपदानां शल्लुत्तुस्थलथुसल्लवनाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मै-
पदानां, शल्-अतुस्-उस्-थल्-अथुस्-अ-शल्-व-नाः, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशानां परस्मैपदसंज्ञकानां यथासंख्यं लिङादीनां शलादयो नवादेशा भवन्ति ॥

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense:

Sing	nal (अ)	thal (थ)	nal (अ)
Dual.	atus (अतुः)	athus (अथुः)	va (व)
Plural.	us (उः)	a (अ)	ma (म)

The indicatory ल् in लल् and यल् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 193). The indicatory ण् is for the sake of causing वृद्धि (VII. 2. 25.) Thus पपाच, पेचतुः, पेचुः, पेचिथ or पपूक्य, पेचयुः, पेच, पपाच or पपच, पेचिथ पेचिन ।

विदो लटो वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदः, लटः, वा, (परस्मैपदानां, ललतुस्यलथुसल्लवमाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद वाने, अस्माद्वातोः परेषां लडादेशानां परस्मैपदानां ललादयो नव विक्लृप्-
नादेशा भवन्ति ॥

83. The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb 'vid.'

Thus:—

Singular.	वेद or वेत्ति	वेत्य or वेत्तिथ	वेद or वेद्भि
Dual.	विदतुः or वित्तः	विदयुः or वित्थः	विद्व or विद्वः
Plural.	विदुः or विदन्ति	विद or वित्थ	विद्व or विद्वः

ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहो ब्रुवः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, पञ्चानाम्, आदितः, आहः, ब्रुवः, (परस्मैपदानां, ललतुस्यलथु, लटः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवः परस्य लटः परस्मैपदानां पञ्चानामादिभूतानां पञ्चैव ललादय आदेशा भवन्ति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च यु व आहश्चद आदेशो भवति ॥

84. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb 'brû' (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; 'âha' being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of 'brû.'

Thus आह 'he says'; आहतुः 'they two say'; आहुः 'they say'; आत्य thou sayst'; आहयुः 'you two say'; the rest like ब्रू as shown below:—

Singular.	आह or ब्रूहीति	आत्य or ब्रूहीषि	ब्रूहीमि
Dual.	आहतुः or ब्रूतः	आहयुः or ब्रूथः	ब्रूवः
Plural.	आहु or ब्रूवन्ति	ब्रूथ	ब्रूसः

The word आदितः 'first' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word ब्रुवः in the sūtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

लोटो लङ्वत् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोटः, लङ्वत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटो लङ्वत्कार्यं भवति ॥

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an अतिदेश सूत्र; as in the लङ् there are the affixes तात्, तत्, त, क and न, so also in the लोट् । Thus पचतात्, पचतत्, पचत, पचाव, पचान ।

Q—If लोट् is like लङ्, why have we not the augment अट्, आट्, or the substitution of जुष् for णि (see III. 4. 111) in the case of लोट् also?

A.—The वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the analogy between लोट् and लङ् is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to लङ्, equally applicable to लोट् also.

एकः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षः, उः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशानामि कारस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विन्योस्त्वप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. In the Imperative, 'u' is substituted for 'i'.

Thus ति becomes तु, अन्ति becomes अन्तु as have already been given in the above table.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and नि of लोट्. In the case of these two affixes, the इ is not changed into उ, either because they have been so taught in the sūtras, or because the वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sūtra (व्यवस्थित विभाषा). Thus पचतु, पचन्तु ।

In fact, this sūtra is confined to ति and णि only, and does not apply to सि to which the next sūtra applies.

सैर्ह्यपिच ॥ ८७ ॥ सैः, हि, अपित्, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशस्य सैर्हि इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. In the Imperative, 'hi' is substituted for 'si', and this has not the indicatory 'p' of 'sip', i. e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि substituted for सिप् would have been a पित् affix, but for this sūtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि is not to be regarded as having an indicatory प ।

Thus लुनीहि पुनीहि, राधुहि, तदुहि; and as this affix is अपित्, rule I. 2. 4 makes it ङित् also, and thereby no guṇa takes place.

वा छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि, (सैर्ह्यपित्, लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशरछन्दसि विषये दिशब्दो वाऽपिद्ववति ॥

88. In the Vedas, the substitute 'hi' is optionally treated as not having an indicatory 'p'.

The result is that in the Chhandas the second person singular of लोट् has two forms as प्रीणाहि or प्रीणीहि; युयुधि or युयोधि, चि being substituted for हि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अग्रं नय' सु पयारायेऽग्रस्मान्विश्वानिदेव वयूनानि विद्वान् ।

यु योध्यस्मच्छु' दुराणमेतोभूयि' द्वाप्ते नमऽङ्कित्तिष्ठिषेन ॥

—Rig 1. 189. 1 : Yajur Veda. 40. 16.

मेनिः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेः, निः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोढादेशस्य मेनिरादेशो भवति ॥

89. In the Imperative, 'ni' is substituted for the affix 'mi'.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of च into ङ, and the rule of *lopa*; see the table; thus पचानि, पदानि ।

आमेतः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्, एतः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सन्धिनिधन एकारस्य आमित्ययनादेशो भवति ॥

90. In the Imperative 'am' is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise 'e' by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ए. In the Atmanepada, आम् is substituted for ए in the Imperative; see the table; पचताम्, पचेताम्, पचस्ताम् ।

सवाभ्यां वामौ ॥ ९१ ॥ प० ॥ व-वाभ्यां, व-अमौ, (लोटः, एतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य लोट् सन्धिनिधन एकारस्य यथासंख्यं च आम् इत्येतावादेशो भवति ॥

91. For such an 'e' coming after 's', is substituted 'v', and for that coming after 'v', is substituted 'am', in the Imperative.

This supersedes the आम् substitution of the last sūtra. Thus, for वे we have स्व, and for व्वे we have व्वम्; see the table; thus पचस्व, पचव्वम् ।

आहुत्तमस्य पिच्च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, उत्तमस्य, पित्, च (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सन्धिनिधन उत्तमपुरुषस्याह्वागमो भवति च चोत्तमपुरुषः पिद्ववति ॥

92. In the Imperative 'ât' is the augment of the affixes the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicatory 'p'.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have आनि, आव, आन । Thus करवाचि, करवाय, करवाम; करवै, करवावहे, करवामहे ।

एत ऐ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः, ऐः, (लोटः, उत्तमस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोढुत्तमसन्धिनिधन एकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

93. The 'ai' is substituted for 'e' forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus करवै, करवावहे, करवामहे ।

But the ए resulting from sandhi, is not to be changed into ऐ । Thus पचाय + इदम् = पचायेदम्, पचाम + इदम् = पचामेदम् । Here, no doubt, the ए belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of अ of च and व. But this is not to be changed into ऐ on the maxim that this ए is the result of a बहिरङ्ग rule, for

the rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 87), is a बहिरङ्ग rule, while the present sūtra is an अन्तरङ्ग rule; because of the following Paribhāṣhā, अविटं बहिरङ्गान्तरङ्गे 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

लेटोऽडाटौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लेटः, अट्-आटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेटोऽडाटांवागमौ भवतः पर्यायेणः ॥

94. The augments 'aṭ' and 'āṭ' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments अट् and आट् are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुप् + विप् + अट् + त = जोविषत्; तारिषत्; मन्दिषत्; similarly पत् + आट् + वि = पतावि; व्यावयाति । See III. 1. 34 for the addition of विप् in one above.

आत ऐ ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ऐ, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन आकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

95. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'ā' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्त्रयैते, मन्त्रयैथे, करवैते, करवैथे । Why is not the augment आट् changed into ऐः ? Because otherwise the rule enjoining आट् would be superfluous.

वैतोऽन्यत्र ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ऐतः, अन्यत्र, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य वा ऐकारादेशो भवति अन्यत्रेत्यनन्तरं विधिरपेक्षते । आत ऐ इत्येतद्विषयं वर्जयित्वा एत ऐ भवति ॥

96. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e' in other places than those mentioned in the last sūtra.

Thus ज्यै, ईयै, &c. in the following examples:—उप्राहानि ज्यै, अहमेव पशूनामीयै, नदया एव वो ग्रहा गृह्यान्तै, नद्वैवत्यान्येव वः पात्राण्युच्छान्तै । And in the alternative we have simply ए, as यत्र क्व च ते मनो दधस्व दधस्वउत्तरस्व ।

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last sūtra' ? Observe मन्त्रयैते, मन्त्रयैथे ।

इतश्च लोपः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, लोपः, परस्मै-पदेषु, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन इकारस्य परस्मैपदविषयस्य लोपो भवति वानुवृत्तेः परे अवयवमपि भवति ॥

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The वा of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus जोविषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1). तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12). मन्दिषत् । In the alternative, it is not elided as पताति विद्युत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1). उदधिं व्यावयाति । The ए of एट्, एहि and एहि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्य सकारस्य वा लोपो भवति ॥

As करवाव or करवावः, करवाव or करवावः । The first person is used in the sūtra to indicate that the स् is not elided in any other person.

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितो लकारस्य य उत्तमस्तस्य नित्यं सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

The tense-affixes having indicatory इ are four, namely, लङ्, लृङ्, लुङ् and लृङ् । In their case, the elision of स् is not optional as was the case in the last sūtra, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the स् is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपचाव, अपचाम । The word नित्यं 'always' is used in order to stop the anuvritti of the word 'optionally.'

वृत्तिः ॥ छिल्लकारसम्बन्धिन इकारस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

Thus, for **ति** we have **त्**, for **सि** we have **स्**, &c, as in the above table. The **ह** of *Atmanepada* is, however, not elided, -because the *anuvritti* of *Parasmaipada* is understood here from *sūtra* III. 4. 97. Thus **अपचत्**, **अपाहीत्**, but **अपचावहि** and **अपचामहि** ।

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विलकारश्च्यन्धिनां चतुर्णां यथासंख्यं तामादय आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचतत्, अपचतस्, अपचत, अपचस्, अपात्तास्, अपाक्तस्, अपाक्त, अपाहस् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गादेशानां सीयुङ्गागमो भवति ॥

102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedictive take the augment 'sîyut'.

The ट् of सीयुट् is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The उ is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the च् of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the य् also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have पचेत्, पचेयाताम्, and by III. 4. 105, पचेरन् । In the Benedictive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not governed by VI. 1. 66. Thus पषीट्, पषीयास्ताम् पषीरन् ।

यासुट् परस्मैपदेषूदात्तो ङिच् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यासुट्, परस्मै-पदेषु, उदात्तः, ङित्, च, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदविषयस्य लिङो यासुडागमो भवति सीयुटोऽपवादः सचोदात्तो भवति, ङिच् ॥

103. When the Parasmaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yâsut' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory 'n'.

The debars सीयुट्; the उट् of यासुट् is indicatory; the real augment is याच् . All augments being anudâta, the present sūtra therefore especially uses the word udâta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though लिङ् has an indicatory ङ्, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory ङ्, the repetition of the word ङित् in this sūtra shows the existence of the paribhâshâ "that the ङ् belonging to ल does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ् and लृङ् are not to be regarded as having an indicatory ङ् (लकाराश्रयङित्वमादेशानां न भवति). In the Potential, the च् of यासुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, and by applying III. 4. 103 and VI. 1. 96, कुर्याच् । For the Benedictive लिङ् the following sūtra applies.

किदाशिचि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कित्, आशिचि, (लिङः, यासुट्, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिचि यो लिङ् तस्य यासुडागमो भवति सचोदात्तः किद्वद्वति ॥

104. The augment 'yâsut' comes after that 'lin' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this 'lin' are as if they had an indicatory 'k'.

The कित् of this sūtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedictive mood and not to the augment यासुट्, for that would have been unnecessary

being already कृत् by the last rule. कृत् and कृत् are equal in prohibiting guṇa and vṛiddhi, but कृत् is distinguished from कृत् inasmuch as कृत् causes the guṇa of जाय (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus इज्यात् इज्यास्तात्, इज्यायुः, and जागर्यात्, जागर्यास्तात् and जागर्यायुः। In the Potential, यज्यात् (no samprasāraṇa); in the Benedictive, उज्यात् (vocalisation). So also जाग्यात् in the Potential.

अस्य रन् ॥ १०५ ॥ यदानि ॥ अस्य, रन्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य रन्मित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ran' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'Liṅ' (Potential and Benedictive).

The क in other places, is replaced generally by अन्त (VII. 1. 3.), but in लिङ्, it is replaced by रन्। Thus पचेरन्, यजेरन्, कृषीरन्।

इटोऽत् ॥ १०६ ॥ यदानि ॥ इटः, अत्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य इटोऽदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus पचेय, यजेय, कृषीय, वृषीय।

Q.—In the sūtra, the word अत् is used, and the final त् belongs to the चिन्तक, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this त् is not indicatory; why is it made so?

A.—This त् is not any portion or member of the substitute अत्; it is added to अ merely for the sake of euphony.

The इट् refers to the आत्मनेपद affix of the first person singular; and not to the augment इट् on the strength of the maxim अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य। A combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes: whenever it is employed in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.

सुट् तिथोः ॥ १०७ ॥ यदानि ॥ सुट्, ति-थोः, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ् संवन्धिनोस्तकारयकारयोः सुडागमो भवति ॥

107. The augment 'suṭ' is added to the affixes 'ta' and 'tha' when part of the affixes or the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters त् and थ are the objects to which the augment सुट् is to be added; provided that the त् and थ are the initial of the affixes employed in लिङ्।

The augment सीयुट् is applied to लिङ् as such; in other words, लिङ् is

there the आगमी, but in the case of बुद्, लिङ् is not the आगमी, but त and य are the आगमी । The scope of चीयुद् and बुद्, being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the sūtra, the word ति is used; the द् of ति is merely for the sake of pronunciation, Thus कृषीट्, कृषीयास्ताच् कृषीरच्, कृषीयाः, कृषीयास्याच् । In the Potential, the स् is elided by VII. 2. 79.

क्तेर्जुस् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेः, जुस्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य क्तेर्जुस् आदेशो भवति ॥

108, In the Potential and Benedictive, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debars अन्व (VII. 1 3); thus पचेयुः, यजेयुः ।

सिजभ्यस्तविदिभ्यश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ सिच्-अभ्यस्त-विदिभ्यः, च, (क्तेर्जुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः परस्य अभ्यस्त संज्ञकेभ्यो वेत्तेश्चोत्तरस्य जुसादेशो भवति ॥

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicatory 'ñ') 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' when it comes after an Aorist in 'sich,' or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root 'vid' (to know).

This applies to tenses having इ other than that of लिङ् namely, the लङ् and लुङ् ।

सिच् is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb विद्, form their third person plural in जुच्, in the tenses other than लिङ्, and those that take सिच् । The word डितः of sūtra III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (लङ्) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of सिच्, we have अकार्षुः, अहर्षुः । Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अविभ्युः, अजिह्युः, अजागर्षुः । In the case of विद्, we have अविदः ।

आतः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, (क्तेर्जुस्, सिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिच आकारान्ताच्च परस्य क्तेर्जुसादेशो भवति ॥

110 (When 'sich' is elided), 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' after an Aorist stem which ends in long 'ā.'

The सिच् is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus अदुः, अयुः, अर्युः । In other words, in those cases, where सिच् is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुस् is the substitute of क्ति where the verbs end in long आ । In other words, this sūtra restricts the scope of the last sūtra, by which after every सिच्, जुस् was to replace क्ति ।

The Present sūtra says that after verbs in which सिच् has been elided,

जुच् does not replace क् in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long आ; it is thus a *niyama* rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, चिच् is elided after the verb झ् but as झ् does not end in long आ, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in जुच्. Thus, अभुवन् । Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that 'though चिच् is elided, yet its force remains (I. 1. 62)'; जुच् would have replaced क्; but the present sūtra prohibits that. But where the चिच् is not elided, there, of course, जुच् does come. Thus अकार्षुः, अदायुः ।

लङः शाकटायनस्य ॥१११॥ पदानि॥ लङः, शाकटायनस्य, (क्तेः, जुस्, आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तादुत्तरस्य लङादेशस्य क्तेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

111. In the opinion of Sâkatâyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long 'â'.

Thus अयुः, अबुः । In the alternative, we have अयान् and अबान् ।

Why is लङ् repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sūtra applies to क्तिव् tenses, of which, जुङ् being dealt with in the last, would leave लङ् only to be dealt with by this aphorism for no other क्तिव् tense (like लिङ् or लृङ्) can end in आ? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लङ् as लङ्, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated like लङ्. Thus लोट् is treated like कङ्, but for the purposes of this rule, लोट् would not be so treated. Thus the क् of लोट् will not be changed into जुच् by III. 4. 109. Thus विभ्यतु, जायतु विदन्त । The word एव has been used in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

द्विषश्च ॥११२॥ पदानि॥ द्विषः, च, (लङः, शाकटायनस्य, क्तेर्जुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषः परस्य लङादेशस्य क्तेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

112. In the opinion of Sâkatâyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' in the Imperfect after the verb 'dvish' (to hate).

Thus अद्विषुः । But according to others, अद्विषन् ।

तिङ्शित्सार्वधातुकम् ॥ ११३ ॥ प० ॥ तिङ्-शित्, सार्वधातुकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङः शितश्च प्रत्ययाः सार्वधातुकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicatory 's,' are called 'sârvadhâtuka.'

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to तङित् affixes &c. Thus, स्वपिबि, रोदिबि, पयमानः, पयमानः । क्तिट् and आशीर्लिङ् are exceptions.

आर्द्धधातुकं शेषः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकम्, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ्, शितश्च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यः प्रत्ययः शेषो धातुसंशब्दनेन विहित आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

114. The remainder, i. e., the affixes other than 'tin,' and those with an indicatory 's' subjoined to a verbal root, are called 'ardhadhâtuka.'

Thus the affixes वृ, वृच्, तव्यच् &c. are आर्द्धधातुक affixes as in the following words—लविता, लवितुच्, लवितव्यच् । Here the augment इट् is added because of these affixes being called *ardhadhâtuka* by VII. 2. 35.

The word धातोः whose anuvritti began with sūtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka*; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix श्वाच् when added to the noun लू, is not called an *ardhadhātuka* affix, and therefore we have लूश्वाच्, लूभिः &c. Had these affixes been *ardhadhātuka*, they would have caused the *guna* of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes त्वं and वा in the words वृत्तत्वं and वृत्तता are not *ardhadhātuka* affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the the augment इट् (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sūtra III. 1. 5 the affix च्च् is used without changing the sense, after the roots गुप्, तिज् and कित् । But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word धातोः as it is in sūtra III. 1. 7. this च्च् is not called *ardhadhātuka*, and does not take the augment इट्, as जुगुप्सते ।

लिट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्, च, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्तिङार्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called 'ardhadhâtuka.'

This debars them from being called *sārvadhātuka* and, being *ardhadhātuka*, some of them take the augment इट्; as वेचिय, शेकिय । Moreover by their being *ardhadhātuka* they do not admit of the Vikaranas शप् &c.

So from ग्लै (ग्ला, VI. 1. 45) we have जग्ले; here the आ is elided by VI. 4 64, the affix being treated as *ardhadhātuka*; similarly मस्ते from म्लै ।

लिङाशिषि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, आशिषि, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् स आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of 'lin' are called 'ardhadhâtuka', i. e., the personal endings of the Benedictive are 'ardhadhâtuka'.

This debars these affixes from being called *sārvadhātuka*. Being *ardhadhātuka* they take the augment इट् and before these affixes the root does

not take the Vikaranas यप् &c. Thus from the root कृ 'to cut,' we have in the आशीर्लिङ्, लविशीष्ट; and from the root पू 'to purify,' पविशीष्ट. But in the विधिर्लिङ् (Potential), we have the proper Vikaranas &c. as लुनीयात्, पुनीयात् ।

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति सार्वधातुकनार्द्धधातुकं च ॥

117. In the Vedas this distinction of 'sârvadhâtuka' and 'ârdhadhâtuka' is not always maintained, and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about *sârvadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes. Sometimes the लिङ् and शित् are treated as if they were *ârdhadhâtuka*. Thus वर्धन्तु त्वा सुष्टयः । * Here the affixes of the लोट् are treated as *ârdhadhâtuka* and consequently there is the elision of the लिच् by rule VI. 4. 51; the proper form of this word would be वर्धयन्तु । Sometimes *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes are treated like *sârvadhâtuka* affixes; as विष्णुषिवरे; here the affixes of the लिङ् are treated as *sârvadhâtuka* and so there is the Vikarana य्तु and the उ is changed into व । Thus, वि + य्तु + इरे = वि + य् + तु + इरे (III. 1. 74) = वि + य् + त्व् + इरे (VI. 4. 87) = विष्णुषिवरे । Similarly, सुन्विवरे । The लिङ् is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as *sârvadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* at one and the same time; as उपस्येयात् शरणं बृहन्तस् । Here, by treating the affix as *sârvadhâtuka*, there is elision of च in the लिङ् VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as *ârdhadhâtuka*, the आ of स्या is changed into च । So also in स्वस्ति the affix is treated as *sârvadhâtuka* and there is no substitution of भू for ऋ as required by II. 4. 52.

ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

ङ्घाप्प्रातिपदिकात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ डी-आप्-प्रातिपदिकात् ॥

धृतिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । यदित् ऊर्ध्वम्नुक्रमिष्याम आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेऽङ्घाप्प्रातिपदिकादित्येवं
संज्ञितव्यम् ॥

1. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with the feminine affixes डी, or आप्, or after a Nominal stem.

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sūtra points out the base प्रकृति to which the affixes beginning with सु treated of in the next sūtra, and ending with कप् (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sūtra consists of three words. The term डी is a common name for the three affixes डीप्, डीष्, and डीन् ॥ The term आप्, is the common name for the three affixes दाप्, डाप् and चाप् ॥ These are feminine affixes and are taught from sūtra 4 to 65 of this chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'a Nominal stem' and has been defined in sūtra I. 2. 45, 46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Tad-dhita affix. The word ङ्घाप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a Samāhāra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Q. All affixes are placed after the base (See Sūtra III. 1. 2); the affixes treated of in the last Book were to be placed after the root ('dhātu'); the remaining affixes taught in Books Fourth and Fifth, will therefore, be placed after all such bases प्रकृति which are not roots (dhātu); and such bases remaining are prātipadika and feminine words. What is then the necessity

of making this sūtra, when these prātipadika &c., are the only bases left to us to apply the affixes taught herein-after ?

A. To this we reply, the necessity of making this sūtra arose from the following considerations : that the word *उच्चाप् प्रतिपदिकान्* should qualify the words 'वृद्ध' 'अवृद्ध,' 'the letter अ,' 'अनुदात्तादि,' and 'ब्यञ्च्,' wherever used in the following sūtras. So that, where a rule says : "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word," we must understand it to mean, "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word which is a prātipadika, or which ends with 'ni' or 'âp'; and not to every Vṛiddha word." The principal aphorism, besides the present, which regulates the application of Taddhita affixes, is IV. 1. 82, which declares :—"The taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified *by the first of the words in construction.*" Thus IV. 1. 157 says;—"The affix *फिन्* is added, according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, in the sense of 'descendant,' after a word which is entitled to the designation of Vṛiddham, provided it does not end with a Gotra affix." Thus the idea, 'the son of Amragupta,' may be expressed either by the phrase 'आम्रगुप्तस्यापत्यम्'; or by adding the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction, viz, 'âmruguptasya,' which is a Vṛiddha word (I. 1. 73). But can we apply the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction in the following, 'ज्ञानाम् ब्राह्मणानामपत्यम्,' because the word 'jñânâm' the genitive plural of 'jña', is a Vṛiddha word ? Certainly not, because the word 'prātipadikât' must be read into this sūtra IV. 1. 157, and the affix 'phiñ' should be added after that Vṛiddha word which is in its crude-form also a Vṛiddham, and not that which becomes Vṛiddham only in construction. Now the prātipadika of 'jñânâm' is 'jña', the latter is not a vṛiddham, therefore, the rule does not apply to it. So also the word 'jñâ' is a vṛiddham in its prātipadika state ; but in the following phrase, it loses its vṛiddha nature ; 'ज्ञयो ब्राह्मणोरपत्यम्' meaning 'the son of two wise Brâhman ladies'. Still the affix 'phiñ' must be added to the word 'jñyor', because its prātipadika is a vṛiddha word. (2) Similarly the word 'अवृद्ध' (sūtra IV. 1. 160 ; 'the affix phiñ is applied diversely to a non-vṛiddha word, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; otherwise it would lead to similar incongruous results as in the last aphorism. (3) Similarly the word *अन्* in Sūtra IV. 1. 95 ('the affix *इञ्* is added after a word which ends in the letter अ') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; that is to say, the word in its crude-form must end in अ, and not necessarily when it is in construction. If it were not so ; then the affix 'इञ्' will apply only to the word 'दक्षस्य' in 'दक्षस्यापत्यम्' but will not apply to the words 'दक्षयोः,' or 'दक्षानाम्' in the phrases 'दक्षयोरपत्यम्' or 'दक्षानामपत्यम्' ॥ But the affix 'इञ्' applies to all these three words,

(4). Similarly the word 'अनुदात्तदिः' in IV. 2. 44, (the affix 'अम्' is added to a word which has the grave accent on its beginning), must be qualified by the word *prâtipadika*. That is, the word in its crude form must have the grave accent on its initial, though in construction, it may or may not have grave accent. Otherwise, the affix 'इच्' will apply to the words 'वाचः' and 'त्वचः' which in construction are *anudâttâdi* as in 'वाचो विकारः' 'त्वचो विकारः' (VI. I. 168); but which in their crude-forms (वाक्, त्वच्) are *udâttâdi*. And conversely, the affix 'अम्' will not apply to the word 'सर्वेषाम्' which in construction is *udâttâdi*, as, 'सर्वेषाम् विकारः,' but which in its crude-form is *anudâttâdi*.

(5). Similarly the word 'द्व्यच्' in IV. 4. 7, (the affix 'उन्' is employed after words consisting of two vowels, when the sense is that of crossing), must be qualified by the word *prâtipadika*. That is, the word in its *prâtipadika* state must consist of two vowels, though in construction it may consist of more than two syllables. Otherwise, this affix will not apply to the word घटेन in the phrase 'घटेन तरति', while it will apply to the words 'वाचा' and 'त्वचा' in the phrases, 'वाचा तरति', 'त्वचा तरति'. But this is undesirable.

Q Why have we employed the word 'ny-âp' in the aphorism? Is not the word *prâtipadika* wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the *paribhâshâ*:—"A *prâtipadika* denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender." ?

A. Not so. The *paribhâshâ* you quote applies to that case, where there is a rule, relating to an individual word-form, given in the *Sûtra* itself. In other words, "this *paribhâsha* is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes *prâtipadikas* generally (as the word '*prâtipadika*' does in this *sûtra*) or denotes a particular *prâtipadika*, (such as the words युवा, खलति, पलित, बलित, and जरति, in II. I. 67)." That is, in II. I. 67, the masculine form *yuvâ*, also includes the feminine : but not so every-where. Moreover the words, डी, आष् have been employed in the *Sûtra*, in order to make the *Taddhita* affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (डी) or long आ (आष्). Thus the feminine of 'काल', and 'हरिण' is, 'काली', and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माला' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला'. After these words we can apply the *Taddhita* affix *तरप्* : as 'कालितरा', 'हरिणितरा', 'खट्वातरा', and 'मालातरा' ॥

Now, had we not used the word 'ny-âp' in the *Sûtra*, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kalitarâ', we could not have got this form at all.

Q. The word काल takes डीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when त्रप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालित्वा ॥ Why do you then say that the Taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ण्य-अप् ?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus, when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली ; and when comparison alone is meant and not feminine, we shall have कालत्र; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word ण्य-अप्, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

स्वौजसमौद्घृष्टाभ्याम्भिस्ङेभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसिभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसोसाम्ङ्योस्सुप् ॥ २ ॥
पदानि ॥ सु-औ-जस्, अम-औद्-शस्, दा-भ्याम्भिस्, डे-भ्याम्भ्यस्, डासि-भ्याम्भ्यस्,
ङस् ओस्-आम्, डि-ओस्-सुप् (ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः भवन्ति ॥

2. (After what ends with the feminine terminations डी or आप, or after a Nominal stem the following case affixes are employed for declension) :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	auṭ (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	ṭā (ā)	bhyām	bhis
4th.	ne (e)	bhyām	bhyas
5th.	ṇasi (as)	bhyām	bhyas
6th.	ṇas (as)	os	ām
7th.	ni (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like उ in सु are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final ए is employed for the sake of forming the pratyāhāra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The force and meaning of these affixes have already been explained in a former part of this work ; and therefore, need not be repeated here. We shall now give examples of the application of these affixes to words formed by डीप्, as, कुमारी ; by डीप् as, गौरी ; by डीन् as शार्ङ्गिणी ; by दाप् as खट्वा ; by डाप् as बहुलाजा ; and by चाप् as कारीष-गन्ध्या ; and lastly to a prātipadika. as. वृषट् ।

		कुमारी ।	
	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	कुमारी	कुमार्यौ	कुमार्यः
2nd	कुमारीम्	कुमार्यौ	कुमारीः
3rd	कुमार्या	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभिः
4th	कुमार्यै	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
5th	कुमार्याः	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
6th	कुमार्याः	कुमार्योः	कुमारीणाम्
7th	कुमार्याम्	कुमार्योः	कुमारीषु
		खट्वा ।	
1st	खट्वा	खट्वे	खट्वाः
2nd	खट्वाम्	खट्वे	खट्वाः
3rd	खट्वाया	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभिः
4th	खट्वायै	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
5th	खट्वायाः	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
6th	खट्वायाः	खट्वयोः	खट्वानाम्
7th	खट्वायाम्	खट्वयोः	खट्वासु
		कृषद् ।	
1st	कृषद्	कृषदौ	कृषदः
2nd	कृषदम्	कृषदौ	कृषदः
3rd	कृषदा	कृषद्भ्याम्	कृषद्भिः
4th	कृषदे	कृषद्भ्याम्	कृषद्भ्यः
5th	कृषदः	कृषद्भ्याम्	कृषद्भ्यः
6th	कृषदः	कृषदोः	कृषदाम्
7th	कृषदि	कृषदोः	कृषदसु

The words गौरी and शार्ङ्गरवी are declined like कुमारी ; and बहुराजा and कारीषगन्ध्या are declined like खट्वा ॥

स्त्रियाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोपम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः स्त्रियामित्येव तदेवितव्यम् ॥

3. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes which we shall treat of hereinafter must be employed.

This is an adhikāra sūtra pure and simple. The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated', must be read in all the following aphorisms upto 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word 'prātipadika' should be read into this sūtra, from the first sūtra, not so, however, the anuvṛitti of the words 'ङी-आप्' ; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and आप् affixes.

अजाद्यतष्टाप् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजादि-अतः-टाप् (स्त्रियाम् ड्याप्प्रा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽकारान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix टाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the Nominal-stem 'aja' &c, and after the stems ending in short अ ॥

Of the affix टाप्, the letters ट् and प् are इत्, the real affix is आ ॥ The letter प् indicates that the affix has anudātta accent (III. 1. 4); the letter ट् is employed to distinguish this affix from चाप् and डाप् ॥

The words अज &c, are given below. Thus अज 'a he goat,' अजा 'a she-goat'. The words ending in short अ are such as, देवदत्त whose feminine will be देवदत्ता ॥ The word अत् is used in the aphorism, the indicative त् shows (I. 1. 70) that the short अ having one mâtira should be taken; and not the long आ ॥ Prâtipadikas that end in long आ, such as कीलालपा or शुभया (III. 2. 74) do not form their feminine by taking टाप्, but are both masculine and feminine. Thus, शुभयाः कीलालपाः ब्राह्मणी 'the auspicious-going, nectar-drinking Brâhmânî'. Had the feminine of such words been formed by टाप्, then the case-affix स् of the nominative singular would have been elided after them (VI. 1. 68).

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class :—

1. अज	अजा	2. एडक	एडका	3. कोकिल	कोकिला
4. चटक	चटका	5. अश्व	अश्वा	6. मूषिक	मूषिका

N. B. The above words denote 'jâti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sūtra, the affix 'ñish' (IV. 2. 63) in the feminine.

7. बाल	बाला	8. होड	होडा	9. पाक	पाका
10 वत्स	वत्सा	11 मन्द	मन्दा	12. विलात	विलाता

N. B. The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in short अ in the masculine, but for the present sūtra, they would have taken the affix 'डीप्' (IV. 1. 20) in the feminine.

13. पूर्वापहरण,	पूर्वापहरणा;	14. अपरापहरण	अपरापहारणा;
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N. B. These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being दिन्, would have taken डीप् (IV. 1. 15) but for this sūtra.

15. संफल,	संफला;	16 भस्त्रफल,	भस्त्रफला;
17 अजिनफल,	अजिनफला;	18. शणफल,	शणफला;
19. पिण्डफल,	पिण्डफला;	20. त्रिफल,	त्रिफला;

N. B. The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix *ñish* (IV. I. 64) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class; 'त्रिफला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as त्रिफला; when a Bahuvrihi Compound, its feminine is त्रिफली ॥

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|------------------|----------------|
| 21. सत्पुष्प, | सत्पुष्पा; | 22. प्राक्पुष्प, | प्राक्पुष्पा; |
| 23. काण्डपुष्प, | काण्डपुष्पा; | 24. प्रान्तपुष्प | प्रान्तपुष्पा; |
| 25. शतपुष्प, | शतपुष्पा; | 26. एकपुष्प, | एकपुष्पा; |

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken *ñish* by IV. I. 64.

27. शूद्र शूद्रा

B. N. But the feminine of शूद्र is शूद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a śūdra'; so also when the word शूद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशूद्री 'a woman of 'महाशूद्र' class'.

The term 'महाशूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras: and this compound word would have taken the affix 'दाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhī given in I. I. 72, but for the vārtika, viz 'शूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः'. It might be objected that the tadanta vidhī cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim:—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". Therefore, the word 'śūdra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahâ-śūdra'. This objection is futile: the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhī is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिधीवरी अतिपीवरी and अतिभवती

28. कुंच् कुंचा 29. उष्णिह् उष्णिहा 30. देवविश्व देवविशा

N. B. The above words end in consonants and would not have taken 'दाप्' but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class.

31. ज्येष्ठ ज्येष्ठा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

B. N. The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'ñish' by IV. I. 46.

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle nañ, would have otherwise taken 'ñish' by IV. I. 64.

ऋन्नेभ्योऽङीप् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-नेभ्यः, ङीप्, (स्त्रियाम् ङङाप्सा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यो नकारान्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after Nominal stem ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Of the affix ङीप्, the letter ङ् is taken in order to make a common term with ङीप् and ङीन्; and the प् is taken to distinguish ti from those

affixes; the real affix is ई । Thus, कर्तृ ;—f. कर्त्री ; हर्तृ—f. हर्त्री ; हण्डिन्—f. हण्डिनी ; छविन्,—f. छविनी ॥

उगितश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उश् इत् यत्रसंभवति यथा कयञ्चित् तदुगिच्छद्वयं, तदन्तान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धातोरुगितः प्रतिषेधोक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ संभवे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

6. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' (उ, ऋ or लृ) the affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

The उक् is a pratyāhāra meaning उ, ऋ and लृ । Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called उगित् । That which ends with such a word is meant here. A prātipadika pure and simple, not formed by an affix, may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanāmas: an affix may be उगित् as the affixes क्तवतु and शतृ, and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित्; similarly a letter may be उगित् as हृ meaning तृ in VI. 4. 127, ("तु is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in अर्धन् &c")

Thus, भवतु 'honored' sir.—f. भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवतु—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady'. Similarly पचतु (formed by adding शतृ III. 2. 124), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the नुब comes by VII. 1. 82. So also यजन्ती 'a female sacrificing'; अर्वतु अर्वती 'a mare'.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk'. Thus the roots ऋत् 'to fall down', ध्वत् 'to fall down' have indicatory उ; and we get from these roots, the prātipadikas like उखासत् and पर्णध्वत्, (III. 2. 76). The उखासत् ब्राह्मणी, पर्णध्वत् ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding डीप् ।

Vart:—The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix डीप् । As, प्राची, प्रतीची, उचीची ॥

वनो र च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनः, र, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वनन्ताद्यातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययोभवति रेफश्चान्तादेशः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ वनो न हश्च ॥

7. The affix 'डीप्' is added, in forming the feminine to the stems that end in the syllable वन्, and र is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (Uṇādi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; पीवन् f. पीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman', शर्वन् f. शर्वरी 'night' (शृ + वनिष् III. 2. 75) lit. that which destroys light. So also परलोकहृषी ॥

Words ending in वन् are formed by the affixes इवनिप्, (III. 2. 103) वनिप् and वनिप् (III. 2. 74). These words end in न् and consequently would have taken डीप् even by IV. 1. 5; the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of न् into र् in case of words ending in वन् ॥

Vārt:—If the affix वन् is ordained to be added to a word ending in हश्, (a letter of हश् pratyāhāḥa), and is thus immediately preceded by a soft consonant then this rule does not apply, that is to say, there is neither the application of the affix डीप् nor the change of न् into र् ॥ Thus सहयुध्वन् is both masculine and feminine as, सहयुध्वा ब्राह्मणः or ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhmaṇ brother or sister in arms'. In शर्वन् the वन् is preceded by र् which is a letter of हश् class, but as वन् is not ordained to be applied to शर् but to शृ, and we get the र् indirectly by guṇa, the vārtika does not apply to such a case. Hence शर्वरी ॥

पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादः, अन्यतरस्याम् (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादन्तात् प्रातिपदिकादन्यतरस्यां स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'डीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with word 'pād.'

The word पाद् becomes पाड् when final in certain Bahuvrihi compounds (V. 4. 140). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (डीप्). In the latter alternative, the form will be द्विपदी, the word पाड् being replaced by पड् by VI. 4. 130, (as read with I. 4. 18). Similarly त्रिपात् or त्रिपदी ; चतुष्पात् or चतुष्पदी ॥

टावृचि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टाप्, ऋचि, (स्त्रियां पादः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचिवाच्यायां पादन्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. The affix टाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-Veda.

This debars डीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarters, verses'; similarly त्रिपदा ऋक्, चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Rik verse"? Observe द्विपदी देवदत्ता 'Devadattā (a woman) having two feet'.

न षट् स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, षट्, स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट् संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्त्रादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

10. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1. 24), and after 'स्वस्त्र' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः 'the five Brāhmaṇi ladies'. So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine. The following words belong to the

Svasrâdi class :—स्वसा 'a sister', बहिता 'a daughter'; ननान्दा 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's brother's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three'. चतस्रः 'four'.

मनः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः (डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

11. The affix डीप् is not employed after a Nominal-stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

By IV. 1. 5, prâtipadikas ending in मन् would have taken the affix डीप्, in as much as they end in न्; but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus शमन् 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows :—I. S. शमा; d. शमानौ, pl. शमानः ॥ Similarly पामा, पामानौ, पामानः ॥

Here by using the term मन् we mean words formed by an affix whose effective element is मन्, such as the affix मनिन् (Uṇādi IV. 144) in the words शमन् (शो + मनिन्) and पामन्; as well as words which end in मन् which does not represent an affix. This is done on the strength of the following paribhâsha :—अनिनसमन ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चनर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ "Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar denote by I. 1. 72 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस्, and मन represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning." Therefore, words like सीमन् and अतिमहिमन्, where मन् is not an affix, but an integral part of the word, are also governed by the present sūtra. Thus, सीमा, सीमानौ, सीमानः अतिमहिमा, अतिमाहमानौ and अतिमहिमानः ॥

अनो बहुव्रीहेः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, बहुव्रीहेः, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रन्तात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियाम् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

12. The affix डीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrîhi compounds in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrîhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. Thus सुपर्वा 'possessed of beautiful joints' is both masculine and feminine. As सुपर्वा, सुपर्वाणो, सुपर्वाणः; so also सुशर्मा, सुशर्माणो and सुशर्माणः ॥ In these cases the penultimate अ of वन् or मन् is not elided. See VI. 4. 137.

Why do we say "after Bahuvrîhi compounds"? Because after any other compounds, this rule will not apply. As आतिराजन् is an Avyayibhâva compound, its feminine will be अतिराजी ॥

डाबुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ डाप्, उभाभ्यां, अन्यतरस्यां, (मनः

अनोबहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डाप् प्रत्ययो भवति उभाभ्या मनन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादन्ताच्च बहुव्रीहेरन्यतरस्याम् ॥

13 The affix डीप् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

Of the affix डीप्, the letter 'इ' indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the हि (I. 1. 64) of the base. Thus पामन् + डीप् = पाम् + आ = पामा, This being an optional rule we have 1. ५ पामा ऽ, पामे or पामानौ, पामाः or पामानः ; similarly with सीमा, as, सीमा, सीमे or सीमानौ, सीमाः or सीमानः ॥

So also in Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in अन्. As :—

बहुराजा,	बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ,	बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥
बहुतक्षा,	बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षाणौ,	बहुतक्षाः or बहुतक्षाणः ॥

Why do we say "optionally" ? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV. 1. 7 also; i. e. when a prātipadika ending in वन्, which can be regarded as ending in अन्, is a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the change of न into र् and the application of डीप् are optional. we may apply the affix डीप् instead. As :— बहुधीवा or बहुधीवरी ; बहुपीवा or बहुपीवरी ॥

अनुपसर्जनात् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन् उपसर्जनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन् ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनुपसर्जनादित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

14. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77: and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas'. That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only, which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2. 43). Thus the next sūtra declares "the affix णिप् is added in forming the feminine after what ends in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory इ, & c." Thus the word कुरुचर is formed by the affix इ (III.) 2. 16), and ends in अ. The feminine of this word will be formed by डीप् as कुरुचरी, similarly मद्रचर—/मद्रचरी । But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43); then they will not take the affix डीप् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2, 35) ; therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take डीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा or बहुमद्रचरा मधुरा ॥ Similarly IV. 1. 63 says, "the affix डीप् is added after words denoting jāti" as, कुक्कुडी, शुकरी ॥ But where these words are upasarjana, 'ñish' will not be added : as, बहुकुक्कुडा बहुशुकरा मधुरा ॥

As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72) does not apply to compounds ; but the present sūtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds for the purposes

of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra ; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasarjana), or principal (pradhāna). But the present sūtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

The feminine of कुम्भकार or नगरकार will be कुम्भकारी or नगरकारी, in as much as the second member here is pradhāna : the word 'kumbha-kāra' being formed by अण् (III, 2, 1), and thus making it possible to apply डीप् by IV. 1. 15. The affix अण् referred to in the next sūtra refers to the kṛit-affix अण् (III. 2. 1), as well as to the Taddhita affix अण् ॥

दिङ्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्दघ्नज्मात्रच्तयप् ठक् ठञ्कञ्करपः ॥ १५ ॥ यदानि ॥
दित्-ढ-अण्-अञ्-द्वयसच्-दघ्नच्-मात्रच्-तयप्-ठक्-ठञ्-कञ्-करपः (अतः स्त्रिया-
म डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्दिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञ्प्रतीककृद्युनृत्तलुनानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

15. The affix डीप् is added, in the feminine, after the Nominal-stems ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory ढ, or if the affix be ढ, or अण्, or अञ्, or द्वयसच्, or दघ्नच्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठञ् or कञ् or कवरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvṛitti from IV. 1. 4 ; and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debar the affix टप् of IV. 1. 4. We shall give example of each *seriatim* (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मद्रचर f., मद्रचरी (चर+ई=चर्+ई ; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148.) The word kuru-chara is formed by ढ (III. 2. 16). of which ढ is indicatory.

Q. It might be objected, "why is not the affix डीप् added after the words पचमान, formed by the affix शानच् (III. 2. 124) in as much as this affix is a substitute of लट् ; and because लट् has an indicatory ढ, therefore, its substitute will also be supposed to have an indicatory ढ (I. 1. 57)."

A. To this we reply, 'the affix लट् is not दित् as it has two indicatory letters, ल् and ढ'.

Q. If that be so, affixes like ल्युट् should also be called no दित् affixes, as they have also two indicatory letters.

A. To this we reply, that if ल्युट् be not regarded दित्, then the indicatory ढ of ल्युट् finds no scope any where: as the indicatory ढ of लट् has its scope in sūtra III. 4. 79. Therefore, the feminine of पचमान will be पचमाना ॥ Similarly, the indi-

catory **ट्** of augments will not cause the application of the affix **डीप्**; thus **पठिता विद्या** ॥ Here the feminine of **पठिता** is formed by **आ** and not **इ**. This is indicated by sūtra IV. 3. 23, which says "augment **तुट्** is added to the affixes **दुष** and **दुषल्**". If the **ट्** of **तुट्** could have made the affix **दिन्** for the purposes of this present sūtra; the anubandha **ट्** had been unnecessarily added to the affixes **यु** and **युल्** in the above.

(2) Of words ending in **ढ** we have, m, **सौपर्णेय** f. **सौपर्णेयी** so also f. **वैनतेयी**. The **ढ** stands for the affix **ढक्**; and it is replaced by **एय्** (VII. 1. 2). Thus **सुपर्णा + ढक्** (IV. 1. 120) = **सुपर्णा + एय्** = **सौपर्णेय** (VII. 2. 118). There is no affix which is merely **ढ** without any indicatory letters; and denoting the feminine; the only affix, as said above, is **ढक्** ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here:—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it", and we cannot say that the **ढ** of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less **ढ** of V. 3. 102 which is always Neuter.

(3) Of words in **अण्**, we have already said that the affix **अण्** here refers to both the Kṛit and the Taddhita affix 'अण्'. Thus with the kṛit affix 'अण्' we have **कुम्भकार** and **नगरकार** (III. 2. 1), the feminine of which is **कुम्भकारी** and **नगरकारी** ॥ With the Taddhita affix 'अण्' we have **औषगव** (IV. 1. 92), the feminine of which is **औषग्वी** ॥ Sometimes words formed by the addition of the affix **ण** are operated upon as if they were formed by **अण्** ॥ Thus **चौरी**, **तापसी** are the feminine of **चौर** and **तापस** (IV. 4. 62), sometimes words formed by **ण** are not so treated, as **शण्डा**, **मौष्टा** (IV. 2. 57).

(4) Words formed by **अञ्** as **औत्स** f. **औत्सी**, **औद्वान**, f. **औद्वानी**, (IV. 1. 86). Though by IV. 1. 73 the affix **डीन्** would have come after the words ending in **अञ्**, the re-employment of this affix in the present sūtra is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix **डीप्** which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63; that is even when 'jāti' is indicated, 'ṇish' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes **द्वयसच्**, **द्वयच्** and **मात्रच्** are added by V. 2. 37; as, **ऊरुद्वयसी**, **ऊरुद्वयी**, **ऊरुमात्री** 'reaching to the thigh'. Similarly **जानुद्वयसी**, **जानुद्वयी**, **जानुमात्री**.

(6) So also with words formed by **तयप्** (V. 2. 42). As **पञ्चतयी** 'of which the parts are five' so also **दशतयी** ॥

(7) So also with words ending in **उक्** (IV. 4. 1) as, **आक्षिकी** 'a female dicer', **शालाक्षिकी**. The **उ** is replaced by **इक्** (VII. 3. 50).

(8) Similarly with words ending in **उञ्** (V. 1. 18): as, **लावणिकी** 'elegant'. The affixes **उक्** and **उञ्** are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix **उन्** &c. For had the word **उ** merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes **उक्**, **उन्** and **उञ्**, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कञ् (III. 2. 60) as, चाक्षी, ताक्षी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in क्वरप् (III. 2. 163) as इक्ष्वरी 'swift', नक्ष्वरी ॥

Vārt:—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नञ् and स्तञ् (IV. 1. 87) and ईकञ् (IV. 4. 59) and ख्युन् (III. 2. 56) and of the words तरुण and तलुन 'a youth'. Thus स्त्रीणी 'a female', पौंस्त्री 'a male', शान्तीकी 'a female spear bearer', आढ्यङ्कणी 'enriching ; तरुणी or तलुनी 'a young woman'

यञश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञः, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपत्यग्रहणं कतव्यम् ॥

16. The affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV. 1. 105).

Thus गार्ग्य + डीप् = गार्ग्य + ई (VI. 4. 148) = गार्ग्य + ई (VI. 4. 150) = गार्गी 'a female descendant of Garga'; so also वात्सी ॥

Vārt:—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वीप्य of द्वीप + यञ् (IV. 3. 10). Its feminine will be द्वीप्या 'living on or relating to an island'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

प्राचां स्फ स्तद्धितः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचां, स्फः, तद्धितः, (यञः स्त्रियां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचामाचार्याणां मतन यञन्तात् स्त्रियां स्फः प्रत्ययो भवति स च तद्धितसंज्ञः ॥

17. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix 'yañ', and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

Of this affix स्फ the letter ष् is indicatory (I. 3. 6), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'nish' (IV. 1. 41). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, viz by 'shpha' and 'nish'. The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prātipādika (I. 2. 46). The affix फ is replaced by the substitute आयन (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + स्फ + डीप् = गार्ग्यायणी ; so also वात्स्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वात्सी ॥

The word सर्वत्र "every where", of the next sūtra is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvṛitti, in order to prohibit the applica-

tion of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 says :—'the affix चाप् comes after आवच्य' ॥ Here आवच्य ends in यञ्, and by IV. 1. 16, the word आवच्य would have taken the affix णिप्: IV. 1. 75 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added. Thus आवच्यायनी ॥

सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, लोहितादि कतन्तेभ्यः,
(यञः स्त्रियांष्फ)

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र लोहितादिभ्यः कृतपञ्चन्तेभ्यो यञन्तेभ्यः स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्यया भवति ॥

18. The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata', when they take the affix yan.

The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105). The present sūtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the last. The word कृत refers to the independent prātipadika कृत in the said subdivision, which follows immediately after the word कपि, and not to the word कुरुकृत of the same class, where the word कृत is not an independent full nominal-stem but a member only. Thus लोहित्यायनी, शांशित्यायनी बाध्यायणी ॥

Kārikā कण्वात्तु शकलः पूर्वः कतावृत्तर इष्यते ।

पूर्वोत्तरौ तदन्तादी ष्फाणौ तत्र प्रयोजनम् ॥

For the purposes of the application of ष्फ and अण्, the word शकल which is enumerated in the Gaṇapāṭha after the word कण्व (See IV. 1. 105) should be regarded as if it stood immediately before कण्व and after कृत ॥ Thus we have शाकल्यायनी (with ष्फ), and शकलाः with अण्, meaning शाकल्यस्यमे छात्राः 'the pupils of Sākalya'.

कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यांच ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौरव्य-माण्डूकाभ्याम्; च, (स्त्रियांष्फ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौरव्य माण्डूक इत्येताभ्यां स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कौरव्यमाण्डूकयोरासुररूपसंख्यानम् ॥

19. The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ॥

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix य्य to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151); this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by टाप् (IV. 1. 4), but for the present sūtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, the word माण्डूक is formed by अण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of māṇḍûka would have been formed by णिप् (IV. 1. 15), but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायणा, माण्डूकायनी ॥

How do you explain the form कौरवी in the phrase कौरवी सेना ?

We explain it by saying that कौरवी is not the feminine of कौरव्य; but of कौरव, formed by adding अण् to कुरु by sūtra IV. 3. 120.

Vārt:—The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and māṇḍūkya. Thus आसुरायणी ॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इम् added to the word असुर; the word 'āsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112). But according to the opinion of Patanjali, the word, 'āsuri' should form its further derivative (called also शापक) by taking the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus आसुरीयः कल्पः (तेन प्रोक्तम्) ॥

वयसि प्रथमे ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, प्रथमे, (स्त्रियां डीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमे वयसि यत्प्रातिपदिकं भृत्यावत्ते ततः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वयस्यचरमइतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

20. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ई, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरी 'a young girl' बर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say denoting 'early' age? Observe स्थविरा 'an old woman'; वृद्धा 'an old woman'. Why do we say ending in अ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine.

Vārt:—The sūtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age'? Thus वधूदी 'a young woman', चिरण्दी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form; as in sūtra IV. 1. 116.

The words like उत्तानशया 'an infant girl that does not know how to lie down properly' लोहितपादिका 'a female infant whose feet are still tender and red' do not directly, but metaphorically, express age, and hence are not governed by this rule.

द्विगोः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix 'डीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अं, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus दशपूली, पञ्चपूली ॥ But we find त्रिकला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अज &c' (IV. 1. 4).

अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्योनतद्धितलुकि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिमाण-
विस्त-आचित-कम्बल्येभ्यः, न, तद्धित-लुकि, (डीप् द्विगोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिमाणन्ताद् द्विगोर्विस्ताचित कम्बल्यान्ताच्च तद्धितलुकि सति डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

22. The affix डीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure ; or in 'bista', 'āchita', and 'kambalya'.

This debars 'ñip' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra. The words विस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', आचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tolaḥs'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1. 19, &c.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix ढेम् (V. 1. 37) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. 1. 28. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimāṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by डीप् but by दाप्, thus, पञ्चश्वी 'a female purchased for five horses'.

The words denoting 'time' or 'number' are not words denoting 'measure' as understood in this sūtra by the word 'parimāṇa'. Thus, द्विवर्षा, 'a two years old female child', त्रिवर्षा 'a three years old female child' (V. 2. 37 Vart.) So also द्विशता 'a female purchased for two hundreds', similarly त्रिशता ॥ So also with the words विस्त &c. As द्विविस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिविस्ता, व्याचिता, तपाचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimāṇa or a 'measure'?' Observe द्याढकी, त्र्याढकी "a female purchased for two or three āḍhaka". Here āḍhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb. 11 oz. avoird.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samāhāra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'ñip' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses', so also दशाश्वी ।

काण्डान्ताद् क्षेत्रे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काण्ड-अन्ताद्, क्षेत्रे, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकि डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काण्डशब्दान्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति क्षेत्रे वाच्ये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix डीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kâṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kâṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vārtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' given under the same sūtra. The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'nīp' but by दाप्; so also त्रिकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

The term 'kâṇḍa' is a word expressive of non-measure ; and, therefore, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra applies to it ; the present sūtra is made to regulate this prohibition. That is to say, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra is not universally applicable in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in 'kâṇḍa'; it applies to cases where the compound refers to superficial land measure. Therefore we have, द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope two kâṇḍas long'; त्रिकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope three kâṇḍas long'.

पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषात्, प्रमाणे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकिनडीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे यः पुरुषशब्दस्तदन्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति अन्यतरस्यां न डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'डीष्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'puruṣa', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी परिखा 'a mote two *puruṣa* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal. Why do we say 'when referring to measure'? Observe द्विपुरुषा 'a female purchased in exchange for two males; No option is allowed here.' Where the Taddhita affix is not elided, the present rule does not apply. Therefore in Samāhāra Dvigu we have द्विपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषी ॥

बहुव्रीहेरुधसो डीष् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, ऊधसः, डीष् (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊधस् शब्दान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'डीष्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word ūdhas an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrīhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डो-धस्; then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131); thus we have कुण्डोधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13. ante; the present sūtra enjoins डीष् instead. Thus कुण्डोष्णी (VI. 4. 134) 'a woman with full bosom'; घटोष्णी 'a cow with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrīhi compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊधः = प्रा-प्ताधाः (II. 2. 4) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

The Sûtra IV. 1. 28 also is debarred in this case: for though the penultimate अ is elided by the VI. 4. 134, yet rule IV. 1. 28 does not apply here.

The substitution of अन् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have महोधा पर्जन्यः 'the big-bosomed cloud'.

संख्याव्ययादे डीप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-अव्यय-आदेः, डीप् (बहुव्रीहे रूधसः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेर्व्ययादेश्च बहुव्रीहेरूधसशब्दान्तात् डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix डीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in 'ûdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sûtra ordains 'nip', where by the last sûtra there would have been 'nish'. Thus द्वी+ऊधस्+अनङ्+डीप् (V. 4. 131)=द्व्यूधी 'having two udders'; so also त्र्यूधी, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrîhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अत्यूधी 'many-uddered'; निर्यूधी 'having no udders.'

Why do we say 'beginning with'? So that the rule may apply to compounds like द्विविधाध्री and त्रिविधाध्री, in which the words 'dvividha' and 'trividha', though not Sankhyâ are words which *begin* with a Sankhyâ.

दामहायनान्ताच्च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाम-हायनान्तात्, च, (स्त्रियां डीप् संख्या बहुव्रीहेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेर्वहुव्रीहे र्दामशब्दान्ताद्धायनशब्दान्ताच्च स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हायनो वयसि स्मृतः ॥

27. The affix डीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending with the words dâman 'a rope', and hâyana 'a year'.

The word दामन् was liable to be operated upon by three rules, by IV. 1. 13 ordaining डाप्, by IV. 1. 11 prohibiting totally the affixing of डीप् and IV. 1. 28 ordaining nip optionally: the present sûtra ordains nip to the exclusion of all those rules. As द्विसाक्षी 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. त्रिसाक्षी ॥

Similarly हायन would have taken long आ by IV. 1. 4, this ordains long ई ॥ Thus द्विहायनी 'two years (old girl)', त्रिहायणी; चतुर्हायणी ॥

Vârt:—The word 'hâyana' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sûtra. Therefore we have no nip here:—द्विहायना शाला 'a hall of two years existence'. So also त्रिहायना and चतुर्हायना ॥ Moreover in these latter cases the न is not changed into ण; for when हायन denotes 'age', it is then only that the न is changed into ण and not otherwise.

अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, उपधा-लोपिनः-अन्यतरस्यां (बहुव्रीहे डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रन्तो यो बहुव्रीहरूपधालोपो तस्मादन्यतरस्यां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix डीप् optionally comes after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

Thus बहुराजन् is a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन्; in applying णिप्, it loses its penultimate by VI. 4. 134 (अलोपोऽनः there is elision of अ of अन् when a bha affix follows). Thus बहुराज्ञी 'having many kings'. In the alternative, when णिप् is not added, we may add the affix डाप् by IV. 1. 13. Thus बहुराजा, बहुराजे, बहुराजाः ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition contained in IV. 1. 12 and have बहुराजा, बहुराजानौ, बहुराजानः ॥ when the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix डीप् at all: in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as सुपर्वा, सुर्वे, सुपर्वाः or सुपर्वा सुपर्वाणौ, सुपर्वाणः ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only; for in the case of सुर्वन् &c. rule VI. 4. 137 prevents the elision of the penultimate न्; (न संयोगाद्वमनन्तात्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व or म) ॥

नित्यम् संज्ञाछन्दसोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, संज्ञा, छन्दसः (अनउपधा-लोपिनोऽन्यतरस्यां डीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रन्ताद्बहुव्रीहरूपधालोपिनः संज्ञायां विषये छन्दसि चनित्यं डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in the Chhandas and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrīhi compound which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to the last rule; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix डीप् ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surājñī'; अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirājñī'. Similarly in the Chhandas we have गौः पञ्चदाम्नी, एकदाम्नी, द्विदाम्नी 'a cow having five udders, one udder, or two udders'. एकमूर्धा समानमूर्धा ॥

केवलमामकभागधेयपापपरसमानार्थकृतसुमङ्गलं भेषजाश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ केवल-मामक-भागधेय-पाप-अपर-समान-आर्थकृत-सुमङ्गल-भेषजान्, च, (संज्ञाछन्दसोः डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केवलादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः संज्ञायां छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—केवल, मामक, भागधेय, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्थकृत, सुमङ्गल and भेषज ॥

The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसोः of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also मामंकी and मामिका; भागधेयी as मित्रावरुणयोर्भागधेयी and भागधेया; पापी and पापा; अपरी as उताऽपरीभ्योमघवा विजिग्ये; (Rigveda I. 1. 13) and अपरा; समानी प्रवाणी and समाना; आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला; भेषजी and भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes डीप् also by IV. 1. 41, as belonging to Gaurādi class No. 86.

रात्रेश्चाजसौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, च, अजसौ, (संज्ञा छन्दसोः डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जस्त्रिषयादन्यत्र संज्ञायां छन्दसि च रात्रिशब्दात् डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अजसादिभित्तिवक्तव्यम् ॥

31. The affix डीप् comes after the word रात्रि in the Chhandas, and in denoting a Name, except when the affix जस् (nominative plural) is added.

Thus या रात्री सृष्टा, रात्रीभिः (3rd pl); (Rigveda X. 127. 1. 1. 35. 1) but in the nominative plural we have रात्रयः, the regular plural of the word रात्रि, as in the sentence यास्ता रात्रयः, instead of रात्र्यः ॥

Vārt:—According to Kātyāyana, nīp is not added, not only when we apply the nominative plural termination जस्; but in all other terminations beginning with जस् also. Thus रात्रि सहोषित्वा; here in the accusative singular case also the डीप् is not employed.

But how do you explain the form रात्र्यः in the following निर्मिरपदलैरवशुण्डिताश्च रात्र्यः; This 'rātrya' is the nominative plural of 'rātrī' which is formed by the feminine affix nīp; and not by nīsh. The forms evolved by adding डीष् or डीप् are one and the same, except with regard to accent; that formed by nīsh has udātta accent on the final: the other has it on the initial. The word रात्रि is formed by the kṛit affix त्रिप् (Un. IV. 67), and therefore, it is a word which is governed by IV. 1. 45 because it is a word falling in Bahuvadi class, by virtue of the general subrule "a word ending with the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, other than क्तिन् belongs to Bahuvadi class; some say that every word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् belongs to this class". Therefore it takes डीष् in forming the feminine.

अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्वत्-पतिवतः, नुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्वत् पतिवतोर्नुक् भवति डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

32. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the affix डीप् is added to form the feminine.

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end,

by sūtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्; and these words must take णिप् by virtue of IV. 1. 5, if not by this sūtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वती and पतिवती ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore we have not the above forms in the following:—प्रयते त्वया पतिमती पृथिवी; here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वती; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मत्तुप्). Because मत्तुप् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मत्तुप् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra. The म is changed to व by VIII. 2. 9 अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म to व in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment नुक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas:—as सान्तर्वती or सान्तर्वती देवानुपैत् ॥ पतिवती or पतिवती तरुणवत्सा ॥

पत्युर्नोयज्ञसंयोगे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्युः, नः, यज्ञसंयोगे, (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्त्रियां विधीयते ॥

33. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix डीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus पति वाचं यच्छ ॥ The feminine पती means legitimate wife, she who is entitled to take part in the sacrifices of her husband. The word यज्ञसंयोग is an Instrumental Tatpuruṣa compound and means "related through sacrifice" i. e. who shares the fruits of and is entitled to participate in, the sacrifices of her husband. But when the sense is not that of 'wife', the feminine of पति will be पति as ग्रामस्य पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmanî is the head or mistress of this village'. If the word पती means 'the wife who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband', it cannot be applied to the wife of a Sûdra, for a Sûdra cannot perform a sacrifice, *a fortiori* not his wife? The term पती is, however, extended to the wife of a Sûdra also, by analogy, as the marriage of a Sûdra also takes place by offering sacrifice to Fire and making it a witness.

विभाषासपूर्वस्य ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, सपूर्वस्य (पत्युर्नः, स्त्रियां, अनुपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य सपूर्वस्यानुपसर्जनस्य स्त्रियां विभाषा नकारादेशो भवति डीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

34. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति is not an upasarjana, but stands at the end of a compound. Thus वृद्धपतिः or वृद्धपत्नी; स्थूलपतिः or स्थूलपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprāpta-vibhāṣā. Because it is free from the limitations of 'yajña-sanyoga' of the last sūtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी ग्रामस्य, 'this Brahman lady is the mistress of the village.' Here the feminine is पति and not पत्नी ॥

नित्यंसपत्न्यादिषु ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, सपत्नी-आदिषु, (पत्युर्नः स्त्रि०)

वृत्तिः ॥ सपत्न्यादिषु नित्यं वत्युर्नकारादेशो भवति डीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

35. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix डीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी ॥ The compound of the following words with पत्नी are governed by this rule:— 1 समान 'equal' 2 एक 'one', 3 वीर 'hero', 4 पिण्ड 'a cake', 5 भ्रातृ 'brother' 6 पुत्र 'a son', and 7 दास 'a slave' (this only in the Chhandas).

पूतक्रतोरैच ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूतक्रतोः, ऐच, (स्त्रियां डीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ पूतक्रतुशब्दस्य स्त्रियामैकारादेशो भवति डीप् प्रत्ययः ॥

36. In forming the feminine, the letter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतक्रत. when the affix डीप् is added.

Thus पूतक्रतायै 'the wife of Pūtakratu'. This and the two succeeding sūtras, are in a way more intimately connected with IV. 1. 48, inasmuch as the sense of the feminine words must be that of 'wife of', otherwise these sūtras will not apply. Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतक्रतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (क्रतवः) are sanctified (पूतः)'.

वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसीदानामुदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषाकपि-अग्नि-कुसित-कुसीदानां, उदात्तः (ऐ डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृषाकप्यासीनामुदात्त ऐकारादेशो भवति स्त्रियां डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

37. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the letter ऐ having udātta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसीद ॥

The words वृषाकपि and कुसिद्व have udâtta accent on the middle vowel (Phiṭ Sû II. 19), the feminine of these has udâtta, however, on the final. The words 'agni' and the rest have the udâtta on the final (Phiṭ sū I. 1), their substitute ऐ will necessarily be udâtta, by the rule of sthānivat bhāva, even if the present sūtra had not explicitly declared it to be so. Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛishakapi', अग्नायी, (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of 'Agni', कुसितायी 'wife of Kusita', कुसिदायी 'the wife of Kusidai'. The present rule only applies when the sense of the feminine word is that of 'wife of'. Otherwise we have वृषाकपिः स्त्री 'the women Vṛishakapi' and not वृषाकपायी ॥ For the accent of the word वृष, See VI. 1. 205.

मनोरौवा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनोः, औ, वा, (ऐ उदात्तः स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुशब्दात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति औकारश्चन्तादेशः ऐकारश्चोदात्तः ॥

38. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, औ is optionally the substitute of the final of मनु, (as well as the udâtta ऐ) ॥

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनावी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu'. The word मनु has udâtta accent on the first vowel, as it is formed from मन् by the affix उ (Uṇ I. 10), which by Uṇ I. 9 is treated as having an indicative न्, and affixes having indicative न् throw the accent on the first syllable. (VI. I. 197)

वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णाद्, अनुदात्तात्, तोपधात्, तः, नः (वा डीप्स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तात्तकारोपधात्वाडाप् प्रत्यया भवति, तकारस्य च नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पिशङ्गावुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ असितपलितयोः प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसिक्लमित्येके ॥ भाषायामपीष्यते ॥

39. The affix डीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त् as its penultimate letter: and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated', so श्वेता or श्वेनी 'black', हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udâtta accent on the first vowel either by Rule VI. 1. 197 (जित्यादिर्नित्यम् "word formed by affixes having an indicative ञ् or न् have udâtta accent on the first vowel";)

because these words are formed by the Uṇadi affixes तन् (Uṇ III, 86) and इत्तन् (III. 93), or by the Phit̐ sūtra II. 10 (वर्णानां तर्णतनितान्तानाम् “of words expressive of colour and ending in तण, or ति or नि or त, the udātta accent falls on the first vowel”).

Why do we say “expressive of color”? Observe प्रहता, प्रहता ॥ These words are also acutely accented on the first syllable, by rule VI. 2. 49 (गतिरनन्तरः “the first word retains its natural accent in a compound of a *gati* word with a word formed by the affix *kta*”). But as these words do not express color, their feminine does not take ṇip.

Why do we say “ending in a gravely accented vowel?” Observe श्वेता ‘white.’ Here though the word expresses ‘color’, yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by rule of Phit̐ sūtra I. 21 घृतादीनां च “the words *ghṛita* &c. have udātta on the final”).

Why do we say “having the letter त as its penultimate letter”? Otherwise the affix ṇish will be employed in forming the feminine.

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter अ in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As शितिर्ब्राह्मणी ‘a black Brahmanī woman’. Here शिति is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate त, has anudātta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन्; but as it does not end with अ, its feminine is not formed with ṇip.

Vārt:—The affix ṇip comes also after the word पिशङ्ग; as, पिशङ्गी ‘of tawny color’.

Vārt:—There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पलित; as असिता ‘black’ and पलिता ‘grey’.

Vārt:—According to some, the substitute क्कम् replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As असिक्ली (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिक्ली (R. Veda V. 2. 4). According to some authorities, these latter forms are valid in literature other than the Vedic:—As गतो गणस्तूणमसिक्लिकानाम् ॥

अन्यतोडीष् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यतः, डीष्, (वर्णादनुदात्तात् स्त्रियां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तान्तात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudātta accent.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sūtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism i. e. after words which have *not* त as penultimate. The difference between ṇip and ṇish affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus सारङी, कल्माषी, शबली ॥

When the word does not express color, this rule does not apply. As खट्वा 'a bed-sted'.

When the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this will not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

विद्गौरादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष-इत्-गौर-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियांङांष्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षिङ्गः प्रातिपादिकेभ्यो गौरादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix डीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicative ष् and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sûtra III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिनि षुन्) the affix षुन् is added to a root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take णिष्. As, नर्तकी 'an actress', खनकी 'a digger'; रजकी 'a dyer'. So also the words गौर &c ; as गौरी, मत्सी । The following is the list of words belonging to Gaurâdi class.

1 गौर, 2 मत्स्य, 3 मनुष्य, 4 शूद्र, 5 पिङ्गल 6 हय, 7 गवय, 8 मुकय, 9 कृष्य, 10 पुट, 11 तृण 12 द्रुण, 13 द्रोण, 14 हरिण, 15 कोकण, (काकण,) 16 पटर, 17 उकण, (आमल) 18 आमलक, 19 कुवल, 20 बिम्ब, 21 बदर, 22 फर्करक (कर्कर) 23 तर्कार, 24 शर्कार, 25 पुष्कर, 26 शिखण्ड, 27 सलद 28 शष्कण्ड 29 सनन्द 30 सुषम, 31 सुषव 32 आलन्द 33 गडुज, 34 षण्डश 35 आढक, 36 आनन्द, 37 आश्वत्थ 38 सृपाद, 39 आखक (आपञ्चिक), 40 शष्कुल, 41 सूर्य (सूर्म) 42 दूर्प, 43 सूच, 44 यूष (पूष) 45 यूथ, 46 सूप, 47 मेथ, 48 दल्लक, 49 धातक, 50 सल्लक, 51 मालक, 52 मालत, 53 साल्वक, 54 वेतस, 55 वृक्ष (वृ-स) 56 अतस, 57 उभय, 58 भृङ्ग, 59 मह, 60 मठ, 61 छेद, 62 पेश, 63 भेद, 64 श्वत् 65 तक्षन्, 66 अनडुही, 67 अनड्वाही, 68 । एषणः करणे । 69 देह, 70 देहल, 71 काकादन 72 गवादन, 73 तेजन, 74 रजन, 75 लवण, 76 औदाहमानि (औदाहमानि) 77 गौतम (गो-तम) 78 पारक, 79 अयस्थूण (अथस्थूण) 80 भौरिकि, 81 भौलिकि, 82 भौलिङ्गि, 83 यान 84 मेथ, 85 आलम्बि, 86 आलोज, 87 आलब्धि, 88 आलक्षि, 89 केवाल, 90 आपक. 91 आरद, 92 नद, 93 दोद, 94 नोद, 95 मूलाद, 96 शातन, 97 पोतन, 98 पातन, 99 पाठन (पानद) 100 आस्तरण, 101 अधिकरण, 102 अधिकार 103 अग्रहायणी (आग्रहायणी) 104 प्रत्यवरोहिणी 105 सेचन, 106 सुमङ्गलात्सजायाम् । 107 अण्डर 108 सुन्दर, 109 मण्डल, 110 मन्थर, 111 मंगल 112 पद, 113 पिण्ड, 114 षण्ड, 115 ऊर्द, 116 गुरद, 117 शम, 118 सृद, 119 औड (आर्द) 120 हृद (हृद) 121 पाण्ड, 122 भाण्डल (भाण्ड) 123 लोहाण्ड, 124 कदर, 125 कन्दर, 126 कदल, 127 तरुण, 128 तलुन, 129 कल्माष, 130 बृहत्, 131 महत्, 132 सोम, 133 सोधर्म । 134 रोहिणी नक्षत्रे । 135 रेवती नक्षत्रे । 136 बिकल, 137 निष्कल 138 पुष्कल । 139 कटाच्छाणिवचनं । पिप्पल्यादयश्च । 140 पिप्पली, 141 हरितकी (हरीतकी) 142 कौशानकी, 143 शमी, 144 वरी, 145 शरी, 146 पृथिवी, 147 क्रोष्टु, 148 मातामह, 149 पितामह, 150 सुगेढ, 151 सुव, 152 सूर्य, 153 सकलक. 154 अग्लिगि, 155 पावन, 156 एत, 157 विटक, 158 भट्ट, 159 दहन, 160 कन्द, 161 कण ॥

N.B.—The word गौर though denoting color, is finally acute by virtue of this sūtra ; the word मत्स्य &c. being jāti words having a penultimate य would

not have taken णिप् (IV. 1. 63) but for this sūtra; श्वन् and तक्षन् would have taken डाप् (IV. 1. 13), एषण is formed by ल्युट् and would have taken णिप् (IV. 1. 15) इष्यतेऽनया = एषणी 'a balance, a probe'. गौतम would take णिन् also by IV. 1. 73. Similarly it may be shown why the several words have been included in this list. By the *varṭika* मातरि पिच्च given under IV. 2. 36, the affix आम्ह in माताम्ह is treated as having an indicatory ष ॥ The word माताम्ह will take डीष् because it is पितृ; its inclusion in the list of Gaurādi indicates that the rule of डीष् application, because a word is पितृ, is not universal (अनित्यः पितृ लक्षणो डीष्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like वंष्ट्रा &c.

जानपदकुण्डगोण स्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककवराद् वृत्त्यमात्रवपनाकृत्रि
आश्राणा स्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनाऽयोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जान-
पद-कुण्ड-गोण-स्थल-भाज-नाग-काल-नील-कुश-कामुक-कवरात्, वृत्ति-अमत्र-अव-
पन-अकृत्रिमा-श्राणा-स्थौल्य-वर्ण-अनाच्छादन-अयोविकार-मैथुनेच्छा-केशवेशेषु (स्त्रि
यांडीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानपदादिभ्य एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्य एकादश वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix डीष् is employed after the eleven words 'jānapada' &c. in the sense of 'profession' &c. respectively; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10. कामुक, and कवर; the affix डीष् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female', 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair', respectively.

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise जानपदी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix अच् to janapada, by sūtra IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to Utsadi class of words: in forming the feminine the affix डीष् will be added in this latter case, thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'a name of Durga'. (3) गोणी 'a sack' यत्र धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गोणा, a particular name. (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise स्थला as स्थलयोदकं परिगृह्णन्ति ॥ (5) भीजा 'cooked', otherwise भाजा, (6) नागा 'a stout woman', otherwise नागा ॥ The word नाग when a guṇa-vachana word i. e. a word expressive of quality, in the sense of 'stoutness', takes the affix णिष् in the feminine; otherwise टाप् when expressing general qualities. When it is a jati-

vachana word it takes डीष् under all circumstances. (7) काली 'a black-coloured female', otherwise काला 'cruel' (8) नीली 'a blue-coloured animal or indigo' The word अनाच्छादन in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses above indicated i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'. Such as नालागौः, or नीली वडवा; or when it denotes appellative as नीली ॥ In other cases we have नीला 'a blue-coloured cloth'. (9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass' (10) कामुकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कामुका 'a woman desirous of wealth'. (11) कबरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कबरा 'mixed, variegated'.

शोणात् प्राचाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शोणात्, प्राचाम् (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोणशब्दात्प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वडवा 'a red or bay mare'. By Phit Sūtra II. 10 referred to already in IV. 1. 39 the udātta in शोण falls on the first syllable, and by IV. 1. 40 it would have taken डीष् always; but the present sūtra makes a niyama rule and restricts the application of डीष् according to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians only, and not of others.

वोतो गुणवचनात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उतः, गुण वचनात् (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणवचनात् प्रतिपदिकाद् उक्तायन्तान् स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसुशब्दाद् गुणवचनात् डांवायुरात्तार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ खलसंयोगोपधात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. The affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word ending in short उ, and being expressive of a quality.

The word गुणवचनः means what expresses quality: i. e. "words not being words formed by primitive or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of *saṅkhya* or *sarvanāman*, or *jāti*, or compound words, provided they are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives as the word शुक्ल is, not as the word रूप, which though it expresses a quality, cannot be used as an adjective." (Guide to Paṇini). Thus from पटु 'dexterous', we have पट्वी or पटुः (without a feminine affix); so तृदुः or तृद्वी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say "expressive of a quality?" Observe आलुः 'a mouse' (both masculine and feminine).

Vārt :—After the word वसु when expressive of a quality, the affix णिप् is employed in the feminine; in order to make the first syllable acutely ac-

cented. As, वस्वी ॥ वसु is formed by उ (Vñ I. 10) and is âdyudâtta because the उ is नित् ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated after the word स्वर, and words though ending in short उ, have conjunct consonant as penultimate. As स्वरुरियं ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmanî who chooses her own husband'. Similarly पाण्डु is both gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant. As पाण्डुरियं ब्राह्मणी ॥

The word Guṇa गुणः 'quality' has been thus defined:—

सत्वे निविशतेपैति पृथग् जातिषु दृश्यते ।

आधेयश्चाक्रियाजश्च सोऽसत्त्वप्रकृतिर्गुणः ॥

बहुादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां वा-डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. And the affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest.

As बहुः or बह्वी ॥ The following are the words belonging to the Bahvâ-di class —

1 बहु, 2 पद्मति, 3 अञ्चति, 4 अङ्कति, 5 अंहति, 6 शक्ति, (शक्ति), 7 शक्तिः शस्त्रे, 8 शारि, 9 वारि, 10 राति 11 राधि, 12 शाधि, 13 अहि, 14 कपि, 15 यष्टि, 16 मुनि, 17 इतः प्राप्यं गान् । 18 कृदिकारादन्तिनः । 19 सर्वतोऽन्तिन्नर्यादित्येके । 20 चण्ड, 21 अराल, 22 कृपण, 23 कमल, 24 विकट, 25 विशाल, 26 विशङ्कट, 27 भरुज, 28 ध्वज, 29 चन्द्र-भागान्नद्याम् (चन्द्रभागा नद्याम्) 30 कल्याण, 31 उदार, 32 पुगण, 33 अहन्, 34 क्रोड, 35 नख, 36 खुर, 37 शिखा, 38 बाल, 39 शफ, 40 गुद ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 43 भग, 44 गल, 45 राग इत्यादि ॥

The affix *nîsh* also comes optionally after words ending in short इ being the names of the limbs of animals; as, धमनिः or धमनी ॥ So also after the vowel इ of a *kṛit* affix, not क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as रात्रि or रात्री ॥ Some say that the feminine affix *nîsh* may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् ॥ The word बहु is a *guṇa*-word and would have *optionally* taken *nîsh* even by the last sūtra, its specification here is for the subsequent sūtra, by which it *necessarily* takes *nîsh* in the Chhandas. It is an *Ākritigāṇa*

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, छन्दसि, (बहुादिभ्यः स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुादिभ्य इछन्दसि विषये नित्यं स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix डीष् is always employed in the Vedic literature, in forming the feminine of the words बहु and the rest.

Thus बह्वीषु हित्वा प्रपिवन् ॥ Here बह्वी is the name of a hero.

The word नित्य 'always' is used in the aphorism, more for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, which it governs than for this sūtra. For the word

'optionally.' does not govern this, and the aphorism even without the word 'nitya' would have been a necessary rule and not optional : for आरम्भसान्ध्यादेव नित्योक्तिः सिद्धः, योगारम्भश्चिन्त्य योजनः ॥

भुवश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छन्दसि नित्यं स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां भुवो नित्ये डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix डीष् is always employed in the Chhandas in forming the feminine, after the word भु ॥

Thus विम्बी, प्रम्बी, सुम्बी, शम्बी ॥

But why not so in the case of स्वयम्भू ? Because it ends in long ऊ, while विम्बी &c. are feminine of विभु &c. ending in short उ ॥ In fact the word उतः "after a word ending in short उ" of Sûtra. IV. 1. 44 governs this also. The word भुवः is the ablative case of भु irregularly formed by the substitution of उवङ्; this form being confined to sûtras only.

पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंयोगात्-आख्यायां, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंयोगाद्धेतो र्थत्वातिपदिकं स्त्रियां वर्तते पुंस आख्याभूतं तस्मान् डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोपालकाशीनां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूर्यादेवतायां चाङ् वक्तव्यः ॥

48. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Relation (yoga) with a male (punsâ) is called पुंयोग ॥ Thus the wife of गणक 'an astrologer' is called गणकी, so also महामात्री 'the wife of a chief minister', प्रष्टी 'the wife of a chief'; प्रचरी &c. Thus the word गणक means an astrologer, a calculator or a mathematician; and the wife of such a person will be expressed by the word गणकी ॥ But if a woman is herself an astrologer &c, she will be called गणका (by टाप्) &c. Therefore when matrimonial relation is not denoted, this sûtra will not apply

Why do we say 'in relation to a husband'? Observe देवदत्ता यज्ञदत्ता 'two women of the names of Devadattâ, and Yajñadattâ, not wives of Devadatta and Yajñadatta.'

Why do we say "आख्या or a name"? The word formed will be the name of a woman whose husband is possessed of the quality denoted by the word, and not that the woman possesses that quality. In the case of a woman, therefore, the word is merely a Name or a Designation, and has no reference to the etymological meaning of the word. Moreover, the omission of the word आख्यायाम् would have made the sûtra ambiguous, for the phrase पुं योगाद् also means 'an effect produced by union with a man' such as pregnancy. And words परिसृष्टा and प्रजाता would have required ई and not आ ॥

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words like गोपालिका and the rest. Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow-herd'.

Vart :—The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sūrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sūrya', while सूरि will denote a human wife of Sūrya, such as, Kunti &c. The affix चाप् makes the word acutely accented on the final : for the word सूर्य has acute on the initial, and had डीष् been only prohibited and no specific affix ordained, then टाप् would have applied, and it would have left the accent unchanged. Hence a distinct affix चाप् is ordained.

इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमरण्ययव यवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥४९॥ पदानि ॥
इन्द्र-वरुण-भव-शर्व-रुद्र-मृड-हिम-रण्य-यव-यवन-मातुल-आचार्याणाम्, आनुक्,
(स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति आनुक् चागमः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिमरण्ययोर्महत्वे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यवादेशे ॥

वा० ॥ यवनाल्लिप्याम् ॥ वा० ॥ उपाध्यायमातुलाभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ आचार्यादणत्वेच ॥ वा० ॥ अर्यक्षत्रियाभ्यांवा ॥

वा० ॥ मुद्गलाच्छन्दसि लिङ् ॥

49. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow', अरण्य 'a forest', यव 'barley', यवन 'a Yavana', मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and आचार्य 'a preceptor', before the feminine affix डीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix डीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns up to मृड, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix डीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी 'the wife of Indra', वरुणानी 'the wife of Varuṇa', भवानी 'the wife of Bhava', शर्वाणी 'the wife of Śarva', रुद्राणी 'the wife of Rudra', मृडानि 'the wife of Mṛṇā'

Vart :—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow', अरण्यानी 'a great forest'. Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

Vart :—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley

while not being a barley. In fact the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat".

Vârt :—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas'.

Vârt :—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor', when the feminine affix comes to express the wife thereof, the augment आनुक् is optional. Thus मतुलानी or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor',

Vârt :—And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment आनुक् (VIII. 4. 2) after the word आचार्य ॥ Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor'.

Vârt :—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally : when the matrimonial relation is not intended but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishyâ class', क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'. When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only डीष् is added. As अर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya', क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya'.

Vârt :—In the Chhandas, the affix डीष् with the augment आनुक् is added to the word मुद्गल; and the affix is treated as if it had an indicatory ल् ॥ The force of the indicatory ल् is to make the vowel preceding the affix, take the acute accent (VI. 1. 193 लिति). Thus रथारभून् मुद्गलानी गविष्टौ ॥ (Rig Veda X. 102. 2).

क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतात्, करण-पूर्वात्, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥
वृत्ति ॥ क्रीतशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् करणपूर्वात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50 The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means wherewith the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण or 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth'; so also वसनक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for dress'.

Why do we say "when the first member of the compound is the name of the means"? Observe सुक्रीता 'well purchased', दुष्क्रीता 'ill-purchased'. But why is not the affix डीष् employed in धनक्रीता in the following verse :—
सा हितस्य धनक्रीता प्राणेष्वपि गरीयसी 'she purchased in exchange of riches is more dear to him than life'. Here the word क्रीत has first taken the affix दाप् form-

ing क्रीता and then this feminine word is compounded with धन ॥ The general rule is गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्धिः सहसमासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्तने: "Gati, Kârakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Kṛit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter". The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

कादल्पाख्यायाम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ काद्, अल्पाख्यायाम्, (करणपूर्वात् डीष् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणपूर्वात्प्रातिपदिकात् कान्तदल्पाख्यायां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix डीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting the means wherewith, is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting the means where with', of the last sūtra governs this also. The participle in क्त, must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्त, to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection therewith. The अल्पाख्यायाम् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word. Thus अभ्रविलिप्ती यौ: 'a sky covered slightly with clouds', सूपविलिप्ती पात्री 'a dish slightly covered with soup'.

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनानुलिप्ता ब्राह्मणी "a Brāhmanī lady covered with sandal essence?"

बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, च, अन्त-उदात्तात्, (कात् स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहिर्योऽन्तोदात्तस्तस्मात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्ताज्जातप्रतिषेधः ॥ वा० ॥ पाणिगृहीत्यादीनामर्थ विशेषे ॥

वा० ॥ अबहुनञ्चसुकाल सुखादिपूर्वादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

52. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्त, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

The word क्तात् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *svānga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svānga* word, then the application of the rule is optional. As शंखभिन्नी 'having a rent on the temporal bone', ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh'. गलकोत्कृन्नी (गलमुत्कृत्तमस्या), केशलूनी ॥ By II. 2. 36 Vārt जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम्, the Nishṭhā stands in the second place, otherwise by II. 2. 36 it ought to have formed the first member of the

compound. The words शंख &c. are jāti words, and by VI. 2. 170, the acute is on the final.

Why do we say "after a Bahuvrīhi compound?" Observe पादपतिता which is an Ablative Tatpurusha compound (II. 2. 38). The compounding is by II. 1. 32, and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जात 'born', which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus वन्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth;' स्तनजाता 'a female whose breast has been developed'. See II. 2. 36 *Vārt*.

Vārt:—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अग्निसाक्षिकं यस्याः पाणिगृह्यते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

Vārt:—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words:—बहु, नञ, सु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, अकृता, सुकृता, मासजाता, सवत्सरजाता, सुखजाता or दुःखजाता &c.

Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदाद्वा ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-स्वाङ्ग-पूर्वपदात्, वा, (अन्तोदात्तात् कात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदादन्तोदात्तात् कान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाछन्दसोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

53. The affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क्त, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तोदात्तात् and कान्तात् govern this sūtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus शार्ङ्गजग्ध, is a word having acute accent on the final (VI. 2. 170): but as the first portion of this Bahuvrīhi is not a *Svāṅga* word, but a *jāti* word, its feminine will be शार्ङ्गजग्धी or शार्ङ्गजग्धा ॥ So also पलाण्डुभक्षिती or पलाण्डुभक्षिता and सुरापीती or सुरापीता ॥

Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svāṅga* word'? Observe शंखभिन्नी, ऊरुभिन्नी which admit of only one form.

If the final is not acutely accented, the rule will not apply. As वस्त्रच्छन्ना and वसनच्छन्ना which are not acutely accented on the final (See VI.

2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170.

Vārt:—Diversely in the Chhandas and in Names. As प्रवृद्धविलूनी or प्रवृद्धविलूना ॥

स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गात्, च, उपसर्जनात्, असंयोग-उपधात्, (वा स्त्रियां डीष्)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गयुपसर्जनमसंयोगोपधं तन्नात्प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्यया भवात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अङ्गात्कण्ठेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. And the feminine affix डीष् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (i. e. the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant).

The *Anuvṛitti* of the words बहुव्रीहेः, कान्तादन्तोरात्तात् does not extend to this aphorism. But the *anuvṛitti* of the word वा 'optionally' does extend to this Sūtra. Thus चन्द्रमुखी or चन्द्रमुखा, अतिकेशी or अतिकेशा ॥ The word अतिकेशा is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अन्तकान्ता केशान्, and केश is upasarjana by I. 2. 44.

Why do we say "what ends with the name of a part of the body"? Observe बहुयवा 'having much barley'. Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अशिखा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical). Why do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुगुल्फा, सुपार्श्वा ॥

Vārt:—This rule applies to a compound ending with the word अङ्ग, गात्र and कण्ठ, though in all these, the penultimate is a double consonant. Thus मृदङ्गी or मृदङ्गा; सुगात्री or सुगात्रा, स्निग्धकण्ठी or स्निग्धकण्ठा ॥

The word स्वाङ्ग has a technical meaning as given in the following verse:—

अद्रवं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।

अतस्थं तत्रदृष्टं चेत् तेन चेत् तत्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which not being a fluid, is capable of being perceived by the senses because of its having a form, is स्वाङ्ग; it must exist in a living being, but not produced by a change from the natural state; or though found elsewhere actually, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being.

नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-उदर-ओष्ठ-
जङ्घा-दन्त-कर्ण-शृङ्गात्, च, (स्वाङ्गात् स्त्रियां वा डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकाद्यन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ कबरमणिविषशरेभ्योनित्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ उपमानात्पक्षाच्च पुच्छाच्च ॥

55. And the feminine डीष् comes optionally after compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip' जङ्घा 'leg', दन्त 'a tooth', कर्ण 'ear', and शृङ्गा 'horn'.

This is an exception to the last and the succeeding sūtra. Some of the words above given are either such which have a conjunct penultimate letter, and thus beyond the scope of IV. I. 54; or they are polysyllabic words and thus covered by IV. I. 56. Though this rule is an exception to 54 and 56; yet it is qualified by IV. I. 57. Thus तुङ्गनासिका or तुङ्गनासिकी, तिलोदरी or तिलोदरा, बिम्बोष्ठी or बिम्बोष्ठा, रीधजंघी or रीधजंघा, समदन्ती or समदन्ता, चारुकर्णी or चारुकर्णा, तीक्ष्णशृङ्गी or तीक्ष्णशृङ्गा ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail'. As कल्याणपुच्छा or कल्याणपुच्छी ॥

Vārt :—The affix *nish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कबर, मणि, विष and शर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and शरपुच्छी ॥

Vārt :—So also the feminine affix *nish* is necessarily employed after the words पक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उलूकपक्षी सेना, उलूकपुच्छी शाला ॥

न क्रोडादिबह्वचः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्रोड-आदि-बहु-अचः, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोडाद्यन्ताद् बहुजन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

56. The feminine affix डीष् does not come after a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा 'the flank &c. of a horse', nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

The class क्रोड &c. is ākriti-gaṇa, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रोडा, कल्याणखुरा, कल्याणोखा, कल्याणशला, कल्याणशफा, कल्याणगुहा, कल्याणघाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजघना, पृथुजघना, महाललाटा, ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrīhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pūngvad-bhāva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I. 2, 48).

सहनञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह-नञ्-विद्यमान-पूर्वात्, च, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सह नञ् विद्यमानइत्येवं पूर्वात् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

57. The affix डीप् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus सकेशा, अकेशा विद्यमानकेशा ॥ So also सनासिका अनासिका or विद्यमाननासिका ॥ The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. I. 55 ante: as well as IV. I. 54

नखमुखात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नख-मुखात्, संज्ञायां, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ नखमुखान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्संज्ञायां स्त्रियां विषये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

58. The feminine affix डीप् is not employed after नख, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शूर्प + नखा, = शूर्पणखा, Śārpaṇakhâ the sister of Râvaṇa'. The न् is changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 3 (पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायामगः) ॥ So also वज्रणखा, गौरमुखा, कालमुखा &c. Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel', or चन्द्रमुखी 'moon-faced'

दीर्घजिह्वी च छन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी, च, छन्दसि ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी इति छन्दसिविषये निपात्यते ॥

59. The form दीर्घजीह्वी 'long-tongued' is irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The word दीर्घजीह्वी is the feminine of दीर्घजीह्व but as the latter has a conjunct consonant for its penultimate, the feminine affix डीप् would not have applied to it by IV. I. 54. The present aphorism enjoins डीप् ॥ Thus दीर्घजीह्वी in the sentence दीर्घजीह्वी वै देवानां हव्यमलेद्

The word च 'and' in the aphorism is used in order to draw in the word संज्ञा from the last, so that the word *dirgha-jihvî* is always a Name. Moreover by using the feminine form *dirgha-jihvî* in the sūtra, it is indicated that the application of डीप् is necessary and not optional, as was the case in the last sūtras.

दिक्पूर्वपदान् डीप् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, डीप्, (स्त्रिया) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ दिक् पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकान् डीप्, प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

60. The feminine affix डीप् comes after a Nominal stem which is preceded by a word signifying direction.

This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 54 to 58. Whereever by those rules there would have been डीष्, the present enjoins डीष् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent ; the affix डीष् being anudatta (III. I. 4). Thus प्राङ्मुखी or प्राङ्मुखा, प्राङ्नासिकी or प्रांनासिका, But not so in प्राङ्मुखा ; or प्राक्कोडा or प्राग्जघना because these words do not take डीष् (by IV. I. 56), therefore they never give occasion to the application of डीष् ॥ The sūtra ought to be read as if it contained two rules (1) the affix डीष् comes after a compound the first member of which is a word denoting direction and the second is a svānga word or is the word नासिका &c. the penultimate not being a conjunct consonant, (2) but डीष् is not added to Compounds ending in कोडा &c. or in a word of more than two syllables. In other words the sūtra may be translated "डीष् is the substitute of डीष् when the first member is a word denoting direction". Therefore the affix डीष् will come only there, where else the affix डीष् would have come and not otherwise. This is the reason why the anuvṛitti of डीष् is taken in the next sūtra (IV. I. 61) and not that of डीष् ॥

वाहः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, (डीष् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह ॥

The anuvṛitti of डीष् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of डीष्, though the latter was nearer. The word वाह is formed from the root वाह् with the affix ण्वि (III. 2. 64). The word वाह is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a "word ending in vâh." Thus द्वित्यौही 'sustaining the demon.' This form is thus evolved :—द्वित्य + वाह + डीष् = द्वित्य + ऊह + आह + डीष् (VI. 4. 132 वाह ऊह, Uṭh is the samprasârana of vâh, when this is a *bha*) = द्वित्य + ऊह + डीष् (VI. I. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च 'after a samprasârana if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute', = द्वित्यौही (VI. I. 89 एत्येधस्यूरसु 'vṛiddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or *ûth* follow'). Similarly प्रघौही 'a young heifer training for the plough.'

सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सखी-अशिश्वी, इति, भाषायां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखी अशिश्वी इत्येतौशब्दौ डीष्न्तौ भाषायां निपात्येते ॥

62. The forms सखी and अशिश्वी are irregular forms ending in डीष् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to (Vedic) Sanskrit.

Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नास्त्याः शिश्वस्तिति = अशिश्वी ॥ Why do we say

in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखा सप्तपदी भव and अशिशुमिव मामयं शिशुरभिमन्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिम्ही ॥ सखा सप्तपदी भव ॥

जातेरस्त्री विषयादयोपधात् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, अस्त्रीविषयात्, अयोपधात्, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि यत्प्रातिपदिकं नच स्त्रियामिव नियतमस्त्री विषयमयकारोपधंच तस्मात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे ह्य गवय मुकय मत्स्यमनुष्याणाम् प्रतिषेधः ॥

63. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a word denoting a jāti or species when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate.

The word जाति was defined under Sūtra I. 2. 52. Thus कुक्कुदी 'a hen'; सूकरी 'a she-hog', ब्राह्मणी 'Brāhmani'; वृषली 'a woman of the Śūdra caste', नाडायनी 'a woman of Nadayana class', चारायणी 'a Chārāyaṇī', कटी 'a woman of Brahmans who read the Kāṭha', बह्वृची 'a woman of the class of Brahmans who read the Rig Veda'.

Why do we say "expressive of a jāti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jāti but a quality). Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness मक्षिका 'a fly' (supposed to breed without a male). Why do we say "not having the letter य् for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'.

Vārt.—In excluding words that have the letter य् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words which have a penultimate य् viz, गवय 'the Bos Gaveans', हय 'horse', मुकय 'a sort of animal', मत्स्य 'a fish', and मनुष्य 'a man'. Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 हलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the य् of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मत्सी ॥ The य् of matsya is elided by the vārtika 'मत्स्यस्य ऊ्याम्' ॥ See also VI. 4. 149. All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (IV. 1. 41.) and would have taken डीष् independently of this vārtika.

Another definition of jāti is :—

प्रातुर्भावविनाशाभ्यां सत्वस्य युगपद्गुणैः ।

असर्वलिङ्गां बह्वर्थी तां जातिं कवयो दिवुः ॥ (See translation under I. 2. 52)

पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलवालोत्तरपदाच्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि पाक-कर्ण-पर्ण-पुष्प-फल-मूल-वाल-उत्तरपदात्, च (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाकादि उत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ पुष्पफलमूलोत्तरपदात् तु यतोनेष्यते तदजादिषु पठ्यते ॥ यथा सत्पाक्काण्डप्रान्तशतैकेभ्यः पुष्पात् ॥

संभस्त्राजिनशण पिण्डेभ्यः फलात् ॥ मूलान्नञः ॥

64. And the feminine affix डीष् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jâti, followed by the following, पाक 'cooked', कर्ण 'ear', पर्ण 'leaf', पुष्प 'flower', फल 'fruit', मूल 'root', and बाल 'youth'.

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females and therefore were not provided by the last sūtra. Thus ओदनपात्री, शंककुर्णी, शालपर्णी, शंखपुष्पी, दासीफली दर्भमूली, and गोबाली ॥

When, however the affix डीष् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajādi class (IV. 1. 4) ; such as संफला, भस्त्रफला, सत्पुष्पा, अमूला &c.

इतो मनुष्यजातेः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, मनुष्य-जातेः, (स्त्रियां डीष्)
वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इम उपसंख्यानमजात्यर्थम् ॥

65. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti', कुन्ती 'women of Kunti', दाक्षी 'Dākshī'. Thus अवन्ति + ज्यङ् (IV. 1. 171) आवन्त्यः 'men of Avanti'. In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 is elided. दाक्षी "the female descendants of Plaksha". Why do we say "ending in short इ" ? Witness विद् 'Vaishya', दरन् 'Darat'. Why do we say "of men" ? Witness तिल्लिरिः 'partridge'. Though the anuvṛitti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1, 63, its repetition here indicates that डीष् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is य्. Thus औदमयी ॥

Vārt:—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इञ् (IV. 2. 80) though they do not denote a jati. Thus सौतंगमी, मौनचिन्नी ॥ The affix इञ् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 and ordained to come after सुतंगम् &c, and does not denote a jati.

ऊङुतः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊङ्, उतः, (मनुष्यजातेः स्त्रियां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उकारान्तान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् त्रयामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अप्राणिजातेश्चरज्ज्वादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. After a Nominal-stem ending in short ऋ, not having the letter य् as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ऊङ्.

The anuvṛitti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधात् should be read into the sūtra to complete it. Thus कुरूः 'a female of the country of the Kurus' ब्रह्मबन्धूः "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called", जीवबन्धूः "a woman of the Jīvabandhu class".

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः IV. 1. 172, and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 in the feminine.

The indicatory letter ङ् in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sûtras like नाङ् धात्वोः (VI. 1. 175), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sûtra VI. 1. 175 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there.

The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form कळ (कुरु + उ = कुरु) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4. 154, in Bahuvrihis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मवन्धूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

Why do we say "not having the letter य् as its penultimate"? Witness अव्ययवर्णनी 'a woman of the class of Brahmanas versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vart.—The affix ऊङ् comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jâti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus अलाङ्कः 'the bottle-gourd'; कर्कन्धूः 'the jujube tree.' Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c.

बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-अन्तात्, संज्ञायाम्, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बाहुशब्दान्ता आतिपठिकात्संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहुः 'Bhadrabâhû'; जालबाहुः &c. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृण्बाहुः 'a woman having rounded hand' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

पङ्गोश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पङ्गोः, च, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पङ्गुशब्दात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ भ्रसुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

68. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पङ्गु 'lame'.

As पङ्गु 'a female lame'.

Vart.—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to भ्रशुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter ड and of the letter भ्र of the word. As भ्रभूः 'mother-in-law' This debars the puṇyoga डीष् of IV. 1. 48.

ऊरुत्तरपदादौपम्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरु-उत्तरपदात्, औपम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊरुत्तरपदात्प्रातिपदिकादौपम्ये गम्यमाने स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus कदलास्तम्भोरुः 'a female with thighs like plantain-stem'. नासोरुः 'a female with thighs like the nose of an elephant'; करभोरुः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरुः स्त्री 'a woman with round thighs'. The word करेणुकरोरु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (करेणु)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विचकरे, च करेणुकरोरुभिः ॥

संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ संहित, शफ, लक्षण, वामादेः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहित शफ लक्षण वाम इत्येवमादिः प्रातिपदिकावूरुत्तरपदात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

70 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark', and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरुः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity)', शफोरुः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cow's foot', लक्षणोरुः 'whose thighs are marked', वामोरुः 'with handsome thighs'.

Vārt:—So also with the words संहित and सह. As सहितोरुः and सहोरुः ॥

कद्रुकमण्डल्वोश्छन्दसि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कद्रु, कमण्डल्वोः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुशब्दात्कमण्डलुशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गुग्गुलुमधुजतुपतयालूनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the words कद्रु 'tawny,' and कमण्डलु 'a water pot.'

Thus कद्रुश्चैव सुपर्णा च ॥ मास्मकमण्डलं शूद्राय वक्ष्यात् ॥

Why do we say "in the Vedas." Witness कद्रु : and कमण्डलुः ॥

Vārt:—So also after the words गुग्गुलु, मधु, जतु and पतयालुः ॥ Thus गुग्गुलुः,

मधुः, जतुः, and पतयालुः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुकमण्डलुशब्दाभ्यां संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अच्छन्नेत्यर्थं वचनम् ॥

72. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु

This rule applies to other than Vedic forms. Thus कद्रूः 'a female named Kadrû wife of Kâśyapa', कमण्डलूः 'Kamaṇḍalû'. Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रूः 'the tawny color,' कमण्डलूः 'a water-gourd.'

शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो डीन् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादि, अञः, डीन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादिभ्योऽमन्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां डीन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The feminine affix डीन् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरव and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अञ् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Sârṅgrava woman', कापट्वी 'a Kâpatava woman'. So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् (as ordained in S. 86, and 104 &c. of this chapter), as, बैद्री 'a female descendant of Bida'. भौर्वी 'a female descendant of Urva'. This sūtra applies to words expressing jāti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debar the affix डीष् of IV. 1. 63 &c. where it came after jāti-vâchaka words; but it does not debar that डीष् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the डीष् of IV. 1. 48.

The difference between डीष् and डीन् consists in accent only, the resultant forms otherwise being the same. The words formed by डीन् will have udâtta accent on the first syllable जिनित्यादिर्नित्यम् (VI. 1. 197 a word ending with an affix having an indicatory ञ् or न् has udâtta accent on the first syllable) : while the word formed by डीष् will have acute accent on the affix. Thus बैद्री 'a female descendant of Bida', and बैद्री 'the wife of Baida'.

The following is a list of Sârṅgaravâdi class words:—

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौगुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 बैर, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अण् the first four being formed by the अण् of (IV. 1. 83) from शङ्गर, कपट, गुग्गुलु and ब्राह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गौतम by the अण् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurâdi class IV. 1. 41. 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मकृतेय, 9 आनिचेय, 10 आनिधेय, 11 आशीकेय ॥ These are formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123) except kâmaṇḍaleya which is formed by ढञ् (IV. 1. 135). 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 मौञ्जायन ॥ These are formed by ऋक् of IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99, and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेय is also formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123). 15 काव्य 16 शैव्य are formed by व्यङ् (IV. 1. 171). 17 एहि, 18 पर्येहि are formed by इन् added to आ + इह् 'to try', and परि + आ + इह् (Uṇ IV. 117 सर्व धातुभ्य इन्) 19 आभ्रमरथ्य is formed by यञ् (IV. 1. 105). 20 औदपान is formed by अण् (IV. 3. 76). 21 अराल, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वतण्डः are jāti words. 24 भोगवत्, 25 गौतमत् ॥ These take डीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix मनुप्, and are consequently उगित्, and should have taken डीष् (IV. 1. 6). This ordains डीन् ॥

७. The word भोग is formed by घञ् and गौरि is formed by इञ् (IV. 1. 95), both are âdyuddâtta owing to ञ् (VI. 1. 197). When मनुप् is added, the accent remains unchanged, for matup being पित् is anudâtta (III. 1. 4). There-

fore whether डीप् be added or डीन् to these words, it makes no difference in the accent, for they remain ādyudātta. Where is the necessity of including these two words in this list.

Ans. To this we reply पादिषु नित्यम् इत्थार्थम् ॥ For had these words taken डीप् of IV. 1. 6, then the long ई would have been optionally shortened before the affixes च &c. by VI. 3. 45. But by taking डीन् the shortening is compulsory (VI. 3. 43), and not optional. Because the च in the sūtra उगितश्च (VI. 3. 45) has the force of the word इति, and means the नदी words formed by adding ई to उगिन् words, by enunciating the word उगिन् are optionally shortened. Therefore IV. 1. 6 where the word उगिन् is used is governed by this rule of optional shortening, and not the words formed by डीन् ॥

26 नृ 27 नर. The word नृ would have taken डीप् by IV. 1. 5, and नर would have taken डीप् as it denotes a jāti. These words take वृद्धि before डीन्, the form being नारी in both cases.

यङश्चाप् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, चाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति । य्यङ् व्यङ् सामान्यमङ्गमेतत् ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ पाठ यङः ॥

74. The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix य्यङ् or व्यङ् ॥

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes य्यङ् (as taught in S. 171 of this chapter) and व्यङ् (See 78) as it is the common element of both. Thus आम्बष्ठ्या 'a woman of the race of Ambashthya', सौवीर्या 'a woman of the race of Sauvīrya', कौसल्या 'a woman of the race of Kausalya'.

Similarly व्यङ् formed words, as, कारीषगन्ध्या, वाराह्या ; बालाक्या ॥

Vārt.—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यप् when the letter ष immediately precedes such yañ. As शार्कराक्ष्य 'a female descendant of Sarkarāksha', पौतिमाश्या 'a female descendant of Pūtimāshya', गौकाक्ष्या 'a female descendant of Gokasha'. These words belong to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105), and by sūtra 16 would have taken डीप् ॥

The ष of the affix चाप् is for the sake of forming a common term आप् with डाप् and टाप् ; and the च regulates the accent making the final acute (VI. 1. 163). The word गौकाक्ष्य is included in Krauḍādi list (IV. 1. 80) and takes the augment व्यङ् in the feminine, and hence it would have taken चाप् by force of the present sūtra and need not be included in the Vārtika. There is no Samprasāraṇa of the य when पुत्र or पुत्रि is added to this word (VI. 1. 13), the form being गौकाक्ष्यापुत्रः and not गौकाक्षीपुत्रः ॥

आवद्याश्च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवद्यात्, च, (स्त्रियां चाप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवद्याश्च स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. And the feminine affix **चाप्** comes after the word **आवक्ष्य** ॥

The word **भव** belongs to Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105) which after taking **वम्**, would have taken **ङीप्** (IV. 1. 16). Thus **आवक्ष्या** 'a female descendant of Avata'. But **आवक्ष्यायनी** will be the proper form according to the Eastern Grammarians. See aphorism IV. 1. 17.

तद्धिताः ॥७६॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धिताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यानि त ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्धितसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

76. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an *adhikâra* or governing sūtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita. Thus the affix **ति** taught in the very next sūtra. As **युवतिः** The word so formed is called *Prâtipadika*. The word **तद्धिताः** is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the words **प्रत्ययः** (III. 1. 1) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as **वृथिव्यं त्राजौ ॥ अयादि पश्चाद् डिमच् ॥** As **पार्थिव, अग्निम, आग्निम, पश्चिम ॥** See Vart IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sūtras like **कृतद्धितसमासाश्च I. 2. 46.**

यूनस्तिः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युवन्शब्दात्प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां निः प्रत्ययो भवति । स च तद्धितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

77. The feminine affix **ति** comes after the Nominal-stem **युवन्** and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As **युवतिः** 'a young maid'. By IV. 1. 5, **ङीप्** would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debar it. The word **युवति** ending in **इ** does not take the affix **ङीप्** of IV. 1. 65, for the affix **ति** itself is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita; or the word **युवन्** may be regarded as a non-jāti word and hence IV. 1. 65 would not apply.

**अणिञोरनार्षयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः व्यङ् गोत्रे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण् इञोः अना-
ययोः, गुरुपोत्तमयोः, व्यङ्, गोत्रे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे यावणिञौ विहितानार्षौ तदन्तयोः प्रातिपदिकयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः स्त्रियां व्यङोदेशो भवति । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्यणिञोरेव विज्ञायते ॥ उचामशब्दः स्वभावात् विप्रभृतीनामन्यक्षरमाह उचामस्य समीपमुपोत्तमं, गुरुः उपोत्तमं यस्य तद्गुरुपोत्तमं प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

78. In Patronymies used in a narrower sense (counting first from the grand-child), which are formed with the affixes **अण्** and **इञ्**, the feminine is formed by substituting

य (व्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes and adding the long आ under IV. 1. 74; provided that they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable,

The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिञोः 'of अण् and इञ्,' (2) अनार्षयोः 'of non-rishi' (3) गुह्योत्तमयोः 'having a heavy vowel as *upottama* i. e. last but one,' (4) व्यङ् 'the substitute is shyan' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotra.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इञ् are replaced by व्यङ् before the feminine affix चाप्, in those words which denoting non-rishi gotras, have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word *uttama* meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tamap*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sūtra does not apply to forms like राक्षि &c.

Of the substitute व्यङ् the letter ष् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is य, the letter ष् differentiating this affix from ज्यङ् and the letter ङ् affording a common hold for both. In forming the feminine we shall have to add चाप् by IV. 1. 74. Thus करीषगन्धि 'having the smell of dung-cake', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus करीषगन्धि + अण् (IV. 1. 92) Replace this affix by व्यङ् and we have कारीषगन्ध्या ॥ कुमुदगन्धि: gives us कौमुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इञ् (as taught in sūtra अतइञ् IV. 1. 75): as वाराहि: gives us वाराह्या, so also बालाक्ष्या ॥

Why do we say 'of अण् and इञ्' ॥ Witness आर्तभाग from कृतभाग ॥ Here the word कृतभाग belongs to बिहारी gaṇa, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अञ् in forming gotra patronymic: this affix अञ् is not replaced by व्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इञ् ॥

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामित्री ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औपगवी and कापटवी ॥ Why do we say 'denoting Gotra'? Witness अहिच्छत्री 'born in Ahi-chhatra', कान्यकुब्जी 'born in Kanyakubja'.

गोत्रावयवात् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-अवयवात् (स्त्रियां व्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणिञोरित्येव । गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमतः कुलाख्याः पुणिकमुणिकमुखरप्रभृतयः, स्ततो गोत्रे विहितयोरणिञोः स्त्रियां व्यङ्ङादेशो भवति ॥

79. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, व्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इञ्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long

The phrase अणिञोः of the last sūtra governs this also, not so, however, the word अगुरुपोत्तमः ॥ The phrase गोत्रावयव means insignificant or non-famous gotras. i. e. names of kulas i. e. कुलाख्या, such as families like पुणिक, भुणिक, मुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list. Thus पौणिक्या, भौणिक्या and मौखर्या ॥

The word अवयव in the sūtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like देवदत्त्या याज्ञवत्या ॥ These forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the कौड्यादि class of the next aphorism. In short, those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant, which means a grandson and down; can also do so.

In fact the word गोत्रावयव is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अप्रधानगोत्र and is a karmadhāraya samāsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the प्रवराध्यायः ॥ These are, however, technically called कुल ॥

कौड्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ कौडि-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां ष्यङ्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कौडि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ष्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अगुरुपोत्तमार्थं आरम्भः । अनणिमर्थश्च ॥

80. The affix ष्यङ् comes in the feminine after the words कौडि and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix अण् or इत् ॥ In fact ष्यङ् is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus कौड्या 'a female Kraudi', लाड्या 'a female Lādi'. The following is the list of Kraudādi words :—

1 कौडि, 2 लाडि, 3 व्याडि, 4 आपिशलि, 5 आपक्षिति. These are formed by इत् (IV. I. 95). 6 चौपयत्, 7 चैटयत् (वैटयत्), 8 सैकयत् (शैकयत्) 9 वैल्वयत् (वैकल्पयत्), These are formed by the affix अण् ॥ 10 सौधातकि. This is formed by इत् with the substitute अकङ् (IV. I. 97) added to सुधात् ॥ 11 सूतयुवत्याम् The word सूत takes ष्यङ् when denoting a grown-up maiden as सूत्याः ; otherwise सूता 'a daughter', formed by दाप्, or सूती by डीष् denoting a jāti. 12 भोज क्षत्रिये ॥ This debars डीष् of jāti as भोज्याः, otherwise दाप् as भोजाः (भोजयति). 13 यौतकि, 14 कौदि, 15 भौरिकी, 16 भौलिकि, 17 शात्मलि, 18 शालास्थलि, 19 कापिष्ठलि, 20 गौकश्य (गौलश्य) ॥ All these except the last are formed by इत्, the last is formed by यस् of Garg ādi class.

दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रि काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यो, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥

दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि, काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रि काण्ठेविद्धि इत्येतेषामन्यतरस्यां ष्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix ष्यङ् optionally comes after the words दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि and काण्ठेविद्धि ॥

These words end in the affix इप्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sūtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyañ would have come by IV. 1. 78. but whereas by that sūtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sūtra be taken to apply to 'immediate descendants' as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87. In the alternative when ष्यङ् is not added, डीप् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 ante. Thus देवयज्ञ्या or देवयज्ञी, so also शौचिवृक्ष्या or शौचिवृक्षी, सात्यमुग्न्या or सात्यमुग्नी, काण्डेविद्या or काण्डेविद्धी ॥

समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थानां, प्रथमात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रयमप्यधिक्रियते, समर्थानामिति च, प्रथमादिति च वेति च, स्वार्थिकप्रत्ययावधिश्चायमधिकारः । प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिरिति यावत् । स्वार्थिकेषु ह्यस्योपयोगो नास्ति, विकल्पोपि तत्रानवस्थितः, के चित्रित्यमेव भवन्ति । लक्षणवाक्यानिः—तस्यापत्यं, तेन रक्तं रागात्, तच्चभव, इत्येवमादीनि भविष्यन्ति । तेषु सामर्थ्ये सति प्रथमनिर्दिष्टदेव विकल्पेन प्रत्ययो भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥ समर्थानामिति निर्द्धारणे षष्ठी । समर्थानां मध्ये प्रथमं प्रत्ययप्रकृतित्वेन निर्द्धार्यते ॥

82. The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, viz. (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction' (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first'; (3) वा 'on the alternative', exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation: that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book; before the beginning of the sūtra प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः (V. 3. 1). The present sūtra as a whole, of course, has no applicability to the affixes which leave to the words their own denotation (स्वार्थिक); for the latter affixes are in many cases compulsory and not optional, as are the affixes to be taught hereafter in Book Fourth and the first and second chapters of Book Fifth.

These affixes will come after the word, that is signified by the first of the words in construction, in an aphorism. Thus IV. 1. 92 declares तस्यापत्यम् 'his son'. Here the first word is तस्य 'his', therefore, the affixes forming the patronymics will come after the word signified by 'his': i. e. after the word in the genitive case. As उपगोरपत्यं = ओपगवः 'the son of Upagu'. Here the affix भण् comes after the word उपगु which is the first word representing 'tasya' in the genitive case in the sentence उपगोरपत्यम् ॥ Similarly in the sūtra तेनरक्तं रागात् (IV. 2. 1); here the first word is तेन, therefore, the affix will be added to the word in the instrumental case in a sentence representing the word तेन 'by which'; as कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम्, 'Kāshāya is a cloth, coloured

by *Kashāya*. Similarly in sūtra तत्र भवः 'there staying' (IV. 3. 53.) here the first word is तत्र, 'there', in the locative case, therefore the affix will be optionally added to the word in the locative case in a sentence, representing the word तत्र 'there' : as सुन्न भवः = सौन्नः "who stays in Srughna".

The word समर्थानाम् is the genitive plural of समर्थ, and the force of the genitive is that of specification or 'nirdhāraṇa':—i. e. 'among the words in construction, the first is specifically pointed out as the *prakṛiti* or base, to which the affix is to be added'. Why do we say "among the words in construction"? Witness कम्बल उपगोरपत्यं देवदत्तस्य 'the blanket of Upagu; the son of Devadatta'. Here the two words उपगोरपत्यं are not in construction, for उपगोः governs कम्बलः, and अपत्यं is governed by देवदत्तस्य ॥ Why do we say "after the first"? So that the affix may come after the first word उपगोः in the genitive case, and not after अपत्यं which is in the nominative case; Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence; thus we may say उपगोरपत्यं, instead of the Taddhita formed word औपगवः ॥ The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (samāsa); as उपग्वपत्यम् 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the samāsa rule here is not superseded by Taddhita-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4. 2. because the anuvṛitti of अन्यतरस्याम् is understood here: so that in the alternative when the Taddhita affix is not employed, the samāsa rules will find scope.

This sūtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk: "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional",

प्राग्दिव्यतोऽण् ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, दीव्यतः अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्दीव्यत्संशङ्कनात् यानि तु ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽण्प्रत्ययस्तत्र भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

83. The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter upto the aphorism *tena divyati* &c.

Up to aphorism IV. 4. 2, the affix अण् has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an *adhikāra* sūtra or a *paribhāṣhā* sūtra or a *vidhi* sūtra. The application of this aphorism will be illustrated throughout the next three chapters. Thus in IV. 1. 92 तस्यापत्यम् we read the present aphorism and add the affix अण् in the sense of 'his son'. As औपगवः 'the son of उपगुः'; कापटवः 'the son of Kapaṭu'.

This affix has various meanings, such as, a patronymic (IV. 1. 92),

coloured with (IV. 2. 1), sidereal time (IV. 1. 3), revealed sâma-veda (IV. 1. 7), covered car (IV. 2. 10) &c.

अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्वपत्यादिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्वपत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेष्वण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix अण् comes after the Nominal-stems 'asvapati' &c, in the various mentioned senses taught antecedently to tena divyati &c.

This is an exception to the next aphorism, by which the affix ण्य would have come after words ending with 'pati.' The present sūtra enjoins अण् instead. Thus अश्वपति + अण् = अश्वपतम् (VII. 2. 117 तद्धितञ्चामदि 'when a Taddhita affix follows with an indicatory झ् or ण्, there is vṛddhi in the room of the first vowel among the vowels'). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4. 148 यस्येति च where long ई follows, and when a Taddhita affix follows, there is elision of the इ or ई, or अ or आ, of a *bha*.)

The following is a list of words belonging to अश्वपत्यादि class :—

1 अश्वपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 शतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति, 6 स्थानपति, 7 यज्ञपति, 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्वपति, 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति, 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्यः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिति, अदिति, आदित्य, पति-उत्तरपदात्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिति अदिति आदित्य इत्येतेभ्यः पत्युत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकात्प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यमाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाङ्मतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पृथिव्या आग्नौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ देवाद्यग्ने ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहिषाष्टिलोपश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकञ्च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकञ्छन्दसि ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्थामोकारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लोमोपत्येषु बहुषु ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्र गोरजादिप्रत्ययप्रसङ्गे यत् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्यादयोर्विशेषलक्षणादपवादत्पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥

85. The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena divyati &c, after the Proper Names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya ; and that which has the word पति at its final member.

Thus दिति + ण्य = दित्यः 'the son of Diti.' आदित्यः 'the descendant of Aditi,' आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with पति, as प्रजापति + ण्य = प्राजापत्यं ; so also सैनापत्यम् ॥

Vārt:—So also after the word यम ; as, याम्यम् ॥

Vārt:—In the Chhandas, after the words वाच्, मति and पितृमत् ॥ As वाच्यम् Vs. 13, 56.) माच्यम् and पितृमत्यम् ॥

Vātr :—The affixes अ and अस् come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + अ = पार्थिव ; पृथिवी + अस् = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV. 1. 4, and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV. 1. 15.

Vārt :—The affixes द्यम् and अस् come after the word देव 'a god'. As दैव्यम् or दैवम् 'divine'.

Vārt :—There is elision of the टि of बहिस्, and there is the affix यम् ; as बहिस् + यम् = बाह्यः 'external'. *Vārt* :—and the affix ईकक् may be employed. As बहिस् + ईकक् = बाह्यीकः 'external'. (VII. 2. 118 किति च, there is vriddhi of the first vowel when the Taddhita affix has an indicative क). *Vārt* :—In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकस् as बाह्यीकः the difference being in the accent (VI. 1. 197).

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vārtika declares that its टि portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the टि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called अ bhā. In fact the following vārtika अव्यायानाञ्च (the टि of the avyaya base is elided) given under sūtra VI. 4. 144 (the टि of the base bha is elided when a taddhita affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the avyaya आरात् we get आराती &c ; here the टि is not elided.

Vārt :—Of the word स्यामन् the टि is replaced by अ as अश्वत्थामः ॥

Vārt :—The टि of लोमन् is replaced by अ in the plural when the patronymic affixes follow ; as उडुलोनाः, शरलोनाः ॥ Why do we say in the plural number ? Witness औडुलोनिः, शारलोनिः (IV. 1. 99).

Vārt :—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो, let the affix यन् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c) from गो is expressed by गव्यम् (VI. 1. 79). Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel' ? Observe गोभ्यो हितं or आगतं = गोरुप्यम् and गोमयम् ॥

Vārt :—These affixes प्य &c, taught in this sūtra will come, to the exclusion of all the other affixes hereinafter taught, which are employed in especial senses. Thus अण् is employed especially to denote a descendant. But after the words दिति &c अण् will not be employed, but प्य, as दैत्य "a descendant of दिति". So also वानस्वत्यम् = (वानस्वतीनाम् समुहः), to the exclusion of IV. 2. 37 &c. In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परकार्यम् (I. 4. 2) does not hold good here.

If that be so, how do you explain the form दैतेयः ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word दिति but from दिती, the feminine of the word दिति, formed by the affix डीष् (IV. 1. 45, the word दिति being formed by the Kṛit affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take डीष् in the feminine). To the feminine word दिती is added ढक् and we get दैतेयः ॥ The Paribhāṣhā प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्ग निशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also

to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form *देतेय* as incorrect, as not to be found either in the *Mahābhāṣya* or any *Vārtika*.

उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ ८६ ॥ उत्स-आदिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्सादिभ्यः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेष्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अणस्तदपवादानां च बाधकः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ग्रीष्मादच्छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

86. The affix *अञ्* comes after the word *उत्स* &c. in the various senses taught antecedently to *tena-dīvyati* &c.

This debars the affix *अण्* taught in IV. 1. 83 as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus *उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः*, *औत्सपानः* ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to *उत्सादि* class.

1 उत्स, 2 उत्सपान, 9 विकर, 4 विनर, 5 महानर 6 मदानस, 7 महाप्राण, 8 तरुण, 9 तलुन । 10 वष्कयासे । 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पंक्ति, 14 जगती, 15 त्रिष्टुप्, 16 अनुष्टुप्, 17 जनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उद्यनिर, 20 ग्रीष्म, 21 पीलुकुण. । 22 उदस्थान देशे । 23 पृष देश, 24 भल्लक्रीय, 25 रथन्तर, 26 मध्यदिन, 28 बृहत्, 28 महत्, 29 सत्त्वत्, 30 कुरु, 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उष्णिह, 34 ककुभ्, 35 सुवर्ण, 35 देव, 37 ग्रीष्मादच्छन्दसि ॥

Vārt:—The word *ग्रीष्म* in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody'. Therefore it is not so here : *ग्रीष्मी त्रिष्टुप्* 'The Graishmi Tristup metre'. But *ग्रीष्मः* 'belonging to summer'. The word *छन्दस* here means 'metre', and not *Veda*. The word *वष्कयासे* = *वष्कय असे*, the phrase *असे* meaning *असमाप्ते*, (स being the name given to *समाप्त* by Ancient Grammarians), Thus the compound will be *गोवष्कयि* ॥ The *Paribhāṣā* *ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्त विधिप्रतिषेधः* does not apply here. Therefore, *tadantavidhi* applies here and we have *आधेनवम्* (*अधेनुनाम् समूहः*) ॥ The word *उदस्थान* takes *अञ्* when meaning a 'place': as *औदस्थानो देशः*; otherwise *औदस्थानि*: 'the son of *Udasthāna*.' The word *पृषत्* takes *अञ्* when meaning 'a share,' otherwise it will take *अण्*, as *पार्षतोऽंशः* ॥

स्त्री पुंसाभ्यां नञ् स्त्री भवनात् ॥ ८७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धान्यानां भवने इति वक्ष्यति । तस्य प्रागित्यनेनैव संबन्धः प्राग्भवनसंज्ञावनाद्यर्थस्तेषु स्त्री शाब्दात्पुंसाद्वशाच्च यथाक्रमं नञ्स्त्रीभ्यां प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

87. The affixes *नञ्* and *स्त्री* come after the words *स्त्री* and *पुंस* respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as "*dhānyānām bhavane kshetre khañ*" (V. 2. 1).

Thus *स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रीणम्* 'feminine.' The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various. Therefore

the word *स्त्रीणाम्* will have all those various significations; thus, it will mean either *स्त्रीषुभ्यः* (IV. 3. 53) 'existing in females,' or *स्त्रीणां समूहः* (IV. 2. 37) 'a collection of females,'; or *स्त्रीभ्यः* (IV. 3. 74) 'what has come from females'; or *स्त्रीभ्यो हितं* (V. 1. 5) 'suitable for females' &c.

Similarly *पुंस + लम्* = *पौलम्* 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix *वत्* taught in V. 1. 115. For Pāṇini himself uses the form *पुवत्* (and not *पौस*) in sūtra VI. 3. 34, thus indicating by implication (*ज्ञापक*) that in the sense of *वत्*, the affix *लम्* is not to be used. Thus *स्त्रीवत्*, *स्त्रीत्वं*, *स्त्रीता*, *पुंस्त्वं* and *पुंस्त्या* are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. The *स्* of *पुंस* is elided before *लम्* by VIII. 2. 23. had it not been elided, one affix *नम्* would have been taught in the sūtra, and not two.

द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, लुक्, अनपत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगोः संबन्धी निमित्तत्वेन तद्धितः प्राग्विद्यतीयोऽपत्यप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा तस्य लुग्भवति ॥

88. A Taddhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by *luk*, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati* &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase *प्राग्विद्यतः* of IV. 1. 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase *भवनात्* of the last. Thus *पञ्चसु कपलिषु संस्कृतः* = *पञ्चकपालः* 'prepared in five cups.' Similarly *दशकपालः* 'prepared in ten cups.' *द्विवेदः* 'he who studies two Vedas.' *त्रिवेदः* 'who studies three Vedas.' Here the affixes denoting *संस्कृतं* (IV. 2. 16), and *अधीते* (IV. 2. 59) have been elided. Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic."? Observe *द्वेदेवदन्तिः* 'a descendant of two Devadattas.' *त्रेदेवदन्तिः* 'a descendant of three Devadattas.' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati*?" Observe *द्वैपारायणिकः* ॥

The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus *पञ्चकपालस्येदं* = *पञ्चकपालम्* ॥ Or the genitive case in *द्विगोः* may be taken as *sthâna-shashthî*, the sense being 'there is the substitution of *लुक्*-elision in the room of Dvigu,' the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the *affix* which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course; when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided

after such a word, because it becomes a prâtipadika like others, as पांचकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः ? This is not so ; there is no Taddhita added, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः, ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः, पञ्चकपाल्यां संस्कृतः, and पञ्चकपालः (a Samahâra Dvigu). A Samahâra and a Taddhitârtha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः will always remain a वाक्य and never give rise to a Taddhita.

How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in त्रिविद्यः, पाञ्चनदः and पाङ्कुलः ? The word त्रिविद्यः does not mean तिस्रो विद्या अधीते but त्रयवयवा विद्या, त्रिविद्या. त्रिविद्यामधीते = त्रिविद्यः ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः does not mean पञ्चसु नदीषु भवः but पंचानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः = पञ्चनदः, पञ्चनदे भवः = पाञ्चनदः ॥ So also with पाङ्कुलः ॥

Why the affix is not elided in पंचम्यो गङ्गम्य आगतं = पञ्चगङ्गरूप्यम् or पञ्चगङ्गमयम् ? Because the elision of those affixes only take place which begin with a vowel.

गोत्रेऽलुगचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, अलुक्, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रइत्यादिना येषां गोत्रप्रत्ययानां लुगुक्तस्तेषामजादौ प्राग् दीव्यतीये विषयभूते प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

89. The luk-elision of Patronymic (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sûtras II. 4. 63 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dīvyati &c (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of गार्ग्य is गर्गाः (II. 4. 64). But the disciples of गर्गाः will be formed by the affix छ (IV. 21. 114) which is a pragdivyatiya affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix the base will be considered to be गार्ग्यः as if there was no elision. Thus गार्ग्याः + छ = गर्ग्याः (VII. 1. 2 and VI. 4. 151) and not गगीयाः । Similarly वात्सीयाः, आत्रयीयाः, खारपायणीयाः disciples of Vātsyas, Atreya, Khârpāyaṇas.

Why do we say "गोत्रे" i. e. "when the Gotra affix is elided"? Observe कौबलम्, बार्दम् ॥ Here the affix denoting "fruit" is elided by लुक् by Sûtra IV. 3. 163. Then when the pragdivyatiya affix अण् is added, the luk-elision is maintained. Thus the fruit of बदरी is बदरम् ; from which बार्दम् 'belonging to or coming from the jujube-fruit.'

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe गर्गम्य आगतम् = गर्गरूप्यम् and not गार्गरूप्यम् ; and गर्गमयम् ; and not गार्गमयम् ॥ Here the affix रूप्य,

a prâgdivyatiya affix taught in sūtra IV. 3. 81 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to गर्ग and not गार्ग्य ॥ Similarly the next affix मयद् (IV. 3. 82).

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a prâgdivyatiya affix"? Thus गर्गेभ्यो हितम् = गर्गीयम् 'who is fit for the Gargas'. Here the affix छ (V. 1. 1) has the sense of 'suitable for that', as taught in Sūtra V. 1. 5 not one of the prâgdivyatiya senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

The Gotra-affixes are taught to be elided in the plural only: and when after such supposed elision a Singular or Dual Person is intended, this rule will still apply and there will be no elision. Thus बिद् will form its Gotra derivative by अम् (IV. 1. 104) as बिद् + अम् = वैद् ॥ The plural of वैद् will be बिदाः by the elision of अम् ॥ One yuvan or two yuvan descendants of these बिदाः will be formed by the affix इम् (IV. 1. 95), for the application of which the word बिदाः will be supposed not to have lost its अम्, therefore इम् will be added to वैद्, thus वैद् + इम्; then this इम् is elided by II. 4. 58. The resultant form is वैदः, वैदौ ॥ The many descendants (in the plural) of one वैदः or two वैदौ will be बिदाः ॥

यूनि लुक् ॥९०॥ पदानि ॥ यूनि लुक् (अचि)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग् दीव्यत इति वर्तते । अचीति च । प्राग्दीव्यतीयेऽजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते बुद्धिस्थेऽनुत्पन्ने एव युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । तस्मिन्निवृत्ते सति यो यतः प्राप्नोति स ततो भवति ॥

90. There is *luk* elision of the Yuvan Patronymic forming affix (IV. 1. 163) when a prâgdivyatiya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

The elision of the Yuvan affix must take place mentally; having done which, we should then look out for the proper Prâgdivyatiya affix to be added to the word-form thus remaining. Thus the Patronymic (Gotra) of फाण्डाहृत् is फाण्डाहृतिः (IV. 1. 95) formed by adding इम् ॥ The Yuvan form of the latter (by Sūtra IV. 1. 150) will be फाण्डाहृत् ॥ When we intend to add a Prâgdivyatiya affix to this last word, (e. g. an affix having the sense of "the pupils of";) we should first mentally elide the Yuvan affix ण (IV. 1. 150) from this word फाण्डाहृत् ॥ Having done which we get the form फाण्डाहृति; and it is with regard to this form फाण्डाहृति that we should search out what is the proper pupil-denoting affix: and that by sūtra IV. 2. 112 is अण् ॥ Thus फाण्डाहृति + अण् = फाण्डाहृताः 'the pupils of Phāṇṭāhṛitas'. Had we in the first instance applied the pupil denoting affix to the Yuvan word फाण्डाहृत्, such affix would have been छ and not अण्, for the latter is ordained for those cases only where the word ends with the Gotra affix इम् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of भागवित् is भागविति (IV. 1. 25). The

Yuvan of भागवित्ति is भागवित्तिकः (IV. 1. 148). The pupils of Bhâgavittika will be भागवित्ताः by adding the affix अण् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of तिक्र is तैकायनि formed by फिञ् (IV. 1. 154). The Yuvan of तैकायनि is तैकायनीय formed by the affix छ (IV. 1. 149). The word denoting the pupils of तैकायनीय will be formed by adding छ (IV. 2. 114) not to this word, but to तैकायनि ॥ Thus तैकायनीयः ॥

Similarly the Patronymic of कपिञ्जलाह is कपिञ्जलाहिः (IV. 1. 95). The Yuvan derivative of the latter will be कपिञ्जलाय; (IV. 1. 151). The word denoting pupils of the कपिञ्जलाय will be कपिञ्जलाहाः (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly Patronymic from ग्लुचुक is ग्लुचुकायनिः (IV. 1. 160), the Yuvan of the latter is ग्लुचुकायनः (IV. 1. 83); the word denoting the pupils of the latter is ग्लुचुकायनाः by (IV. 2. 112 formed from ग्लुचुकायनि) ॥ Why do we say "an affix beginning with a vowel"? Observe कण्ठाहतरूप्यम् and कण्ठाहतरमयम् ॥ Why do we say "a Prâgdîvyatîya affix"? Observe भागवित्तिकाय हितं = भागावित्तीयम् ॥ (See the last Sûtra).

फक्फिजोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ फक्-फिजोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फक्फिजोर्युवप्रत्ययोः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेऽजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षितेऽन्यतरस्यां लुग् भवति ॥

91. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् when a Prâgdîvyatîya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

By the last sûtra, all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present sûtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ्. Thus the patronymic of गर्ग is गार्ग्य (IV. 1. 105); the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is formed by फक् (IV. 1. 101) गार्ग्यायणः ॥ The word denoting the pupils of Gârgyâṇa will be गार्गीया or गार्ग्यायणीयाः; वात्सीयाः or वात्स्यायनीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix फिञ् (IV. 1. 156). Thus from यस्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV. 1. 112). The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायनि (IV. 1. 146). The pupils of Yâskâyani will be called यास्कीया or यास्कायनीयाः ॥

तस्यापत्यम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-अपत्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थनिर्देशाय, पूर्वैरुत्तराश्च प्रत्ययैरभिसंबद्ध्यते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थात्पत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, प्रकृत्यो भवति प्रकृत्यर्थविशिष्टपञ्चमार्थोऽपत्यमात्रञ्चेह गृह्यते ॥

92. The affix अण् mentioned in IV. 1. 83 and those which follow it denote 'the descendant of some one'.

This sûtra points out the meaning of the affixes; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83) e. g. अण्, ण्य, अम् &c and to the affixes that follow. The affixes herein taught have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which

is in the genitive case. The translation given by Dr. Ballantyne of this aphorism is:—"Let the affixes already mentioned or to be mentioned come optionally in the sense of *the offspring thereof*, after what word ending with the sixth case-affix and having completed its junction (with whatever it may require to be compounded with), is in grammatical relation there to".

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोरपत्यम्; or by adding अण् (IV. 1. 83) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगवः "the offspring of Upagu". आश्वपतः (IV. 1. 84) 'the offspring of अश्वपति', दैत्यः (IV. 1. 85) 'the offspring of Diti' औत्सः (IV. 1. 86) "the offspring of Utsa". स्त्रेणः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a woman'. पौंसः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a man'.

The Universal sūtra तस्येदम् (IV. 3. 120) will include this अपत्य also for the word इदम् may be applied to any-thing like अपत्यं, समूहः, विकारः, निवासः &c. Since by that rule IV. 3. 120 अण् &c, may be applied in the sense of *apatyam* also, what is the necessity of this present sūtra? The present sūtra is made in order to debar those affixes like छ, (IV. 3. 114) which debar the affix अण् &c in the case of तस्येदम् ॥ How can an अशैषिक affix debar a शैषिक affix? The उत्सर्ग affixes अण् &c are treated like शैषिक for this purpose. Thus these affixes अण् (IV. 1. 83-87) debar the छ in the Vṛiddham under certain circumstances. Thus भानोरपत्यं=भानवः, so also श्यामगवः from श्यामगुः (श्यामा गावोऽस्य) ॥

Kārikā तस्येदमित्यपत्येपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

एको गोत्रे ॥ ९३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं, तस्मिन् विवक्षिते भेदेन प्रत्यपत्यं प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिप्रसङ्गे नियमः क्रियते । गोत्रे एक एव भवति, सर्वेऽपत्येन युज्यन्ते ॥

93. The one and the same affix is employed when a more distant descendant, how low so-ever, is to be denoted.

The word Gotra is defined in Sūtra IV. 1. 152 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sūtra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गार्गि (IV. 1. 95). The son of गार्गिः (or in other words the grandson of गर्गः) is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्यः, no new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever, the affix यञ् will be added to the word गर्ग, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sūtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the

base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of गार्ग्य will be formed by adding the affix इञ् not to the base गार्ग्य (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 strictly applied), but to the base गर्ग ॥ So that *one* base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्, यूनि, अस्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयमपि नियमः यून्यपत्ये विवक्षिते गोत्रादेव प्रत्ययो भवति, न परमप्रकृत्यनस्तरयुवभ्यः ॥

94. When a descendant of the description denoted by Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (gotra): but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan, and no new affix is added.

This is also a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Thus the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्यायणः (IV. 1. 101). Similarly दाक्ष्यायणः, दाक्षायणः, दाक्षायणः, औपगाविः, नाडायनिः ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan"? Observe दाक्षी which is the feminine of दाक्षिः (Gotra) as well as of दाक्षायणः (Yuvan). Similarly दाक्षी feminine of दाक्षिः and दाक्षायणः ॥ In short, Yuvan affixes are not added in the feminine. If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the sūtra should be divided in two, e. g. गोत्राद् यूनि प्रत्ययो भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ (1) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

अत इञ् ॥ ९५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यापत्यमित्येव । अकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix इञ् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus दक्षस्यापत्यं = दाक्षिः 'descendant of Daksha'. Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter न् added to अ, by I. 1. 69 and 70)? The descendant of शुभंयाः or कौलालपाः (words which end in long आ) will not be formed by the affix इञ् ॥

The descendant of दशरथ by this sūtra is दाशरथिः, but the form दाशरथ formed by अण् is also met with. As “प्रदीयताम् दाशरथाय मेथिली” ‘Give Sita to the son of Dasaratha.’

बाह्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संभ्रूयाम्भसोः सलोपश्च ॥

वा० ॥ बाह्वादिप्रभृतिषु येषां दर्शनं गोत्रभावे लौकिके ततोऽन्यत्र तेषां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वा० ॥ संबन्धिशब्दानां च तत्सदृशात्प्रातिषेधः ॥

96. The affix इञ् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words ‘Bāhu’ &c.

Thus बाह्विः “a descendant of the clan of Bāhu.” The words ‘Bāhu’ &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इञ्. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra.

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगण).

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपबाहु, 4 निवाहु, 5 शिवाहु, 6 वदाहु, 7 उपनिष्ठु (उपाञ्चि-
ष्ठु) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 चूडा, 11 बलाका, 12 मूषिका, 13 कुशला, 14 भगला (छग-
ला) 15 ध्रुवका, 16 ध्रुवका, 17 सुमित्रा, 18 दुर्मित्रा, 19 पुष्करसद्, 20 अनुहरन्, 21 देवश-
र्मन्, 22 अग्निशर्मन्, 29 भद्रशर्मन्, 24 सुशर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 पञ्चन्, 28 स-
प्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितौजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावन्, 32 उदञ्चु, 33 शिरस्, 34 माष, 35
शाराविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवद्धिन्, 38 शङ्खलतोदिन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमर्दिन्, 41 प्रा-
कार्मर्दिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीगर्त, 44 कृष्ण, 45 युधिष्ठिर, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गद,
49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्क, 52 उदकः संज्ञायाम्, 53 संभ्रूयाम्भसोः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55
चूडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 57 सात्वकिः 58 जाड्यिः 59 ऐन्द्रशर्मिः 60
आजधेनविः इत्यादि ॥

Vārt :—The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इञ् will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाह्वः ॥

Vārt :—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning ‘father-in-law’ is श्वशुर्यः, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वाशुरिः ॥

The च in the sūtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus जाम्बिः, ऐन्द्रशर्मिः, आजधेनविः, आजबन्धविः, औडुलोमिः ॥

सुधातुरकञ् च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधातुः अकञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधातृशब्दादपत्ये इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन च तस्याकडादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यासवरुडनिषादचण्डालबिम्बानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The affix इम् is placed after the word sudhâtri in denoting the descendant, and the ऋं of sudhâtri is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधातुरपत्यम् = सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhâtri.'

Vart.:—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास, वरुड, निषाद, चण्डाल and बिम्ब when the Patronymic इम् is to be added. Thus वैयासकिः, वारुडकिः, नैषादकिः, चाण्डालकिः, बैम्बकिः ॥

गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, कुञ्जादिभ्यः च फञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रसंज्ञके स्पत्ये वाच्ये कुञ्जादिभ्यश्चफञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'Kuñja' &c, when a remoter descendant (called Gotra) is to be denoted.

This debars इम् ॥ Of the affix चफञ् the letter ञ् is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix फञ्; such as in sūtra V. 3. 113, by which the words ending in affix चफञ् take the further affix य (ज्य), in order to form a complete word. The letter ञ् of this affix causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117). Then remains फ् which by sūtra VII. 1. 2, is replaced by आयन् ॥ Thus कुञ्ज + चफञ् = कौञ्ज + आयन् + भ = कौञ्जायन्. This is not a complete word as yet. We must add य by sūtra V. 3. 113. Thus the full word is कौञ्जायन्यः 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is कौञ्जायन्यौ, plural is कौञ्जायनाः; the affix ज्य being elided by II. 5. 62, in the plural, it being an affix of the तद्गज class (IV. 1. 174). Similarly ब्रौधायन्यः, ब्रौधायन्यौ, ब्राधायनाः ॥

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जिः "the son of Kuñja". Here इम् is added by IV. 1. 95 in denoting immediate descendant. There is difference in the accent of these words, in the different numbers. Thus in the singular and dual, the accent will be regulated by the latter ञ् of the affix ज्य which is added in those numbers. But this affix being elided in the plural, the accent there will be regulated by the letter च of चफञ् ॥ That is to say, in the singular and dual, the udâtta will fall on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197); in the plural, it will fall on the last syllable (VI. 1. 164).

The word गोत्रे of this sūtra governs the succeeding sūtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112: so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sūtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

1 कुञ्ज, 2 ब्रध, 3 शङ्ख, 4 भस्मन् 5 गण, 6 लोमन्, 7 शट, 8 शाक, 9 शुण्डा, 10 शुभ, 11 विपाश्, 12 स्कन्द, 13 स्कम्भ, 14 शकट. 15 शुम्भा, 16 शिव, 17 शुभंयि ॥

नडादिभ्यः फक् ॥ ९९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नड and the rest.

Thus नाडायनः (नड + फक् = नाड + आयन VII. 2. 118 and VII. 1. 2). Similarly चारायनः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नड will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word शलंकु is changed to शलंक before this affix. Thus शालंकायनः ॥ The word शालंकिः occurs in पैलादि class II. 4. 59, the Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus शालंकिः is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes इङ् by IV. 1. 96, as belonging to Bāhvādi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word अग्निशर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e. g. अग्निशर्मायनः = वार्ष्णिगण्यः ; otherwise the form will be अग्निशर्मन् ॥ The word कृष्ण will form काष्ण्यायनः when a Brāhmaṇa is meant ; otherwise कार्ष्णिः, so also राणायनः = वासिष्ठः, otherwise राजिः ॥ The word क्रोष्टु is changed to क्रोष्ट as क्रोष्टायनः ॥

1 नड, 2 चर, (वर) 3 बक, 4 मुंज, 5 इतिक, 6 इतिश, 7 उपक, 8 एक, 9 लमक । 10 शलंकु शलङ्क च । 11 सप्तल, 12 वाजप्य, 13 तिक । 14 अग्निशर्मन्वृषगणे । 15 ग्राण 16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 दास, 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किंकर, 24 किङ्कल, 25 कातर, 26 कातल, 27 काश्यप (कुश्यप) 28 काश्य, 29 काल्य (काव्य) 30 अज, 31 अमुष्य (अमुष्म) 32 कृष्णरणौ ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठे । 33 अमित्र, 34 लिगु, 35 चित्र, 36 कुमार, 37 क्रोष्टु क्रोष्ट च । 38 लोहं, 39 वुर्ग, 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिशाफा, 42 अय, 43 तृण, 44 शकट, 45 सुमनस, 46 सुमत, 47 मिमत, 48 ऋच, 49 जलंधर, 50 अश्वर, 51 युगंधर, 52 हंसक, 53 हण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पिण्ड, 56 पंचाल, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्य, 59 स्थिरक, 60 ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बर, 63 अश्वल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्क, 66 इन्ध, 67 अल, 68 कामुक, 69 ब्रह्मवत्, 70 उवुम्बर, 71 शोण, 72 अलोह, 73 हण्डप, 74 जन्, 75 अश्वक, 76 वानव्य, 77 नाव्य, 78 अन्वजत, 79 अन्तजन, 80 इस्वरा, 81 अंशक, 82 याम, 83 काम, 84 वात ॥

हरितादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ हरित-आदिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरितादिर्बिंशत्यन्तर्गणः । हरितादिभ्योऽञ्न्तेभ्योपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix फक् comes after the words हरिन् &c, when they end in the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 104).

The words हरिन् &c, form a subdivision of चिद् class, which class by IV. 1. 104 takes the affix अञ् in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरिन् will be हारित (हरिन् + अञ्). The son of हारित will be formed by this sūtra and not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हारित + फक् = हारितायनः "the son of Hārita or the great-grandson of Hārita". In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sūtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes ; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 one Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra affix

अम् will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

यजिञोश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञ्-इञोः, च, (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्तादिञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकादपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. The affix फक् is added in denoting a descendant after a Nominal-stem ending in the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक् of this sūtra has, like that of the preceding sūtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गर्ग + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = गार्ग्यः ॥ गार्ग्य + फक् = गार्ग्यायणः ॥ वक्ष + इञ् = वक्षिः ; वक्षि + फक् = वक्षायणः ॥ It is not every word which ends in यञ् or इञ् which takes the Yuvan affix फक् ; but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV. 3. 10 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप + यञ् = द्वीप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतंगम &c, the force of the affix being चातुरर्थिक ॥ Thus सौतंगमिः. This word will not take the affix फक् ॥

शरद्वत्तुनकदर्भाद्भृगुवत्साग्रायणेषु ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरद्वत्, शुनक, दर्भा-
त्, भृगु, वत्स, आग्रायणेषु (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव । शरद्वत् शुनक दर्भ इत्येतेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं भृगुवत्साग्रा-
यणेष्वर्थेष्वपत्यविशेषेषु ॥

102. The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant after the words 'saradvat', 'sunaka', and 'darbha', when they denote the descendants of Bhrigu, Vatsa and Agrâyana respectively.

Thus शारद्वतावनः = भार्गवः otherwise शरद्वतः (formed by अम्) शौनकायनः = वात्स्यः ; otherwise शौनकः, शर्भायणः = आग्रायणः, otherwise शर्भिः, (formed by इञ् IV. 1. 95).

The words शरद्वत् and शुनक belonging to बिदादि class would by IV. 1. 104 have taken the affix अम् in denoting Gotra, the present sūtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins फक् instead.

द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोण, पर्वत, जीवन्तात्, अ-
न्यतरस्याम् (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव । द्रोणादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्यदन्यतरस्यां फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix फक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words 'Drona,' 'parvata,' and 'jivanta.'

This debars इञ् of IV. 1. 95. Thus द्रोणायनः or द्रोणिः, पार्वतायनः or पार्वतिः जैवन्तायनः or जैवन्तिः ॥

The affix फक् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अश्वत्थामा the son of Droṇa, called द्रोणायनः and not द्रोणिः in the phrase “अश्वत्थामा द्रोणायनः”? The द्रोण here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhârât, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्रोणायनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthâmâ was called Drauṇâyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

अनृष्यानन्तर्ये विदादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनृषि-आनन्तर्ये, विदादिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रइत्येव । विदादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्येऽन्प्रत्ययो भवति । ये पुनरत्रानृषिशब्दाः पुत्रादयस्तेभ्योऽनन्तरापत्य एव भवति । अनृष्यानन्तर्यइत्यस्यायमर्थः, अनृषिभ्योऽनन्तरे भवतीति ॥

104. The affix अञ् comes after the words ‘Bida’ &c, in denoting a remote (Gotra) descendant : but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting immediate descendant.

This Sûtra consists of four words : अनृषि “non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage” ; आनन्तर्ये ‘in expressing an *immediate* descendant.” विदादिभ्य “after Bidâdi words” अञ् “the affix अञ्.” Thus of the words falling in Bidâdi class, the words like पुत्र ‘son,’ दुहितृ daughter,’ ननान्दृ ‘sister-in-law’ are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix अञ् is added to these words, it has the force of denoting immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र + अञ् = पौत्रः ‘grand-son.’ दुहिन् + अञ् = दौहित्रः “daughter’s son.” But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix अञ् makes the Gotra descendants. Thus विद् + अञ् = वैदः ‘the grandson or a descendant lower than that of Bida.’

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes, we come to this two-fold meaning of this sûtra? To this we reply, that the phrase अनृष्यानन्तर्ये should be thus construed. The word ‘anṛishi’ is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word आनन्तर्य is the same as अनन्तर, the affix ण्यङ् being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like पौत्र &c. denote the *immediate* (anantara) descendant of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (gotra), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means :—‘after a Bidâdi word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix ‘añ’ is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant.’

Q. Another way of explaining the phrase is this, the word 'ānantarya' is equal to 'nairantarya' = 'uninterrupted succession.' Therefore, where there is an uninterrupted succession of Rishis between the first name and the person to be designated by a Patronymic, there the affix 'añ' will not be added. Thus the word कश्यप belongs to the Bidādi class. 'Indrabhū' a seventh descendant of Kaśyapa, will not be denoted by काश्यप formed with अञ्, because between इन्द्रभू and कश्यप, there is an unbroken series of Rishis, but by अण् of IV. 1. 114. Therefore the following phrase will be valid इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ For अञ् is elided in the plural by II. 4. 64, but काश्यपानाम् is plural of काश्यप formed with the general patronymic अण् of IV. 1. 114 and hence not elided.

A. This explanation is not to be preferred, merely in order to explain the word काश्यपानाम् in इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ The general Patronymic ऋषि affix अण् of IV. 1. 114 is not debarred by this अञ् ॥ Therefore काश्यप with अञ् will denote इन्द्रभूः, which may also be denoted by काश्यप formed with अण् ॥ For had the above explanation been correct, then विश्वामित्र the grandson of Kusika could never be called कौशिकः (formed with अञ्), for both Gādhi the father of Viśvāmitra, and Kuśika the grand-father were Rishis.

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words विद् &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus विद् forms वैदि 'a descendant of Bida' by IV. 1. 96 इञ् and not by ऋष्यण् of IV. 1. 114, because विद् is supposed to belong to the Akṛtigāṇa of Bāhvādi.

1 विद्, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज, 6 उपमन्त्र, 7 किलात, 8 कन्दर्प (किर्धर्भ) 9 विश्वानर, 10 ऋषिषेण (ऋषिदेशेण) 11 ऋतभाग, 12 हर्यश्व, 13 प्रियक्र, 14 आपस्तम्ब, 15 कूचवार, 16 शरद्वन्, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिशु, 21 बिन्दु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शमिक, 25 अश्रावतान, 26 श्यामाक, 27 श्यानक, 28 श्यावलि, 29 श्यापर्ण, 30 हरित, 31 किंदास, 32 बह्यस्क, 33 अर्कजृष (अर्कलूक) 34 बध्योग, 35 विष्णु, 36 वृद्ध, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रचित, 39 रथीतर (रथन्तर) 40 गविष्ठिर, 41 निषाद, 42 शबर, 43 अलस, 44 मठर, 45 मृडाकु, 46 सृपाकु, 47 मृदु, 48 पुनर्भू, 49 पूत्र, 50 दुहितृ, 51 ननान्क, 52 परस्त्री परशु च । 53 किलालप, 54 सम्बक, 55 श्यायक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु when taking the affix अञ् ॥ Thus परास्त्रिया अपत्यं = पारशवः (the son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Śūdra woman, who though married to the Brāhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशतिकादि (VII. 3. 20) and कल्याण्यादि (IV. 1. 126) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्त्रियेयः, with double vriddhi of both members by VII. 3. 20: which does not take place in the case of पारशवः ॥

गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ १०५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रहन्त्येव । गर्गादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्यः, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वास्त्यः &c.

1 गर्ग, 2 वत्स, 3 वाजसे, 4 संस्कृति, 5 अज, 6 व्याघ्रपान्, 7 विदभृन्, 8 प्राचीनयोग, 9 अणस्ति, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस, 12 रभ, 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शंख, 15 शट, 16 शक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 अवट, 20 मनस्, 21 धनंजय, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 जरमाण, 25 लोहित, 26 शंसित, 27 बभ्र, 28 वल्गु, 29 मण्डु, 30 गण्डु, 31 शंकु, 32 लिगु, 33 गुहलु, 34 मन्तु, 35 मंशु, 36 अलिगु, 37 जिगीषु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्तु, 40 मनायी, 41 सूनु, 42 कथक, 43 कथ्यक, 44 ऋक्ष, 45 तृक्ष (वृक्ष) 46 तनु, 47 तरुक्ष, 48 तलुक्ष, 49 तण्ड, 50 वतण्ड, 51 कपिकत, 52 कत, 53 कष, 54 भूत, 55 कुरुकत, 56 अनडुह, 57 कवि, 58 पुरुकुत्स, 59 शक्ति, 60 कण्व, 61 शकल, 62 गोकक्ष, 63 अगस्त्य, 64 कुण्डिनी 65 यज्ञवल्क्य, 66 पर्णवल्क, 67 अभयजात, 68 विरोहित, 69 वृषगण, 70 रहूगण, 71 शण्डिल, 72 वर्णक (चणक) 73 चुलुक, 77 मुद्गल, 75 सुसल, 76 जमदग्नि, 77 पराशर, 78 जतृकर्ण (जातृकर्ण) 79 महित, 80 मन्त्रित, 81 अमरथ, 82 शर्कराक्ष, 83 पृतिमाष, 84 स्थूरा, 85 अदरक (अररक) 86 एलाक, 87 पिङ्गल, 88 कृष्ण, 89 गालन्द, 90 उलूक, 91 तितिक्ष, 92 भिषज (भिषज्) 93 भिषणज, 94 भडित, 95 भाण्डत, 96 दल्भ, 97 चैकित, 98 चिकित्सित, 99 देवहू, 100 इन्द्रहू, 101 एकलू, 102 पिप्पल, 103 वृहदग्नि, 104 सुलोहिन्, 105 सुलाभिन्, 106 उक्थ, 107 कुटिगु, 108 संहित, 109 पथ, 110 कण्ठु, 111 भ्रुव, 112 कर्कटक, 113 रुक्ष, 114 प्रचूल, 115 बिलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

The word मनु is found in the लोहितादि sublist of this class. It ought to take ष्फ after यञ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 18, how then the form मानवी in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix यञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no shpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्यः which is a Name of Parasúram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyâsa the son of Parâsara is called पाराशर्यः ? These are exceptions formed by गोत्र रूपाभ्यारोपः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatya forms are by ऋष्यण् (IV. 1. 114) i. e. जामदग्नः and पाराशरः ॥

मधुबभ्रोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधु, बभ्रोः, ब्राह्मण-कौशिकयोः (यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुशब्दाद्बभ्रु शब्दाच्च गोत्रापत्ये यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं ब्राह्मणे कौशिके वाच्ये ॥

106. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and बभ्रु when the words so formed mean 'Brâhmana' and 'a Kausika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brâhmana.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu." बाभ्रव्यः = कौशिकः Otherwise बाभ्रवः ॥

The word बभ्रु belongs to the Gargâdi class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sūtra also. The present sūtra declares a restriction, viz. बभ्रु takes यञ् only then when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargâdi class serves another purpose : as it belongs to the sub-class लोहितादि, the rule IV. 1. 18 becomes applicable to it; so that its feminine is formed by ष्फ. Thus बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥ In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapātha, instead of writing बभ्रु alone, there was बभ्रु कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sūtra.

कपिवोधादाङ्गिरसे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, बोधात्, आङ्गिरसे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपिवोधादाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + यञ् = काप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras.' So also बोधः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras? Observe कापेयः (IV. 1. 122) "the gotra-descendant of Kapi" so also बोधिः formed by इञ् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bāhvādi (IV. 1. 96) class.

The word कपि occurs in Gargâdi class. The present sūtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargâdi class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1, 18. Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi."

वतण्डाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वतण्डात्, च, (गोत्रे, यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डादाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

108. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word 'वतण्ड,' when meaning a descendant of Angirasa.

Thus वतण्ड्यः = आंगिरसः, otherwise वतण्डः ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105) and in the Śivâdi class (IV. 1. 112). It would have taken both affixes अञ् and अण्. The present sūtra declares that when it means an Angirasa, then वतण्ड will not take अण् of the शिवीदि class: and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both these affixes e. g. वतण्ड्यः and वतण्डः any descendant of Vâtaṇḍa.

लुक् स्त्रियाम् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डादाङ्गिरस्यां स्त्रियां यञ् प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

109. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतण्डः we get वतण्ड्य in the masculine. In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वतण्ड्य + डीन् (IV. 1. 73) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vataṇḍa of the clan Aṅgīrasa." Why do we say "of Aṅgīrasa?" Observe वतण्ड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitādi rule (V. 1. 18). When वतण्ड takes अण् under Śivādi class, its feminine is वतण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with अण् yet in the feminine, there is not व्यङ् substitution (IV. 1. 78), because Vataṇḍa is a Rishi-Name.

अश्वदिभ्यः फञ् ॥ १० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इति निवृत्तम् । अश्वदिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अश्व &c.

The anuvṛitti of āṅgīrasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus अश्व-1-फञ् = अश्व-1-आयन (VII. 1. 2) = आश्वायनः (VII. 2. 117) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'. Similarly आश्वमायनः There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g. आत्रेय, वैल्य, and आनडुह्य ॥ After these words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix. The word आत्रेय is formed by अत्रि + ढक् (IV. 1. 122), वैल्य = विलि (a Rajarshi)-1-ज्यङ् (IV. 1. 171), and आनडुह्य = अनडुह + यञ् (IV. 1. 105). The word शय takes phaṇ only when it denotes an Atreya, as शयायनः, otherwise शायिः with इण् or शायः with अण् ॥ The word जात takes 'phaṇ' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted, as जातस्यापत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातियः with ढक् ॥ The word आत्रेय takes 'phaṇ' when denoting a Bhâradvâja, as आत्रेयायनः, otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, leaving the form आत्रेयः ॥

The words भरद्वाज आत्रेये of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhâradvâja Gotra, then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhâradvâja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with अञ् of IV. 1. 104.

1 अश्व 2 अहम् 3 शंख 4 शूद्रक 5 विद 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 खजूर (खजूर) 9 खण्डार 10 बस्त 11 पित्रूल 12 भडिल 13 भण्डिल 14 भडित 15 भण्डित 16 प्रकृत 17 रामोद 18 क्षान्त 19 काश 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलांक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट 25 चक्र 26 अविष्ट 27 पविन्द 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 इयाम 31 धूम 32 धूम 33 वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कुट 36 शप आत्रेये 37 जन 38 जड 39 खड 40 मीष्म 41 अर्ह 42 कित 43 विशंप 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 चुप 48 दासक 49 वैल्य 50 (वैल्य) प्राच्य 51 धर्म्य 52 आनडुह्य 53 पुंसि जाते 54 अर्जुन 55 प्रहंत 56 सुमनस् 57 र्मनस 58 नम 59

(मनस्) प्रान्त 60 ध्वन 61 आत्रेय भरद्वाज 62 भरद्वाज आत्रेये 63 उत्स 64 आतव 65 कितव 66 वद
67 धन्य 68 पाद 69 शिव 70 खदिर 71 भण्डक 72 मीवा 73 कुल 74 काण 75 नड 76
वीक्ष्य, 77 वह, 78 खेड, 79 नत्त 80 ओजस, 81 नम ॥

भर्गात्त्रैगर्ते ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भर्गशब्दावपत्ये विशेषे त्रैगर्ते गोत्रे फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'फञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta.

Thus भर्गायणः = त्रैगर्तः ; otherwise भार्गः (IV. 1. 95).

शिवादिभ्योण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव-आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इति निवृत्तम् । अतः प्रभृति सामान्येन प्रत्यया विज्ञायन्ते । शिवादिभ्योऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्यया भवति ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word गोत्रे (IV. 1. 98) does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अण् debars इञ् &c, Thus शिव-अण् = शैवः 'a descendant of Śiva'. Similarly प्रौष्ठः ॥

The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class ; being a common noun denoting an artisan, it would have taken the affix इञ् by IV. 1, 153 ; the present sūtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्य ordained by IV. 1. 152. Thus तक्षन्-अण् = ताक्षणः ॥ तक्षन्-ण्य = ताक्षण्यः ॥ The अ is elided by VI. 4. 134. The word गङ्गा occurs in this class, as well as in Subhrâdi class IV, 1. 123) and Tikâdi (IV. 1. 154). There are thus three forms of this word :—गाङ्गः ; गाङ्गायनिः and गाङ्गेयः ॥ The word विपाशा occurs in this class as well as in Kuñjâdi class (IV. 1. 98) It has thus two forms : वैपाशः and वैपाशायन्यः with chphañ.

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river: the affix ढक् (IV. 1. 121) would have debarred the तन्नामिक अण् of (IV. 1. 113) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river name त्रिवेणी would be formed by अण् (IV. 1. 113), as त्रैवेणः but this is replaced by त्रिवणः ॥

1 शिव 2 प्रोष्ठ 3 प्रोष्ठिक 4 चण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 ण्ड 8 कुठार 9 ककुभ् (ककुभा) 10 अन-
भिम्बान् 11 क्राहन् 12 सुख 13 संधि 14 मुनि 15 ककुस्थ 16 क्रोड 17 कोहड 18 कहुय 19 कहय
20 रोध 21 कर्पिजल (कुपिजल) 22 खंजन 23 वतण्ड 24 हणकण 25 क्षरिह्व 26 जलह्व 27 परिल

28 पाषिक 29 पिष्ट 30 हेह्य 31 पार्षिका 32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 जटिलिका 35 वर्धिरिका 36 मंजीरक 37 38 मांजरक 39 वृष्णिक 40 खंजार 41 खंजाल 42 कर्मारं 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 आलेखन 46 विश्ववण 47 खण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 ग्रीवाक्ष 50 वितप 51 पिटक 52 पिटाक 53 तक्षाक 54 नभाक 55 ऊर्णनाभ 56 जरत्कार 57 पृथा 58 उत्क्षेप 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुरोहितिका 61 सुरोहिका 62 आये-
श्वेत (अर्यश्वेत) 63 सुपिट 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जुरकर्ण 67 खट्वरक 68 तक्षन् 69 ऋष्टिषणे 70 गंगा 71 विपाश 72 यस्क 73 लह्य 74 दृह्य 75 अयःस्थूल 76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 पर्ण 78 भल-
न्वन 73 विरूपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 हला 82 सपत्नी 83 द्वयो नद्याः 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवणं च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कर्वाध, 88 गोभिलिक 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 वडाक, 92 परल ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिश्चस्याचामादिस्तद्वाद्भम् । अवृद्धाभ्यः इति शब्दधर्मः । नदीमानुषीभ्य इत्यर्थधर्म, स्तेनाभेदा-
स्पृक्ततयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । तन्नामिकाभ्य इति सर्वनाम्ना प्रत्ययप्रकृतेः प्रत्ययवर्शः । अवृद्धानि यानि नदीनां
मानुषीणां च नामधेयानि तेषां ऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । ढको ऽपवादः ॥

113. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a des-
cendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women,
when such words are not Vriddham words; and when they
are used as names and not as adjectives.

The word Vriddham in the sūtra, does not mean the technical Pat-
ronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sūtras like
IV. 1. 166, but means the Vriddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word
whose first syllable is a Vriddhi letter (I. 1. 73). The word अवृद्धाभ्यः shows the
orthography of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदी-
मानुषीभ्यः declares the *meaning* of that word and both attributes refer to one
and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vriddhi letter
in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river.
The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः 'a son of the Yamunā.' ऐरावत 'son of the Irāvati.'
वैतस्तः 'son of the Vitastā.' नर्मदः 'son of the Narmaddā.' These are all *names*
of rivers. Similarly शैक्षितः 'son of Śikshitā' चैन्तित 'son of चिन्तिता' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vriddha word'? Observe चान्द्रभाग्याया
अपत्यं = चान्द्रभागेयः ; so also वासवदत्तेयः formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 120). Why do we say
being 'names of rivers or women.' Observe सौपर्णेयः and वैनतेयः ॥ Why do we
say "when it is a *name*?" Observe शोभनाया अपत्यं = शौभनेयः 'the son of a beautiful
woman.'

ढक् (IV. 1. 120) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed
from feminine bases. The present sūtra is an exception to that.

ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ ११४ ॥ ऋषि, अन्धक, वृष्णि, कुरुभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषयः प्रसिद्धा वसिष्ठादयः । अन्धका वृष्णयः कुरव इति वंशाख्या । ऋष्यादिर्कुर्वन्तेभ्यः प्राप्ति-
परिकेभ्यो ऽपत्ये ऽणप्रत्ययो भवती, जोऽपवादः ।

114. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vrishni, and Kuru.

This debars the affix इञ् ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvamitra &c. Thus वासिष्ठः, वैश्वामित्रः ॥ So also श्वाकः, राक्षसः being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka ; and वासुदेवः, आनुरुद्धः being persons belonging to the family of Vrishṇi, and नकुलः, साहदेवः being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

The word आत्रि is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic; the present sūtra enjoins अण् ; but IV. 1. 122 enjoins ढक् ; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim c' interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of आत्रि will be formed not by अण् but by ढक् ॥ Thus आत्रेयः ॥ Similarly उदयेन a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औपसेन्यः IV. 1. 152 by ण्य ; and not by अण्, so also वैश्वकसेन्य 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vrishṇi, family ; so also भैमसेन्यः 'son of Bhīmasena' a person of Kuru family.

Note.—The words or sabdās are eternal ; how is it then that rules applying to them should be made dependant upon their occurring in particular families or not, when families themselves are non-eternal ? In other word, how a rule affecting a permanent object is conditioned by an impermanent adjunct ? To this, some reply that Pāṇini has by mere coincidence (and not as cause and effect) classified certain definite number of words as belonging to certain families, and then the rule made applicable to them. Moreover a permanent object is sometimes designated by an impermanent object : as the permanent time is designated by the name of Saka. Others say that the families of Andhaka &c., are also permanent, and the words 'Nakula' 'Sahadeva' &c., found therein are, of course, permanent.

मातृसंख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, उतः, संख्या, सम्, भद्र, पूर्वायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृशब्दसंख्यापूर्वत्विपूर्वाद्भद्रपूर्वाच्चापत्ये ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति, उकारश्चान्तादेशः ।

115. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word mātṛi when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words सम् or भद्र; and the letter उ is substituted for the final ऋ of mātṛi.

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्वैमातुरः "son of two mothers i. e. son of one and adopted by another." द्विमातृ + अण् = द्वैमातृ + उ + अ = द्वैमातृ + उ + र् + अ (I. 1. 51.) Similarly षण्मातुरः, सांमातुरः, and भाद्रमातुरः ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short उ for the

क् of मातृ; for the word मातृ would have taken the affix अण् by the general rule IV. 1. 83. The sūtra contains the word पृथ्व्याः in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word मातृ denotes female. Thus संमिमीति = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be संमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'. Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सौमात्रः 'son of Sumâtri'. The word वैमात्रेयः is formed by IV. 1. 123 as belonging to Subhrâdi class.

कन्यायाः कनीन च ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्याशब्दादपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ढकोपवाद् : । तत्सन्नियोगेन कनीनशब्दआदेशो भवति ॥

116. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'Kanyâ'.

Thus कन्याया अपत्यं = कनीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz Karna or Vyasa'. This debars the ढक् of IV. 1. 121. The word कन्या means a virgin, the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. मुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् वा प्रयोगेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यथा कुन्ती, यथा सत्यवती ॥

विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलात्, वत्स, भरद्वाज, अत्रिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशुङ्गछगलशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिष्वपत्यविशेषेष्वण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, and छगल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvâja and Atri respectively.

Thus वैकर्णः = वात्सः otherwise वैकर्णिः ॥ शौङ्गः = भारद्वाजः, otherwise शौङ्गिः ॥ छगलः = आत्रेयः, otherwise छगलिः ॥

In some texts the word शुङ्गा is used and not शुङ्ग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौङ्गेयः, by IV. 1. 120 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः ॥

पीलाया वा ॥ ११८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पीलाया अपत्ये वाण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant.

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by

IV. 1. 113; but this अण् would have been prohibited by IV. 1. 121 as it is a dissyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Thus पैलः or पैलेयः 'son of Pīlā.'

ढक् च मण्डूकात् ॥ ११९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मण्डूकशब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix ढक् comes optionally in the sense of a descendant after the word मण्डूक as well as the affix अण् ॥

Thus we get three forms, मण्डूक + ढक् = माण्डूकेयः; मण्डूक + अण् = माण्डूकः; मण्डूक + इम् = माण्डुकिः ॥

स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् ॥ १२० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति । स्त्रीभ्योऽपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ वडवाया वृषे वाच्ये ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अण् कुञ्चाकोकिलात्सुतः ॥

120. Words ending in the feminine affixes take the affix ढक् in forming their Patronymic.

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes णप् &c.' That is, words ending in long आ and ई of the feminine. Thus विनता + ढक् = वैनतेयः (IV. 1. 2). So also सौपर्णेयः "Son of Vinatā or Suparnī". But ऐडविडः and हारहः formed by अण् meaning sons of ऐडविड and हरह, for though these words are feminine, they do not end in feminine affix.

Vart.—The affix ढक् comes after वडवा when meaning वृष ॥ Thus वाडवेयः = वृषः "bull." Here 'dhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be वाडवः 'the son of a mare.'

Vart.—The feminine words कुञ्चा and कोकिला take the affix अण् in forming the patronymic. Thus क्रौञ्चः "the son of a curlew." कौकिलाः "the son of a cuckoo."

द्वयचः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-अचः (स्त्रीभ्यां ढक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

Thus दत्ताया अपत्यं = दत्तेयः 'son of Dattā', गौपेयः "son of Gopi". This debarb the अण् of IV. 1. 113.

Why do we say 'having two vowels?' Observe बाहुनः 'son of बाहुना', which is a trisyllabic word, and not dissyllabic.

इतश्चानिजः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, अन्, इजः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चकारो द्वय इत्यस्यानुकर्षणार्थः । इकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादिनिजान्तादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इम् ॥

The anuvṛtti of 'stri' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sūtra is to draw the anuvṛtti of the word द्वचः of the last sūtra. Thus आत्रेयः 'the son of Atri'. नैधेयः 'the son of निधिः' ।

Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe दाक्षिः "son of दक्ष" ॥ Here दक्ष though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इम्'? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of दाक्षि' ॥ Here though दाक्षि is a dissyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix ढक् for इ here is the affix इम् (IV. I. 95.); so also प्लाशायनः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मरीचिः "son of मरीचिः"

शुभ्रादिभ्यश्च ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुभ्र-आदिभ्यः, च (ढक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभ्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

123. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

This debars इम् and other affixes. The word च in the sūtra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ढक्, as it is an आकृतिगणः ॥ For though the words गंगा, पाण्डव are not in the list, we find still forms like गंगेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = शोभ्रेयः ॥

1 शुभ्र, 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शलाथल, (शलाचल) 6 शलाकाध्रु, 7 लेखाध्रु, (लेखाध्र), 8 विकंसा, (विकास), 9 राहिणी, 10 रुक्मिणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 विश्, 13 शालूक, 14 अजवरित, 15 शक्राधि, 16 विमान्, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक, 19 विश, 20 देवतर 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक, 23 उग्र, 24 ज्ञातल (ज्ञातल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सूकण्ड, 27 विलि, 28 अतिथि, 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकण्ड, 32 शालाहर, 33 पद्मपुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणद्वयमयोर्वीरसिद्धि, 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अजीव, 39 प्रवाहण, 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम, 42 सूकण्ड, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 आलीढ, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदक्ष, 49 सुवक्षस्, 50 सुदामन्, 51 कटु, 52 तुल, 53 अकशाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुडारिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्वाशिर, 59 परिधि, 60 वायुवत्, 61 शकल, 62 शलाका, 63 खड्ग, 64 कुंवरिका, 65 अशोका, 66 गन्धपिङ्गला, 67 खडोन्मन्ता, 68 अनुदन्तिन्, (अनुदन्ति) 69 जरातिन्, 70 बलीवर्हिन्, 71 विम, 72 वीज, 73 जीव, 74 ध्वन्, 75 अश्मन्, 76 अश्व, 77 अजिर, 78 शलावर, 79 शलाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मद्यष्ट, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकयु, 86 यमदु, 87 कटु, 88 सूकण्ड, 89 शुव, 90 रुव, 91 कुशेरिका, 92 शवल, 93 अजिन ॥

विकर्णकुपीतकात्काश्यपे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, कुपीतकात् काश्यपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशब्दशब्दकुपीतकशब्दशब्द काश्यपे उपत्यविशेषे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

124. The affix ढक् comes after the words 'Vikarna' and 'Kushita', when they mean the descendants of Kāsyapa.

Thus वैकर्णेयः and कौषतिकेयः = काश्यपः; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौषी-
ताकः formed by IV. 1. 95.

भुवो बुक् च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, बुक्, च (ढक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ भूशब्दादपत्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च बुगागमः ।

125. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word भू and the augment बुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus भू + ढक् = भू + बुक् + ढक् (I. 1. 46) = भूव् + ढक् = भ्रैवियः (VII. 1. 2)

कल्याण्यादीनामिनङ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कल्याणी-आदीनाम्, इनङ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कल्याणी इत्येवमासीनां शब्दानामपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च इनङादेशः ॥

126. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इनङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sūtra teaches merely the substitution of इनङ्, for they would have taken the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 120. But in the case of other words, the Sūtra teaches both the substitution of इनङ् and the addition of ढक्.

Thus कल्याणी + ढक् = कल्याणिन् + ढक् = कल्याणिनेयः 'son of Kalyāṇī.' सुभगा + ढक् = सुभागन् + ढक् = सुभागिनेयः ॥ Similarly दौर्भागिनेयः ॥ In these last two words, there is Vriddhi of both the initial vowel उ and the second vowel अ of भ. This is done by the special rule VII. 3. 19.

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुव्रष्टि, 6 अनुसृति (अनुसृष्टि) • जरती,
8 बलीवर्दी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्यमा, 12 परस्त्री ॥

कुलदाया वा ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलदायाः, वा (ढक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कुलदाया अपत्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वा इनङादेशो भवति । आदेशार्थं वचनं प्रत्ययः पूर्वणव सिद्धः ।

127. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलदा, and इनङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलदा means literally one who wanders (अवति) from one family (कुल) to another i. e. an unchaste woman. This sūtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलदा would have taken ढक् by the general rule IV. 1. 120. Thus कुलदा + ढक् = कुलदिन् + ढक् = कौलदिनेयः or कौलदेयः 'son of an unchaste woman.' This word कुलदा being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 131. Thus कौलदेरः ॥

चटकाया ऐरक् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चटकायाः, ऐरक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चटकाया अपत्ये ऐरक् प्रत्ययो भवति । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चटकाचेति वक्तव्यम् । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्रियामपत्ये लुक्प्रत्ययः ॥

128. The word चटका takes the affix ऐरक् in forming the patronymic.

Thus चाटकैरः 'son of Chaṭakā'.

Vārt:—So also after the masculine word चटक् ॥ Thus चाटकैरः 'son of Chaṭaka'.

Vārt:—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-elision of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका will be चटका, the दाप् being added as belonging to Ajādi class IV. 1. 4.

गोधाया द्रक् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोधायाः, द्रक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये द्रक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'द्रक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + द्रक् = गोधैरः ॥ Of the affix 'ḍhrak', the letter द्र् is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2), क् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) and makes the udātta accent fall on the final (IV. 1. 165). Thus the real affix is एय्र्, but the य् is elided by VI. 1. 66 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Subhrādi class IV. 1. 123, also, thus it takes the affix 'ḍhak' as well. Thus गोधैयः ॥

आरगुदीचाम् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ आरक्, उदीचाम् (गोधायाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन आरक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

130. The affix 'आरक्', comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians.

Thus गोधैरः ॥ It might be objected that the आरक् contain the letter अ unnecessarily, for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the very fact that Pāṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix रक् would not suffice. Thus the words जड and ण्ड also take this affix, as जाडारः, णण्डारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for the sake of showing respect only.

शुद्राभ्यो वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुद्राभ्यः, वा (द्रक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुद्रा अङ्गहीना धर्महीनाश्च । अर्थधर्मेन ननुभिधायन्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः प्रकृतयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । क्षुद्राभ्यो वाप्तये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting mean objects.

The anuvritti of ढक् is to be read in this sūtra, and not of आरक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. The word क्षुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. This sūtra debars ढक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेरः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेशः, दासेरः or दासेयः 'son of a female-slave'.

पितृष्वसुहृच्छण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृष्वसुः, छण् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुहृच्छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृष्वसु'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसु + छण् = पैतृष्वसेयः 'the son of the father's sister'. The छ of the affix is replaced by ईय ॥

ढकि लोपः ॥ १३६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरपत्यप्रत्यये ढकि परतो लोप भवति ॥

133. The final vowel of 'पितृष्वसु' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृष्वसु + ढक् = पैतृष्वसेयः ॥ This sūtra indicates by jñāpaka that the word पितृष्वसु takes the affix 'dhak' also.

मातृष्वसुश्च ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृष्वसुः, च (छण्, ढकि लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरित्येतदपेक्षते, पितृष्वसुर्यदुक्तं तन्मातृष्वसुरपि भवति । छण्प्रत्ययो ढकि लोपश्च ॥

134. So also, after the word 'मातृष्वसु' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics.

The Sūtras IV. I. 132, 133 above apply to मातृष्वसु also. As मातृष्वसेयः or मातृष्वसेयः 'the son of a mother's sister'.

चतुष्पादो ढञ् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्-पादभ्यः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादभिधायिनीभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्योऽपत्ये ढञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'ढञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This debars अण् &c. Thus कमण्डलु + ढञ् = कामण्डलेयः (IV. 4. 147, the उ being elided before ढ). So also दांतिबोहयेः and जाम्बयः from दांतिबाहु and जम्बु ॥

गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृष्टि-आदिभ्यः, च (ढञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृष्ट्यादिभ्यः षष्ठ्यस्योपत्ये ढक्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

136. The affix 'ढञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'गृष्टि' &c.

This debarbs अण् and ढक् &c. Thus गार्ह्यः, हार्ह्यः ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix ढञ् by the last Sûtra. The present sûtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means a woman who has one child only'.

१ गृष्टि, २ हृष्टि, ३ बलि, ४ हलि, ५ विधि, ६ कुट्टि, ७ अजवस्ति, ८ निवद्यु ।

राजन्वशुराद्यत् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्वशुरात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः राजन्वशुराद्यस्योपत्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix यत् comes in the sense of the descendant, after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर'.

This debarbs अण् and ञ् respectively. Thus राजन्वः (IV. 4. 168) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word; it does not mean 'the son of a Rājā.' The word राजनः will mean 'the son of a King.' So also श्वशुर्यः 'son of the father-in-law.'

क्षत्राद्यः ॥ १३८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षत्राद्यस्योपत्ये घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix 'gha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'Kshattrā.'

Thus क्षत्रियः 'a Kshatriya.' This is also a class name. The son of क्षत्र will be क्षात्रिः ॥ The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ which means the affixes तर्प् and तमप् (I. 1. 22).

कुलात्त्वः ॥ १३९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलात्त्वान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात्केवलाद्यापत्ये खः प्रत्यया भवति ॥

139. The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal-stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula.'

In the next sûtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'ḍhakañ.' That indicates by implication that the present sûtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus कुलीनः, आर्यकुलीनः, श्रेष्ठियकुलीनः ॥

अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां यङ्ढक्ञौ ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपूर्वपदान्, अन्यतरस्यां यत्, ढक्ञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आविद्यमानं पूर्वपदं यस्य तत्पूर्वपदं, समाससंबन्धिनः पूर्वपदस्याभावेन कुलशब्दो विशेष्यते । अपूर्वपदात्कुलशब्दादप्यन्तरस्थां यत् ढकञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । ताभ्यां मुक्ते खोपि भवति ॥

140. The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढकञ्' come optionally after the word 'kula,' when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally,' we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udatta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

The word पद has been defined in I. 4. 14. The word बहु is not a pada. Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकौलेयकः and बाहुकुलीनः ॥

महाकुलादञ् खञौ ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ महा-कुलात्, अञ्, खञौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यतरस्यामित्युनवर्तते । पक्षे खः ।

141. The affixes 'अञ्' and 'खञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahâkula.'

Thus माहाकुलः, माहाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. 1. 139.

दुष्कुलाद्ढक् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुष्कुलात्, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुष्कुलशब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

142. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkala.'

Thus दौष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ख also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

स्वसुश्छः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वसुः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसृशब्दादपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant, after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus स्वसृयः 'the sister's son.'

भ्रातुर्व्यच् ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातुः, व्यत्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृशब्दादपत्ये व्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति । चकाराच्छच् ॥

144. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we get the affix छ as well.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भ्रातृनीयः 'the brother's son'. The त् of व्यन् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

व्यन्सपत्ने ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यन्, सपत्ने (भ्रातृः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृशब्दाद् व्यन्प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चैवमित्रः सपत्न उच्यते ॥

145. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ' when the sense is that of 'an enemy'.

The word सपत्न means 'enemy'. The sense of descendant is not connoted by this affix. The difference between व्यन् and व्यत् is in accent (VI. I. 185 and VI. I. 197). Thus पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy". भ्रातृव्यः कण्टकः "the enemy is a thorn".

रेवत्यादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-आदिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवतीत्येवमादिभ्योऽपत्ये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars ढक् &c. Thus रेवती + ठक् = रैवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also आश्वपालिकः (VII. 3. 50)

1 रेवती, 2 अश्वपाली, 3 मणिपाली, 4 हारपाली, 5 वृकवज्जिन्, 6 वृकबन्धु, 7 वृकग्राह, 8 कणग्राह, 9 वृण्डग्राह, 10 कुक्कूराक्ष, 11 (कुकुराक्ष) 12 चामरग्राह,

गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने, ण, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं गृह्यते । गोत्रं वा स्त्री तदभिधायिनः शब्दादपत्ये णः प्रत्ययो भवति ; यकारादठक्च, कुत्सने गम्यमाने । पितुरसविज्ञाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोपत्यस्य कुत्सा ॥

147. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting a Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sūtra we get the affix ठक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy ; hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्गेः, as गार्गः जात्म ॥ So also गार्गिकः ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लौचुकायनी will be ग्लौचुकायनः and ग्लौचुकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix, Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant'. Observe कारिकेयो जात्मः (formed by ढक् IV. I. 120). Why do we say 'female descendant? Observe औपगवि जात्मः ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe गार्गेयो माणवकः which is to be explained as गार्गी अपत्यं पुमान् युवा भवति ॥ मातामहादेहपलक्षणार्थेयं प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

वृद्धाट्ठक्सौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्, ठक्, सौवीरेषु, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये बहुलं टक् प्रत्ययो भवति कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā भागपूर्वपदो विनित्तिर्द्वितीयस्तार्णबिन्दवः ॥

तृतीयस्त्वाकशापेयो गोत्राट्ठग्बहुलं ततः ॥

148. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix ठक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant after a Vriddha word denoting Sauvîra Gotras.

Thus भागवित्तिकः 'the son of Bhâgavitti', So also तार्णबिन्दविकः formed from तृणबिन्दु + अण् (IV. I. 83) तार्णबिन्दवः, and then adding ठक् ॥ In the alternative we have the affix फक् (IV. I. 101) as भागवित्तायनः, so also तार्णबिन्दाविः ॥ The word अकशाप belongs to Subhrâdi class IV. I. 123 : and forms आकशापेयः, his son will be आकशापेयिकः or आकशापेयिः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed, we have भागवित्तायनः only.

The operation of this sâtra is, in fact, confined to the three words भागवित्ति, तार्णबिन्दव, and आकशापेय as given in the kârikâ.

Q. What is the necessity of using the word 'Vriddha' in the sâtra, for the anuvṛtti of the word 'gotra' is understood in the sâtra, and a Sauvîra class Nominal-stem formed with a Gotra affix will necessarily have a Vriddhi letter in its first syllable? The word Vriddha is employed in the sâtra to stop the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः ; for had 'Vriddha' not been used, then with the anuvṛtti of गोत्र from the last sâtra, there would have come the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः also, but by using 'Vriddha' the anuvṛtti of 'Gotra' only is taken, and not that of 'striyâh'.

Why do we say "of the Sauvîras"? Observe औपगविर्जात्मः ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting contempt'? Observe भागवित्तायनो माणवकः ॥ Why do we say 'diversely'? The word बहुल indicates the anomalous nature of these four sâtras IV. I. 147 to 150. Thus the first of these viz IV. I. 147 only denotes contempt, the last of these viz IV. I. 150, denotes 'Sauvîra' only and not contempt ; whilst the middle two namely IV. I. 148 and 189 denote both 'contempt' and 'Sauvîra'.

फेड्ठ च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ फेः, छ-च (कुत्सने-सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फिञ्मन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराट्ठक् कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā यमुन्द्श्च सुयामा च वार्ष्णायणिः फिञः स्मृताः ।

सौवीरेषु च कुत्सायां द्वौ योगौ शब्दवित् स्मेत् ॥

189. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix ठक्) comes in the sense of a des-

endant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix किञ् and denoting a Sauvîra Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन्द् will be यामुन्दायनिः formed by the affix किञ् (IV. 1. 154) as this word belongs to Tikâdi class. The son of Yâmundâyani will be either यमुन्दायनीयः or यामुन्दायनिकः ॥

But when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनिः will be यामुन्दायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + अण् = यामुन्दायनि + ० (II. 4. 58) = यामुन्दायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Suvîra country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तैकायनिः ॥

The के. of the sūtra refers to किञ् and not to किन्, for a stem formed by किन् will not have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called 'Vṛiddham'; and the anuvṛitti of this word is understood in the sūtra.

According to the Kârikâ, three किञन्त stems, all belonging to Tikâdi class, are only governed by this sūtra viz यमुन्द्, सुयामा and वार्ष्यायणिः ॥ The son of वृष is Vârshyâyani.

फाण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णकिञौ ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ फाण्डाहृति-मिमताभ्यां-ण-किञौ (सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाण्डाहृतिमिमतशब्दाभ्यां सौवीरविषयाभ्यामपत्ये णकिञौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

150. The affixes ण and किञ् come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvîra country, after the words Phântâhriti and Mimata.

This debars फक्. By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, the word मिमत consisting of less syllables than फाण्डाहृत, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sūtra indicates, that Sūtra I. 3. 10 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and किञ् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively. Thus फाण्डाहृतः or फाण्डाहृतायनिः ; मैमतः or मैमतायनिः ॥

When not denoting Sauvîra Gotras, we have फाण्डाहृतायनः and मैमतायनः (by फक् ॥ See IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99). The word मिमत belongs to Naḍâdi- class. (IV. 1. 99).

कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-आदिभ्यः, ण्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः ॥ So also गार्ग्यः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV. 1. 172 so that the form कौरव्य is evolved both under the present

sûtra and sôtra 172; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the ण्य of IV. 1. 172, loses its affix in the plural, because ण्य of IV. 1. 172 is a Tadrâja affix (see II 4. 62): but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sôtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्यः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikâdi class (IV. 1. 154), and it takes as such the affix क्तिन्. As कौरव्यायणिः ॥

The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakâra. Rathakâra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yājñyavalkya Smṛiti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix ण्य not by this Sôtra, but by the succeeding sôtra.

The word केशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be केशिन्यः ॥ There will not be puṇvadbhâva as required by VI 3. 34 &c. For had there been puṇvadbhâva, then by अस्यदे तद्धिते, all Bha bases will become puṇvad before a taddhita affix except ह ॥ Therefore केशिनी + ण्य = केशिन् + ण्य ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 will appear and cause the elision of दि and we shall have केशिन्-ण्य = कैश्य ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore, the form वैन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

The word वामरथ occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kaṇvâdi class, a subdivision of Gargâdi (IV. 4. 105). Thus disciples of वामरथः will be formed by the affix अण् (IV. 2. 111). As वामरथ + अण् = वामरथः (VI. 1. 105). The plural will be वामरथाः (II. 4. 64). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16) or वामरथायनी (IV. 1. 17). The Yuvan will be वामरथायनः (IV. 1. 101). So also it will take अण् when the sense of collection &c is expressed (IV. 3. 127): as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kaṇvâdi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यञ् will have udâtta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197) the accent of वामरथ will be governed by ण्य ॥

1 कुरु, 2 गर्गर (गर्ग), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 अजमार (अजमारक), 5 रथकार, 6 वावृक, 7 सम्राजः क्षत्रिये, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक् (or वाच्) 12 वामरथ, 13 पितृमत्, 14 इन्द्रलाजी, (इन्द्रजालि), 15 एजि*, 16 वातकि*, 17 दामोष्णीषि, 18 गणकारि, 19 केशोरि, 20 कुट, 21 शालका (शालाका), 22 सुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक), 25 शुभ्र°, 26 अश्र, 27 दर्भ, 28 केशिनी, 29 वेनाच्छन्दसि, 30 शूपर्णाय, 31 इयावनाय, 32 इयावरथ, 33 इयावपुत्र, 34 सत्यकार, 35 वडभीकार, 36 पथिकार*, 37 मूढ, 38 शकन्धु, 39 शङ्क, 40 शाक, 41 शाकिन्, 42 शालीन*, 43 कर्तु, 44 हर्तु, 45 इन्, 46 पिण्डी (इनपिण्डी), 47 वामरथस्य कण्वादिष्वस्वरवर्जम्. (is a Vartika). 48 विस्फोटक, 49 काक, 50 स्फाण्टक, 51 घातकि, 52 धेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिकार.

सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनान्त, लक्षण, कारिभ्यः, च (प्यः) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ सेनान्तान् प्रातिपदिकान्तलक्षणशब्दान् कारिवचनेभ्यश्चापत्ये प्यः प्रत्ययो भवति । कारिशब्दः कार-
णां तन्त्रवायासीनां वाचकः ॥

152. The affix 'प्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshana,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c. Thus कृतिष्यः, हारिष्यः, लक्ष्यः, तान्त्रवाद्यः, कौम्भकारिः, नापित्यः ॥

उदीचामिश्च ॥ १५३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यो ऽपत्ये इम् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीच्यां मतम् ॥

153. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshana,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus कारिष्येः, हारिष्येः, लक्ष्येः, तान्त्रवाद्येः, कौम्भकारिः ॥ As to the word तक्ष्ण 'carpenter.' See IV. I. 112. It will have तक्ष्णः and तक्ष्ण्यः, but will not take इम् ॥ The word नापित् being a Vṛiddha, non-gotra word, will take किम् under IV. I. 157 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितायनिः ॥

निकारिभ्यः किम् ॥ १५४ ॥

॥ निकारिभ्योऽपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154 The affix 'किम्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c.

Thus तैक्कायनिः, कैतवायनिः ॥ The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate य as वाज्यायनिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya: because it is immediately preceded by the word औरव = उरसा रोते = उरसः शत्रियः, his son will be aurāśa with, अम् which ends in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. I. 168). But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix प्य of IV. I. 150 will take the affix इम् and not किम् of this Sūtra. See II. 4. 58 and 68.

1 तिक, 2 कितव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाला (बाल) 5 शिला, 6 उरस् (उरस), 7 शास्त्र (शास्त्र) 8 सैन्धव, 9 यमुन्ध, 10 रूप्य, 11 आम्य, 12 नील, 13 अमिच, 14 गौकश्य, 15 कुरु (कुरु) 16 देवरथ, 17 तैतल (तैतिल) 18 औरस (औरस), 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिकि, 21 भौरिकि, 22 चौपयत, 23 चैदयत, 24 शीकयत (शैकयत) 25 शैतयत, 26 वाजवत (वाजवत K.) 27 चन्द्रमस, 28 शुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 वरेण्य, 31 सुपामन्, 32 आरव्य (आरव्य), 33 वल्लका, 34 खल्यका (खल्यः खल्य) 35 वृष, 36 लोमक, 37 उरस (उरस्य) 38 य-

ज्ञ, 39 सुयामन्, 40 कन्द्य (कण्ड्य), 41 भीत, 42 जाजल, 43 रस, 44 लावक, 45 ध्वजवद, 46 वसु, 47 बन्धु, 48 आवन्धका (as well as आवन्धका).

कौसल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौसल्य-कार्मार्याभ्यां च (फिञ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कौसल्यकार्मार्यशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ द्गुकोसलकर्मारच्छाग वृषाणां युद् ॥

155. The affix फिञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kausalya, and Kârmârya.

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus कौसल्यायनिः and कार्मार्यायनिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean "the son of कौसल्य or कार्मर्य," but they mean "the son of कोसल, and कर्मार," because of the following Vârtika

Vârti:—The words द्गु, कोसल, कर्मार, छाग and वृष take the augment युद् before the affix फिञ् ॥ Thus द्गुगव्यायनिः, कौसल्यायनिः, कार्मार्यायनिः, छाग्यायनिः and वार्यायनिः ॥

ः णो द्वयचः ॥ १५६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्तार् द्वयचः प्रातिपदिकात्पत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ त्यदादीनां वा फिञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

156. The affix 'phiñ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अण्'.

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus कार्त्रायनिः 'son of Kârtra,' हार्त्रायनिः 'son of a Hârtra.'

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अण्"? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of Dâkshî' (IV. 1. 101). Why do we say a 'dissyllabic word'? Observe औपगविः 'son of औपगव' ॥

Vârti:—The pronouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix फिञ् or अण् ॥ Thus व्यादायनिः or व्यादः, यादायनिः or यादः, तादायनिः or तादः ॥

उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रत् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, वृद्धात्, अगोत्रात् (फिञ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धे यच्छब्दरूपमगोत्रं तस्मादपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचामाचार्याणां सत्तेन ॥

157. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, after words with a Vriddhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'nhis' is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आम्रगुप्तायनिः "son of आम्रगुप्त," ग्रामरक्षायनिः 'son of ग्रामरक्ष' ॥ चापितायनिः 'son of a barber.' This latter is formed in spite of IV. 1. 152, because rule I. 4. 2 applies here.

Why do we say 'according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians'? Observe आम्रगुप्तिः. Why do we say 'after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable'? Observe यज्ञशक्तिः 'son of यज्ञशक्त.' Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name'? Observe औपगविः ॥

वाकिनादीनां कुक्च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाकिन-आदीनां, कुक्च (फिन्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाकिन इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये फिन् प्रत्ययो भवति सत्सन्नियोगेन चैषां कुगागमः ॥

158. The augment क् (Kuk) is added to the words Vâkina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

This वाकिनकायनिः, गोरधकायनिः ॥ This debars इम् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of उद्दीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनिः, गोरधिः ॥

1 वाकिन, 2 गोरध (गोरध K.) 3 कार्कष (कार्कष्य K.), 4 काक, 5 लङ्का, 6 चर्मवर्मिणोर्नलोपश्च ॥

पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रान्ताद्यातिपदिकाद्यः फिन्प्रत्ययस्तास्मिन् परभूते अन्यतरस्यां कुगागमो भवति पुत्रान्तरस्य ॥

159. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pûtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read into this sūtra. Of course, a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra-word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिन् by IV. I. 157; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कुक् optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायणिः or गार्गीपुत्र गणिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥ So also वात्सीपुत्रकायणिः, वात्सीपुत्रायणिः and वात्सीपुत्रिः ॥

प्राचामवृद्धात्फिन्बहुलम् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, अवृद्धात्, फिन्, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाच्छब्दरूपापत्ये फिन् प्रत्यया भवति बहुलं प्राचां मतेन ॥

160. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vṛiddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phin' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus शुचुकायनिः or ग्लौचुकिः 'son of Gluchuka', ॥ अहिचुम्बकायनिः or आहिचुम्बिः ॥ Why do we say, "not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable"? Observe राजहन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुलं and अन्यतरस्याम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are used in this sūtra viz. प्राचां and बहुलं? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect, and बहुलं is used to express the non-uniformity of the sūtra construction. In some places this affix फिन् is not at all added, as दाक्षिः, प्लाक्षिः ॥

मनोज्ञावय्यतो पुक् च ॥ १६१ ॥ मनोः-जातो, अज्ञ-यतो, पुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुशब्दस्य यत् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तन्नात्रियोगेन पुणागमः समुदायेन चेज्जातिर्गम्यते ॥

Kārikā अपत्ये कुत्सिते मूढे मनोरौत्सार्गिकः स्मृतः ।

नकारस्य च मूर्धन्यस्तेन सिद्धति माणवः ॥

161. The affixes अज्ञ and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment पुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that, the whole word so formed denotes a class name (jāti).

Thus मनु + पुक् + अज्ञ = मानुषः "a man or man-kind". So also मनु + यत् = मनुयः formed with यत् ॥ These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण् as मनु + अण् = मानवः 'son of Manu', as in मानवी प्रजा ॥ So also the word माणव, there न is changed into ण and denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied.

अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ १६२ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौत्रप्रभृति यदपत्यं तद्गोत्रसंज्ञं भवति ॥

162. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra.

When an offspring, with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be गार्गिः, and the son or grandsons &c of गार्गिः with reference to Garga will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Similarly वात्स्यः ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendants or the son will not be called Gotra. Thus कौञ्जिः, गार्गिः ॥

जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीवति तु, वंश्ये, युवा (अपत्यं-पौत्रप्रभृति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभिजन्मबन्धो वंशः । तत्रभवो वंश्यः पित्रादि, स्तस्मिन् जीवति सति पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं युवसंज्ञं भवति ॥

163. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only.

The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or a line'. One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंश्यः ॥ When such

a vaṁśya is alive, then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan. The phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य in the sūtra should be construed as पौत्रप्रभृतेर् वद् अपत्यम् 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last sūtra, however, this phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रभृति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c." Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus गर्गः being the head; we have गर्गः

अपत्यम् — { गर्गः (son or putra)
गार्ग्यः (Gotra)
गार्ग्यायणः (Yuvan) if Gārga or Gārgi &c

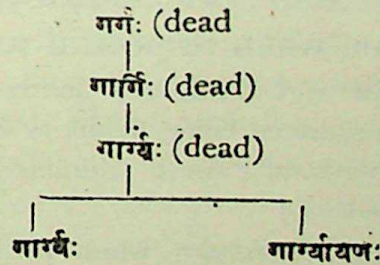
be alive). The force of the word हु, in the sūtra is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well.

भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातरि, च, ज्यायसि (जीवति-अपत्य-पौत्रप्रभृति-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातरि ज्यायसि जीवति कनीयान् युवसंज्ञो भवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यम् ॥

164. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Even when a वृद्धः like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not vaṁśya), the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive; thus:



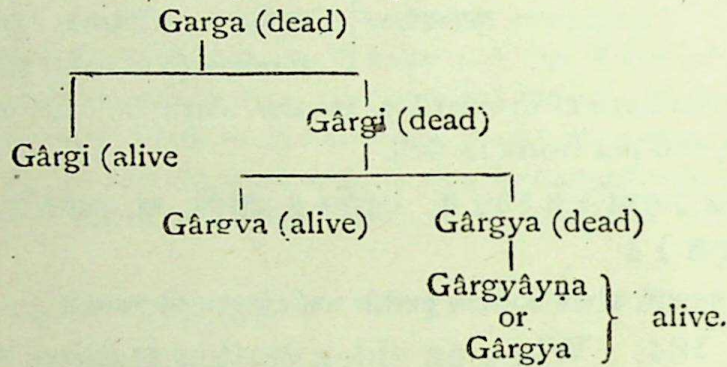
The word वृद्धः is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a vaṁśya, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This sūtra applies to cases when Vaṁśya is not meant. Thus Gārgyāyana is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gārgya; similarly Vātsyāyana, Dākhsāyana, and Plākshāyana.

वान्यास्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्मिन्, स-पिण्डे, स्थविरतरे, जीवति (अपत्यं-पौत्र प्रभृति युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातुरन्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवदेव युवसंज्ञं वा भवति ॥

165. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a more superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The sapinda relationship extends up to seven degrees. The word स्थविर means 'superior', and स्थविरतर is comparative and means 'more superior', that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*. The word जीवति is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛitti of जीवति also from IV. 1. 163. This जीवति of the sūtra qualifies the word descendant, the जीवति which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinda thus :—



Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धस्य, च, पूजायाम् (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धमिति शास्त्रान्तरे परिभाषणाद्गोत्रं वृद्धमित्युच्यते । वृद्धस्य युवसंज्ञा वा भवति पूजायां गम्यमानायाम् । संज्ञासामर्थ्याद्गोत्रं युवप्रत्ययेन पुनरुच्यते ॥

166. The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word Vṛiddha is another term for Gotra. As तत्र भवान् गार्ग्यायणः or गार्ग्यः "you honored Gargyāyana or Gārgya". This sūtra is in fact a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini. Similarly तत्र भवान् वात्स्यायनः or वात्स्यः, तत्र भवान् दाक्षायणः or दाक्षिः ॥

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, वात्स्यः and गार्ग्यः ॥ The definition of Vṛiddham as given by other Grammarians is अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धम् ॥

यूनश्च कुत्सायाम् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, च, कुत्सायाम् (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सायां गम्यमानायां युनो वा युवसंज्ञा भवति ॥

167. The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus, गार्ग्यो जाल्मः or गार्ग्यायणो जाल्मः ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्यायणः ॥ This is also a Vārtika and not a sūtra.

जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियात् अञ् ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दो यः क्षत्रियवाची तस्मादपत्ये ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दशब्दजनपदशब्दश्च तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् ॥

168. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word, which while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus पाञ्चालः 'the son of Pañchala', so also ऐश्वराक्षः and वैदेहः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriya, but not of the name of a country, अञ् will not be used but अण्, the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रौह्यवः 'the son of Drûhya'; पौरवः 'the son of Puru.' Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriyas? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV. 1. 95) 'the son of Pañchâla a Brahmana'; so also वैदेहिः ॥

Vartt:—Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king thereof. Thus पञ्चालनाम् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchâla or of the country of Pañchâlas'. So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

The words Pañchâla &c. originally are names of Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them,' is elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus the same word पञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchâla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchâla &c. as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pāṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sūtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sūtra IV. 2. 81. These words when denoting a country are always in the plural, as पञ्चालाः, in denoting the Kshatriya, they are in the singular.

साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वेय-गान्धारिभ्यां, च (अञ्) ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ साल्वेयगान्धारिशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

169. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gândhârî'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sūtra IV. 1. 171 they having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'nyañ', the present sūtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus साल्वेयः 'the son of Sâlveya, or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gândhârî

or the king of Gāndhāri? The vārtika under Sūtra IV. 1. 168 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'

अङ्गमगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादङ् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यच्-मगध-कलिङ्ग-सूरमसाद-
अङ् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाभिधाविनो द्व्यचो मगध कलिङ्ग सूरमस इत्येतेभ्यश्चापत्येऽङ्प्रत्ययों भवति ॥

107. The affix अङ् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sûramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas.

This debars अङ् ॥ Thus आङ्गः, बाङ्गः, मगधः, कलिङ्गः, and सूरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Banga, Magadha, Kalinga and Suramasa.' Similarly कौण्डः, सौम्यः ॥ The Vārtika 'तस्यराजनि' given above applies to this also, as आङ्गो राजा, गान्धारी राजा &c.

वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाज्यङ् ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्ध-इत्-कोसल-अजादात्, ज्यङ्
(जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादित्येव । वृद्धाच्च प्रातिपदिकारिकारान्ताच्च कोसलाजाशब्दायां चापत्ये ज्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पाण्डोर्जनपदशब्दात् छत्रियाद् इथण् वक्तव्यः ॥

171. The affix 'ज्यङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajâda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars अङ् ॥ Thus, to give example of Vriddha words, आम्बष्ठः सौवीर्यः 'the sons or kings of Ambashṭha and Sauvîra'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्यः and कौन्त्यः 'the son or kings of Avanti and Kunti'. These are words ending in short इ ॥ So also कौसल्यः and आजायः, which are neither Vriddhas nor end in short इ ॥

Vārt :—The affix 'dyaṇ' comes after the word 'Pāṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पाण्डवः, otherwise it will be पाण्डवः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-नादिभ्योः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादित्येव । कुरुशब्दान्नादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

172. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debarb 'an' and 'añ'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषधः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥ How do you explain the form नैषधोर्हति चेरघम्? This is an archaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्त्वार्थपतेः सुतायां? This is a poetic license.

साल्वावयवप्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकादिभ्यः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वावयव-प्रत्यग्रथ-
कलकूट-अश्मकात्, इभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दान् क्षत्रियादित्येव ॥ साल्वावयवेभ्यः प्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकशब्देभ्यश्चापत्ये इभ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

Kārikā उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धराः ।

भुलिङ्गाः शरवण्डाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥

173. The affix इभ्यः comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sâlva ; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalākûta', and 'Asmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriya woman, her son will be साल्वेवः (IV. 1. 121) formed by ढक्; also साल्वः formed by भण् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz Udumbarâh, Tilakhalâh, Madrakarâh, Yugandharâh, Bhulingâh and Saradandâh. The patronymic from these will be : औदुम्बरिः, तैलखलिः, नाद्रकारिः, यौगन्धरिः, भौलिङ्गिः and शारवण्डिः ॥ So also the affix 'in' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As प्रात्यग्रथिः, कालकूटिः and आश्मकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to Mahâbhâshya, the words Busa, Ajamidha, and Ajakanda also take this affix, as बौसः, आजमीढिः and आजकान्दिः ॥

ते तद्राजाः ॥ १७४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेऽन्नाद्यस्तद्वाजसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

174. These (viz the affixes अञ् IV. 1. 168 &c) are called Tadrâja ('the king there-of') affixes.

The affixes treated of in these six sūtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrâja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of before S. IV. 1. 168 ; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan see II. 4. 62. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

कम्बोजाल्लुक् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कम्बोजात्-लुक् (तद्राजस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कम्बोजात् प्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुक्वचनं षोडशर्थात् ॥

175. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrâja affix.

Namely the affix अम् which would have come after the word कम्बोज because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided. Thus कम्बोजः 'The king of Kamboja'.

Vart:—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Cholâ' &c. Thus चोलः 'the king of Cholâs'. So also केरलः शक्रः, यवनः ॥

स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुष्यश्च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, अवन्ति-कुन्ति-कुरु-
ष्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुष्येभ्य उत्पन्नस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुम्भवति ॥

176. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrâja is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru.

That is to say the affix 'nyañ'. (IV. I. 171) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'nya' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus अवन्ती, कुन्ती and कुरुः 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word कुरु takes ऊङ् in the feminine by IV. I. 66. Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe भावन्त्यः, कौरव्यः and कौन्त्यः ॥

अतश्च ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः-च (स्त्रियाम्, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारप्रत्ययस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुम्भवति ॥

177. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrâja affix अ, the affix is luk-elided.

Thus *m.* शौरसेनः, *f.* शूरसेनी ; *m.* माद्रः, *f.* मद्री ॥ The word अतः of the sūtra should not be construed by the rule of tadanata vidhi (I. I. 72). If so construed it will mean "a Tadrâja affix ending in अ is elided". There have been taught five Tadrâja affixes, namely 'añ (अ)', 'aṇ (अ)', 'ñyañ (य)', 'nya (य)' and 'in (इ)'. Of these the first four all end in अ ; therefore all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author ; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of the previous sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of 'Avanti', 'Kunti' and 'Kuru'. But the very fact of this sūtra IV. I. 176 indicates by ज्ञापक, that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore, the feminine of आम्बष्ठयः is आम्बष्ठया, of सौवीर्यः is सौवीर्या ॥

नप्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः ॥ १७८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राच्येभ्यो भर्गादिभ्यो यौधेयादिभ्यश्चोत्पन्नस्य लुङ् भवति । अतश्चेत्यनेन स्त्रियां लुक् प्राप्तः प्रती-
षिद्यति ॥

178. The Tadarâja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bhargā' &c and 'Yaudheya' &c.

This sūtra debars the elision of the Tadrâja affix अ (required by the last sūtra). Thus पांचाली, वैदेही, आंगी, वांगी, नागधी these being all Eastern people dwelling in countries east of the Sarâvati river. Similarly of भर्ग &c. Thus भार्गी, कार्ष्णी, कैकेयी ॥ So also of यौधेय &c. Thus यौधेयी, शौभ्रेयी and शौक्रेयी ॥ The Tadrâja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the fifth Adhyâya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अञ्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication; that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 applies not only to the Tadrâja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrâja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119. Thus the Tadrâja affix अञ् in (V. 3. 117) added to पशु &c. is elided in the feminine: e. g. m. पार्श्वः f पशु, m आसुरः f असुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 करुष (करुष), 3 केकय, 4 कश्मीर, 5 साल्व, 6 सुस्थाल, 7 उरस (उरस and उरस). 8 कौरव्य.

1 यौधेय, 2 कौकेय, 3 शौभ्रेय, 4 ज्यावाणय (यावाणय), 5 धौतैय (धौतैयः धौतैय)
6 त्रिगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 उशनस, 9 धौतैय ॥

ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

तेन रक्तं रागात् ॥ १ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थ्याद्वागविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद्भक्ताभ्युपगमार्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

1. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the name of a colour in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb रङ्ज् means to change white into another color. That by which a thing is coloured is called रागः 'color'. तेन 'by' which, i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also मांजिष्ठम् कौस्तुभम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम्, here the affix अण् will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

In the sentence "काषायो गर्दभस्य कर्णौ, हरिद्रो कुक्कुटस्यासौ" the words काषाय and हरिद्र are used metaphorically.

From this sūtra up to IV. 2. 12 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word which is in the instrumental case in construction in a sentence (IV. 1. 82): as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

लाक्षा रोचना शकल कर्दमादृक् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ लाक्षा, रोचना, शकल, कर्दमात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लाक्षादिभ्यो रागवचनेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो रक्तमित्यतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नील्या अन् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पीताम् कन् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ हरिद्रामहारजनाभ्यामभ्युपगम्यः ॥

2. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words lākshâ, rochanâ, sakala, and kardama, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus लाक्षाया रक्तं वस्त्रं = लक्षिकम्, so also रौचनिकम्, शाकलिकम् and कार्दमिकम् ॥

According to the opinion of Patanjali, the affix अण् also comes after शकल and कर्दमः । Thus शाकलम् and कार्दमम् ॥ According to Mahâbhâshya the words शकल and कर्दम do not occur in the sûtra, but are given in the Vârtika,

Vart:—The affix अण् comes after नीलीः as नील्या रक्तं = नीलं वस्त्रं ॥

Vart:—The affix कन् (I. 3. 8) comes after पीत, as पीतेन रक्तं = पीतकम् ॥

Vart:—The affix अञ् comes after हरिद्रा and महाराजन, as हरिद्रम् and माहाराजनम् ॥

नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः ॥ ३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमर्थान् नक्षत्रविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति । योसौ युक्तः, कालश्चेत्स भवति ॥

3. The affix अण् already ordained 1V. 1. 83 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा &c are lunar asterisms, when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism in order to denote time of such conjunction. Thus पुष्य + अण् = पौषः (VI. 4. 149) e. g. पौषिरात्रिः "the night in which moon is in Pushya". So also माघी रात्रिः ; पौषमह 'the month in which the moon is full in Pushya i. e. December', so also माघमह 'the month Mâgha' &c.

Why do we say नक्षत्रेण 'connected with the asterism'? Observe चन्द्रमसा युक्ता रात्रिः ॥ Why do we say काल 'time'? Observe पुष्येण युक्तश्चन्द्रमाः ॥

लुबविशेषे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-अविशेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वण विहितस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुब् भवति अविशेषः ।

4. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, when there is no specification.

That is the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of time such as

night &c. Thus अद्यः पुष्यः 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya ; but by 'to-day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

संज्ञायां श्रवणाश्वत्थाभ्याम् ॥ ५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रवणशब्दाश्वत्थशब्दाच्चात्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति संज्ञायां विशेषे ॥

5. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Sravana and Asvatha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

Thus श्रवणा रात्रिः, अश्वत्थो मुहूर्तः "the night called Śravaṇā; the Muhūrta called Aśvattha". The affix being elided by 'lup', why should not I. 2. 51 apply here ? We should say श्रवणाः रात्रिः and not श्रवणं रात्रिः. The reason is that श्रवणा is an irregularly formed word, as Pāṇini himself uses it in sūtra IV. 2. 23. Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sañjñā'? Observe श्रावणी or आश्वत्थी रात्रिः ।

द्वन्द्वाच्छः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-छ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वात्तृतीयासमर्थाद्युक्ते काले छः प्रत्ययो भवति विशेषे चा विशेषे च ॥

6. The affix छ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, when it is in the instrumental case in construction, to signify time connected with the asterism whether there be a specification or not.

Thus राधानुराधीया रात्रिः, तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयमहः ॥ So also when there is no specification : as अद्य राधानुराधीयम्, अद्य तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sūtra, being a subsequent sūtra, will debar IV. 2. 4 which ordains lup (I. 4. 2).

दृष्टं साम ॥ ७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद् दृष्टं सामेत्येतास्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यद् दृष्टं साम चेत्तद्भवति ॥

7. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of seen—the thing seen by the one whose name is in the Instrumental case, being the Sâma Veda.

Thus कुञ्चन दृष्टं = क्रौञ्चं साम "the portion of the Sâma seen by (or revealed to) Kruñcha." So also वासिष्ठम्, वैश्वामित्रम् ॥

कलेढक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलेः-ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलिशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्यतस्मिन्नर्थे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्राग्निकलिभ्यां ढक् वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृष्टे सामनि अण् वा डिङ् वतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जाते चार्थे योन्येन बाधितः पुनरण्वधीयते स वा डिङ् वतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तीयादीकक् स्वार्थे वा वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ न विद्यायाः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोत्रादङ्कवदिष्यते ॥

Kārikā

वृष्टे सामनि जाते च द्विरण्डिद्वा विधीयते ।

तीयादीकक् न विद्याया गोत्रादङ्कवदिष्यते ॥

8. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of Sâma-Veda seen, after the word 'Kali', being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना वृष्टं साम = कालेयं ॥ "The Sâma Veda revealed to Kali". This sūtra is really a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini.

Vārt:—The affix 'dhak' comes always after अग्नि and कलि; not merely in the sense of Sama-Veda seen. Thus अग्निना वृष्टं साम = आग्नेयम् 'the Sâma-Veda revealed to Agni'. अग्नौ भवं = आग्नेयम् 'who stays in Agni' (IV. 3. 53) अग्ने-रागतं "what has come from Agni" = आग्नेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कालेयम् means 'the Sama-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

Vārt:—The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory इ when the sense is that of Sama-Veda seen. Thus उशनसा वृष्टं साम = औशनसम् or औशनम् (the force of डिङ् being to elide the णि portion; VI. 4. 143).

Vārt:—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as डिङ्, provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, is re-ordained by IV. 3. 16. The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2 by force of IV. 1. 83.; but it is debarred by ङङ् of IV. 3. 11, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus शतभिषजि जातः = शतभिषः or शतभिषजः ॥

Vārt:—The affix ईकक् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वितीयकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तृतीयकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vārt:—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vārt:—The affix वुम् IV. 3. 126 has the force of "Sama-Veda seen" when it comes after a Gotra-word. This औपगवकम् or कापटवकम् 'the Sâma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kâpaṭava'. The affix वुम् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charaṇa.

वामदेवाङ्, ड्यङ्, ड्यौ ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वामदेवात्-ड्यत्-ड्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वामदेवशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्यतस्मिन्नर्थे ड्यत् ड्य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

Kārikā

सिद्धे यस्येतिलोपेन किमर्थं ययतौ डितौ ।

ग्रहणं माऽतदर्थं भूद्वामदेवस्य नञ्स्वरे ॥

9.- The affixes **ड्यत्** and **ड्य** come in the sense of the Sâma-Veda seen, after the word Vâmadeva, being in the Instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन कृष्टं साम = वामदेवेन or वामदेवेन ॥ The indicatory न्त् in 'dyat' shows that य has svarita accent (VI. 1. 125).

Q. What is the use of the indicatory ड् ?

Ans. The final syllable is elided when a डित् affix is added, by VI.

4. 143.

Q. The final य of वामदेव would have been elided without making this affix डित्, by the rule VI. 4. 148, then what is the use of making this affix डित् ?

Ans. Well; the author here indicates by jñapaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhashas निरनुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकत्व "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it". तदनुबन्धकग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकत्व "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it".

For had य and यत् been only taught instead of 'dya' and 'dyat', then by rule VI. 2. 156 the final of such word, with the negative particle अ, would take udâtta on the final, but that is not the case. Therefore अवामदेवेन is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI. 2. 2). As अवामदेवेन ॥

परिवृतो, रथः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिवृतः रथः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात्परिवृत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, दोसौ परिवृतो रथ इत्यत्र भवति ॥

10. The affix **अण्** comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded' the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वस्त्रेण परिवृतो रथः = वासः "a chariot surrounded with cloth". So also काम्बलः, चार्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot?' Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth' the word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलादिनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाण्डु-कम्बलात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाण्डुकम्बलशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थात् परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इनि प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix **इनि** comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रथः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बल means the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix इनि of V. 2. 115, the present sūtra is made in order to debar the affix अण् ॥

द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वैप-वैयाघ्रात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वीपिव्याघ्रयोर्विकारभूते चर्मणी द्वैपवैयाघ्रे, ताभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The अञ् comes after the words 'dvaipa' and 'vaiyâghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रथः = द्वैपः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also वैयाघ्रः ॥ This affix अञ् debars अण्, the difference between these two being in accent only.

कौमारापूर्ववचने ॥ १३ ॥ कौमार-अपूर्व-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौमारं इत्येतदण्प्रत्ययान्तं निपात्यते ऽपूर्ववचने ॥

Kārikā कौमारापूर्ववचने कुमार्या अण्वधीयते ।

अपूर्वत्वं यदा सत्याः कुमार्या भवतीति वा ॥

13. The word 'kaumāra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'

Thus कौमारो भर्ता = अपूर्वपति कुमारीमुपपन्नः 'the husband of a virgin'. i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = कुमारी अपूर्वपतिः पतिमुपपन्ना "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman.

The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्याम् भवः = कौमारः; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-उद्धृतम्, अमत्रेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थादमत्रवाचिनः शब्दावुद्धृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon' after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अमत्रे means 'vessels'; उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse

of dinner'. Thus शरावेष्टुतः = शराव ओदनः "boiled rice placed on a dish." So also मालिकः, कार्परः ॥

Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe पाणानुदृत ओदनः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sūtras upto IV. 2. 20 inclusive.

स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थण्डिलात्-शयितरि-व्रते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थण्डिलशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयितर्यभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, समुदायेन चैव व्रतं गम्यते ॥

15. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमस्य = स्थाण्डिलः 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i. e. an ascetic or a Brahmachârî.

Why do we say 'vow'? Observe स्थण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मव्रतः 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रत means a 'vow or an observance ordained by religious codes'.

संस्कृतं भक्षाः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम्-भक्षाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाभ्येते भवन्ति ॥

The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus भ्राष्ट्रे संस्कृता भक्षा = भ्राष्टः 'a cake fried in the pan'. Similarly कालशाः कौम्भाः ॥ Why do we say "if it means food"? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालागुणः ॥

शूलोखाद्यत् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शूल-उखात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शूलशब्दादुखाशब्दाच्च सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). As शूले संस्कृतं = शूल्यं 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also उख्यम् 'flesh boiled in a pot'.

दध्मष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दध्मः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिशब्दात् सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus दधनि संस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'. This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3, but the दाधिकं formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd ; while the दाधिकं of this sūtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

उदश्वितोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदाश्वतः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदश्विच्छब्दात् सप्तमी समर्थात् संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थेऽन्यतरस्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word उदश्वित् ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus औदश्वित्कम् (VII. 3. 51), or औदश्वितम् by अण् ॥

क्षीराड्ढञ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षीरात् ढञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षीरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थत्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', after the word 'Kshîra' ending in the locative case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्षीरे संस्कृताः = क्षैरेयी यवागूः 'milky gruel'.

सास्त्रिन्पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्मिन्-पौर्णमासी-इति संज्ञायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सेति व्रथमात्मर्थाद् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं पौर्णमासी चेज्जवति ॥

21. The affix अण् comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word स means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV. 1. 82 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction". अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of clearness. The word संज्ञायाम् does not occur in the original sūtras of Pāṇini ; but is added by a Vartika ; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name

of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year.”

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् = पौषो मासः ‘the month Paus i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya’. Similarly पौषर्द्धमासः and पौषः स्रवस्तरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरात्रे, because daśarâtra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here; namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way:—पूर्णो माः = पूर्णमाः, पूर्णमास इयम् = पौर्णमासी ॥ The word माः means “moon”.

आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थात् ठक् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्रहायणी, अश्वत्थात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति सर्वमनुवर्तते । आग्रहायणीशब्दादश्वत्थाशब्दाच्च प्रथमासमर्थात्पौर्णमासुपाधिकार् अस्मिन्नाति सप्तम्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of the locative case after the words ‘agrahâyanî’ and ‘asvattha’ ending in the first case-affix in construction and being the name of a full-moon night.

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sūtra govern this also. This debar's अण् ॥ Thus आग्रहायणिको मासः ‘the month called Agrahâyanika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of Agrahâyaṇa. Similarly आश्वत्थिकः ॥

विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, फाल्गुनी, श्रवणा-कार्तिकी-चैत्रीभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाल्गुन्यादयः पौर्णमासीशब्दास्तेभ्यो विभाषा ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, सास्मिन् पौर्णमासीति संज्ञाया मित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

23. The affix ठक् optionally comes after the words ‘Phâlgunî’, ‘Sravanâ’, ‘Kârtikî’ and ‘Chaitrî’ being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रावणः or श्रावणिकः, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains ठक् instead of अण् ॥

सास्य देवता ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्य, देवता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सैति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं देवता चेत् सा भवति ॥

24. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of as his.

सा = 'after a word in the 1st case in construction' अस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रो देवताऽस्य = ऐन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly आदित्यम् 'oblation belonging to Āditya'. So also बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम् ॥ Why do we say "after the name of a deity"? Observe, कन्यादेवताऽस्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥ In the sentences ऐन्द्रमन्त्राः and आग्नेयो वै ब्रह्मणो देवतयोति the affix is added by analogy.

The whole phrase साऽस्य देवता governs up to sūtra IV. 2. 35. Though the word स was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtra IV. 2. 21, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of संज्ञा does not extend to it. The affix ordained by this sūtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puroḍāśa &c offered in a sacrifice'.

कस्येत् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्य, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्य इकारादेशो भवति प्रत्ययसन्नियोगेन ॥

25. The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added.,

Thus क + अण् = कि + अण् = कै + अ = कायं "oblation sacred to Ka". As कार्यं हविः, कार्यमककपालं निर्वपेत् ॥

शुक्राद् घन् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुक्रात्-घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुक्रशब्दात्सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे घन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix घन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'Sukra'.

This debar अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus शुक्र + घन् = शुक्रियम् होवः (VII. 1. 2) 'an oblation belonging to Śukra'. Thus शुक्रियोऽध्यायः ॥

अपोनप्त्रपान्नप्त्रभ्यां घः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः नप्त्र, अपाम् नप्त्रभ्याम् घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्त्र अपान्नप्त्र इत्येताभ्यां घः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

27. The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptri' and 'apannaptri', in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debar अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रियं हविः or अपानप्त्रियम् ॥ The words अपानपात् and अपानपात् are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in नप्त्र when the affix is to be added.

छ च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्त्र अपान्नप्त्र इत्येताभ्यां छकारः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ छप्रकरणे पैङ्गाक्षीपुत्रादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शतरुद्राच्छुभ्रघश्च ॥

28. Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptri' and 'Apannaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity'

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptri and Apannaptri. This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनपत्रीयम् or अपान्नपत्रीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapât or Apannapât'. This is made a separate sūtra, in order to prevent the application of rule I. 3. 10. For if it was included in the last, the sūtra would have run thus: "The affixes च and छ come after Aponaptri and Apannaptri", the meaning of which according to maxim I. 3. 10 would have been, "the affix च comes after Aponaptri, and छ after Apannaptri". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sūtras.

Vârt :—The affix छ comes after the words पैगाक्षीपुत्र &c. As, पैगाक्षी-पुत्रीयम्, तार्णबिन्द्वीयम् ॥

Vârt :—The word शतरुद्र takes च and छ both : e. g. शतरुद्रीयम् and शतरुद्वियम् ॥

महेन्द्राद् घाणौ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ महेन्द्रात्, घ, अणौ च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ महेन्द्रशब्दाद् घाणौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, चकारच्छ, सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity"

As महेन्द्रीयम्, महेन्द्रियम् and माहेन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

सोमाद् व्यण् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमात्, व्यण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सोमशब्दाद् व्यण्प्रत्ययो भवति सास्यदेवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

30. The affix व्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ The ण् of व्यण् causes Vriddhi. The ट् causes the affixing of डीप् in the feminine. Thus सौम्यं हविः, सौम्यं सूक्तम्, सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य + डीप् (IV. 1. 15) = सौम + ई (VI. 4. 150) = सौमी ॥

वाय्वृतुपित्रुषसो यत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वायु-ऋतु, पितृ-उषसः, यत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाय्वादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

31. The affix यत् comes after the names 'Vâyu', 'Ritu' 'Pitri' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम्, पितृयम् and उषस्यम् ॥ The form पितृयम् is thus evolved पितृ + यत् = पितृ + रीङ् + यत् (VII. 4. 27) = पितृयम् (VI. 4. 148). The पितृय has udatta on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213.

द्यावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वद्ग्रीपोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥
द्यावा, पृथिवी, शुनासीर, मरुत्वद्, अग्नी-पोम, वास्तोष्पति-गृह, मेधात्-छ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ द्यावापृथिव्यादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

32. The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyâvâ Prithivî', 'Sunâsîra', 'Maruttvat', 'Agnîshoma', 'Vâstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अण् &c. Thus द्यावापृथिवीयम् or द्यावापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth', शुनासीरीयम् or शुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Suna (Wind) and Sîra (Sun)', मरुत्वतीयम् or मरुत्वत्यम् ॥ अग्निषोमीयम् or अग्निषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीयम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम् ॥ गृहमेधीयम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

अञ्जे ढक् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्जेः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निशब्दाद् ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राग्शीव्यतीयेषु तद्धितार्थेषु सर्वत्राग्निशब्दां ढक्त्वयः ॥

33. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni.

Thus अग्निदेवतास्य = अग्नेयोऽष्टकपालः ॥

Vart.—The affix 'ḍhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prâgdivyatiya. See IV. 2. 8.

कालेभ्यो भववत् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालेभ्यो-भववत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो भववत्प्रत्यया भवन्ति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये । कालाद्भवति प्रकरणे भवे प्रत्यया विधास्यन्ते ते सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे तथैवेत्यन्ते, तदर्थमिदमुच्यते ॥

34. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 to IV. 3. 53), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 (read with IV. 3. 53), the affix ठञ् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there'. The same affix will also come in the sense of सास्यदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भव = मासिकम् (मास + ठञ् = मास = इक VII. 3. 50); अर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम्, वासन्तम् (IV. 3. 16), प्रावृषेण्यम् (IV. 3. 17): meaning 'monthly', 'half monthly', 'annual', 'vernal', and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as-मासो देवतास्य मासिकम् ॥ &c.

महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाद्ठञ् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराज-प्रोष्ठपदात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दात्प्रोष्ठपदशब्दाच्च ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ठञ्प्रकरणे तदस्मिन्वर्ततइति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्णमासादण् ॥

35. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahârâja' and 'Proshthapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवतास्य = महाराजिकम्, प्रोष्ठपदिकम् ॥

Vart :—After the words नवयज्ञ &c the affix इञ् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः &c.

Vart :—After the word पूर्णमासः; the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = पौर्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृव्य-मातुल-मातामह, पितामहाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृव्यादयो निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ अवेर्दुग्धे सोढदूसमरीसचोवक्तव्याः ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ तिलान्निष्फलात्पिञ्जपेजौ प्रत्ययौ वक्तव्यौ ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ पिञ्जश्छन्दसि ङिच् ॥

36. The words 'pitrihya, a father's brother', 'mātula, a mother's brother', 'mātāmaha, a mother's father' and 'pitāmaha, a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following rules :—पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातरि व्यङ् डुलचौ "the affixes व्यङ् and डुलच् come respectively after the words pitri and mātṛi in the sense of his brother'. Similarly the second rule will be ताभ्यां पितरि डामहच्, मातरि षिच् 'and the affix ḍāmahach comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory ष् ॥ Thus पितृव्यः, मातुलः, पितामहः (f. पितामही), मातामह (f. मातामही) ॥

Vart :—The affixes सोढ, दूस्, and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk'. As अवेर्दुग्धम् = अविसोढम् or अविदूस्म् or अविमरीसम् ॥

Vart :—The affixes पिञ्ज and पेज come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless. As निष्फलस्तिलः = तिलपिञ्जः and तिलपेजः ॥

Vart :—The affix पिञ्ज is treated like ङित् in the Chhandas. As तिल्पिञ्जः ॥

तस्य समूहः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, समूहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थात्समूह इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचकम् ॥ गुणादिभ्यो ग्रामञ्चक्तव्यः ॥

37. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

The affix अण् (IV. 7. 83) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction, in the sense of collection. What is the example of this? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udātta accent on the first syllable, which

does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sūtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix ठक् by IV. 2. 47, a word having anudatta on the first syllable will have the affix अञ् IV. 3. 44, a Gotra word will take वुञ् IV. 2. 39 and especial words like केदार &c take यञ् &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we get is:—काकानां समूहः=काकम् 'a collection of crows' वाकम् ॥ The phrase तस्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sūtra IV. 2. 51 inclusive.

Vart.—The affix ग्रामच् comes after the words गुण् &c. As गुणग्रामः 'a collection of qualities', करणग्रामः &c. The following is some of such words:—गुण, करण, तत्त्व, शब्द, इन्द्रिय, &c. It is an ākṛitigaṇa.

भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षेत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

38. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshā' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षाणां समूहः=भैक्षम् 'what is collected in the shape of alms'. So also गर्भिणी + अण् = गर्भिण् + अण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicative ढ, भस्यादे तद्धिते) = गर्भिणः (VI. 4. 164). In the case of युवति, the word however is not changed to its masculine form. Thus युवतीनां समूहः = यौवतम् 'a collection of young women'.

1 भिक्षा, 2 गर्भिणी, 3 क्षेत्र, 4 करिष, 5 अङ्गार, 6 चर्मन् (चर्मिन् according to some texts) 7 सहस्र, 8 युवति, 9 पदाति, 10 पद्धति, 11 अथर्वन्, (also अर्वन् K.) 12 रक्षिणा, 13 भूत, 14 विषय, 15 श्रोत्र, also 16 धर्मिन्

गोत्रोक्षोष्टोरभ्रराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद् वुञ् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र, उक्ष, उष्ट्र, उरभ्र, राज, राजन्य, राजपुत्र, वत्स, मनुष्य-अजाद्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तः ॥ गोत्रादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'râjan', 'râjanya', 'râjaputtra', 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. Thus औपगवकम्, औक्षकम्, (VI. 4. 144) औष्ट्रकम्, औरभ्रकम्, राजकम्, (VI. 4. 144) राजन्यकम्, राजपुत्रकम्, वात्सकम्, मानुष्यकम्, आजकम्, ॥ The final य of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक् is added (VI. 4. 150)

Vart.—Also after the word वृद्ध ; e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a collection of old men'.

केदाराद्यञ्च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ केदारात्, यञ् च-॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केदारशब्दाद् यञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् वुञ् च, तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ गणिकायाश्च यञ्प्रत्ययः ॥

40. The affix यञ् as well as the affix वुञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

This debars ठक् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदाराणाम् समूहः = कैदार्यम् or कैदारकम् ॥

Vart.—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गाणिक्यम् ॥

ठञ् कवचिनश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठञ् कवचिनः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवचिनशब्दाद् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

41. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'Kedâra', and also after the word 'Kavachin'.

Thus कावचिकम् (VI. 4. 144); and कैदारिकम्. We read the anuvṛitti of केदार in this Sûtra, by virtue of the word च

ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यन् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मण, माणव-वाडवात्-यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो यन्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ यन्प्रकरणे पृष्ठादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अङ्गः खः क्रतौ ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ पृष्ठा पत्त्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ वातादूलः ॥

42. The affix यन् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'brâhmana', 'mânava', and 'vâdava'.

The indicatovy न् of यन् makes the word take udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाडव्यम् ॥

Vart.—Also after the word पृष्ठ e. g. पृष्ठपः ॥

Vart.—The affix ख is added to अहन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice'. e. g. अहीनः 'a collection of days of sacrifice'. Otherwise the form is आङ्गः by अञ् see IV. 2. 45.

Vart.—The affix णस् comes after पशु, e. g. पश्वम् 'a collection of axes'. The final उ of पशु is not changed by guṇa into ओ before the affix, because the word पशु is treated as a pada-word (I. 4. 16) and not a Bha-word.

Vart.—The affix ऊल is added to वात e. g. वातूलः 'a collection of winds or a mad-man'.

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहायेभ्यस्तल् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम, जन-बन्धु-सहायेभ्यः तल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामादिभ्यस्तल्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ गज्जघोति वक्तव्यम् ॥

43, The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'grâma', 'jana', 'bandhu' and 'sahâya'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages'. The words ending in तल् are all feminine. So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives', and सहायता 'a collection of allies'.

Vârt:—The affix 'tal' comes after गज also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants'.

अनुदात्तादेरञ् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः शब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

44. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudâtta on the first syllable.

Thus कपोतानां समूहः = कापोतम्, मायूरम्, तैत्तिरम् ॥

खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खण्डिकादिभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खण्डिका इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Kārika अञ्सिद्धिरनुदात्तादेः कोऽर्थः क्षुद्रकमालवात् ।

गोत्राद्वुञ् न च तद्गोत्रं तदन्तान्न च सर्वतः ॥

ज्ञापकं स्यात्तदन्तत्वे तथा चापिशलेर्विधिः ।

सेनायां नियमार्थं च यथा बाध्येत चाञ् वुञ्चा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्षुद्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् ॥

45. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'Khandika &c.

This sūtra applies to words having anudâtta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things. e. g. खण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

The word क्षुद्रकमालवं is included in this list. It is a Dvandva compound of two words क्षुद्रक and मालव, denoting tribes of Kshatriyas. The Tadrâja affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168) is elided after the first, and ज्यङ् (IV. 1. 171) after the second word which is a Vṛiddham. When these two words form a compound, the acute falls on the final (VI. 1. 223), the initial of this compound is therefore, anudâtta : and therefore by the last sūtra IV. 2. 44, this word would have taken अञ् ; where is the necessity of its being included in this list ? It is to exclude the वुञ् of IV. 2. 39 which comes after a Gotra word. But will not the subsequent अञ् (IV. 2. 44) debar the preceding वुञ् (IV. 2. 39) by the rule of paratva ? Moreover, a collection or aggregate of two Gotra words will not be called Gotra, as an aggregate of countries is not called a 'country' for the application of janapada rule, as काशिकोसलीयाः does not take वुञ् and there will not apply tadanta vidhi to the compound word क्षुद्रकमालव, which ends in a gotra word ? To this we reply, that the fact of the inclusion

of this word in the list, is an indication of the existence of these two rules : (1) that **बुञ्** affix supersedes a *subsequent* affix in cases of conflict. Thus **औषग्व** and **कापटव** are *anudâttâdi* words because formed by **अण्** (III. 1. 2), and require therefore **अञ्** by IV. 2. 44, but **बुञ्** supersedes it, and we have **औषग्वकम्** and **कापटवकम्** ॥ The second rule is: (2) that in सामूहिक affixes there is *tad-antavidhi* in spite of the prohibition contained in *vârtika* under I. 1. 72. As **वानहस्तिकं, गौधेनुकम्** ॥ The complete sentence in the *Gaṇapâṭha* is **क्षुद्रकमालवात् सेनासंज्ञायाम्**, the first portion denotes the existence of the above two rules, the second portion **सेना** &c restricts the application of the rule. The affix is added when it is the name of a **सेना** 'army' and not otherwise. As **क्षौद्रकमालवी सेना**, otherwise **क्षौद्रकमालवकम्** ॥ The existence of above corollaries is proved by the *sûtra* of the Grammarian *Āpisâli* also **धेनुरनञि ढक्मुत्पादयति** 'the affix **ढक्** comes after **धेनु** in denoting collection thereof, when not preceded by the negative particle **नञ्**', therefore, when preceded by any other word, the affix will apply.

1 खण्डिक (खण्डिका K.), 2 वडवा, 3 क्षुद्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् (a *Vârttika* to 4, 2, 45), 4 भिक्षुक, 5 शुक्र, 6 उलूक, 7 श्वन्, 8 अहन्, 9 युगंवरञ्, (वरञ्चा v. 1.; युग, वरञ्चा K.), 10 हलबन्ध (बग्धा).

चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणेभ्यः धर्मवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणशब्दः कटकलापादयः, तेभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः समूहे धर्मवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चरणाद्धर्माभाययोरिति ॥

46. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

The Vedic Schools or *Charaṇas* are like **कट, कलाप** &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in *Sûtra* IV. 3. 126 &c. The word **धर्म** does not occur in the *Sûtra* IV. 3. 126, or any where else, but it occurs in the following *ishṭi* under that *Sûtra* :—**चरणद्धर्माभाययोः ॥** Thus **कटानां धर्म = काटकम्**, so also **कटानां समूहः = काटकम्** ॥ Similarly **कालापकम्, छान्दोग्यम्, औक्थिक्यम्** and **आथर्वणम्** ॥

अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्त-हस्ति-धेनोः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचित्तार्थेभ्यो हस्तिधेनुशब्दाभ्यां च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धेनोरनञ इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of things without consciousness, and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'.

This debar **अण्** and **अञ्** ॥ The **अपूपानां समूहः = आपूपिकम्** ॥ The affix **ठक्** is replaced by **इक्** (VII. 3. 50) or **क** (VII. 3. 50). Thus **हास्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, शाष्कुलिकम्** ॥

Vārt.—Not so, if the word धेनु is preceded by the negative particle नञ् ॥ As आधेनवम् ॥ (See IV. 2. 45):

केशाश्वाभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ केश-अश्वाभ्याम्-यञ्-छौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केश अश्व इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं यञ् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽन्यतरस्यां तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् निषेधे ॥

48. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अश्व ॥

Thus केशानां समूहः = कैश्यम् or कैशिकम् (IV. 2. 47), अश्वानां समूहः = आश्वम् (IV. I. 63) अश्वीयम् ॥

पाशादिभ्यो यः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाशादिभ्यः यः

वृत्तिः ॥ पाशादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् निषेधे ॥

49. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पाश &c.

Thus पाश्या, तृण्या &c. These words are feminine.

1 पाश, 2 तृण, 3 धूम, 4 वात, 5 अङ्गार, 6 पाढल (पाटलका K.), 7 पोत, 8 गल, 9 पिटक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 मट (नड K.), 14 वन. also 15 बालक.

खलगोरथात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ खल-गो-रथात्-य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथशब्देभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् निषेधे ॥

50. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'Khala', 'Go' and 'Ratha'.

Thus खल्या, गव्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the पाशादि class, in order that rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

इनित्रकट्यचश्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इनि-त्र-कट्यचः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यम् इनि च कट्यच् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् निषेधे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमलादिभ्यः खण्डच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नरकरितुरङ्गाणां स्कन्धच् प्रत्ययः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यः काण्डः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affixes 'ini', 'tra' and 'katyach' come in the senses of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलिनी, गोत्रा, रथकव्या ।

Vārt.—The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c. Thus डाकिनी, कुण्डलिनी, कुडुम्बिनी, ॥

Vart:—The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamāla &c. As कमल-खण्डम्, अम्भोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल, अम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद, सरोज्, नलिनी, कौरविणी belong to this class. These are आकृतिगणः ॥

Vart:—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

Vart:—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम्, तृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

विषयो देशे ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विषयः, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूह इति निवृत्तम् । षष्ठीसमर्थविभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थार्थं विषय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ विषयो देशश्चेत्स भवति ॥

52. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

The anuvṛitti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37) does not extend further: but the anuvṛitti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37) is to be read into it. The whole sūtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country'. The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometime it means an estate, as विषयो लब्धः 'a village has been acquired'. Some time it means an object of perception, as चक्षु विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sūtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

Thus शिबीनां विषयो देशः = शैवः 'The country within the sphere of the Śibi'. So also औष्ट्रः &c. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विषयो देशइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

53. The affix वुञ् comes after the words rajanya &c, in the same sense.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो देशः = राजन्यकः, देवायनकः ॥ It is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत*, 3 बाभ्रव्य*, 4 शालङ्कायन, 5 हेवयात (देवयातंव; दवयान.), 6 अत्रीड, 7 वरत्रा*, 8 जालंधरायण, 9 राजायन*, 10 तेलु*, 11 आत्मकामेय, 12 अम्बरीष-पुत्र, 13 वसाति, 14 बेल्ववन, 15 शैलूष, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 तीव्र*, 18 बैल्वज (बैल्वज) 19 भार्जुनायन, 20 संप्रिय, 21 दाक्षि, 22 ऊर्णनाभ, 23 आप्रीत, 24 वैतिल, 25 वात्रक, ॥

भौरिक्याद्यैषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भक्तलौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भौरिक्यादि, ऐषु-कार्यादिभ्यः, विधल्, भक्तलौ ॥

वृत्तः ॥ भौरिक्यादिभ्य एषुकार्यादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यं विधल् भक्तल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो, विषयो देव इत्येतौस्मिन्विषये ॥

54. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukàri &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधः, वैपेयविधः &c. एषुकारिभक्तः, सारस्यायनभक्तः &c.

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौलिकि, 3 चीपयत*, 4 चैदयत (चौदयत), 5 काणय, 6 वाणिजक, 7 वालिकाज्य (वाणिकाज्य; वालिज, वालिज्यक), 8 सैकयत (शैकयत.), 9 वैकयत. 10 वैपेय.

1 एषुकारि, 2 सारस्यायन (सारसायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 द्वाक्षायण, 5 त्र्याक्षायण (त्र्यायण), 6 औडायन, 7 जौलायन, 8 खाडायन, 9 रासमित्रि, 10 रासमित्रायण, 11 शौद्रायण (शौद्रायण), 12 राक्षायण, 13 शायण्डायन*, 14 तार्क्ष्यायण, 15 शौभ्रायण, 16 सौवीर, 17 सौवीरायण*, 18 शायण्ड, 19 शौण्ड, 20 शयाण्ड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्वधेनव, 23 नड (नड) 24 तुण्डदेव, 25 विश्वदेव (विशदेव and वैश्वदेव), 26 तापिण्ड. 27 शौण्ड, 28 सायण्ड, 29 अलायत, 30 औलालयत.

सोस्यादिरितिच्छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अस्य, आदिः, इति-छन्दसः-प्रगाथेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थवस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं छन्दश्चेत्तदादिभेदवति, यत्तदस्येति निर्दिष्टं प्रगाथाश्चेत्ते भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसः प्रत्ययविधानेनपुंसके स्वार्थ उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragâtha beginning therewith.

The words of this sūtra require a little explanation. सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्य 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning of the affix. आदिः 'beginning'; this qualifies the base or prakṛiti. The word इति is added for the sake of precision. छन्दसः 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base. प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragâtha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragâtha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragâtha beginning with that metre. Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पङ्क्तः which means "a Pragâtha beginning with the metre Paṅkti". Similarly आनुभुः, जागतः &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragâtha' the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after' the

name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragâtha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragâtha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvâka &c and not of a Pragâtha. Pragâtha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. यत्र द्वे ऋचौ प्रगथनेन तिस्रः क्रियन्ते, स प्रगायनात् पकर्षणानात् वा प्रगाथ इत्युच्यते ॥

Vârt:—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it; and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रैष्टुभम् 'the metre Trishtubha', जागतम् &c.

संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृभ्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संग्रामे, प्रयोजन, योद्धृभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयोजनवाचिभ्यो योद्धृवाचिभ्यश्च शब्देभ्यः प्रथमासमर्थेभ्योऽस्योति षष्ठ्यर्थे संग्रामेऽभिधेये यथा-
विहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of a battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here; showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case: and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजनः, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This भद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य = भाद्रः "A battle fought for Bhadrâ". So also सौभाद्रः "a battle fought to gain Subhadrâ". Similarly अहिमाला योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य = आहिमालः 'battle led by Ahimâlâ warriors' So also स्यान्वनाश्वः, भारतः ॥

Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य शानस्य 'Subhadrâ is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior'? Observe, सुभद्रा प्रेक्षिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ।

तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत-अस्याम्, प्रहरणम्, इति-क्रीडायाम्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थदस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति. यस्तदिति निर्दिष्टं प्रहरणं चेत्तद्वति, यदस्यामिति निर्दिष्टं क्रीडा चेत्सा भवति ॥

57. The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sūtra literally translated means: 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play; the affix ण is added' i. e. to a word in the first case in construction,

denoting the name of a weapon ; ण is added to denote a play. Thus वण्डः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां = वण्डा "a game played with sticks". So मौष्टा "a game played with fists".

Why do we say 'a weapon' ? Observe माला भूषणमस्यां क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe:—खड्गः प्रहरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV. 1. 4 and 15), the feminine being formed by आ ॥

घञः सास्यां क्रियेति जः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञः सा-अस्याम् क्रिया-इति-जः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घञन्तात्क्रियावाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे स्त्रीलिङ्गे जः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix ज, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ, denotes an action occurring in that.

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is:—घञः "after a word ending in the affix घञ"; सा 'that', अस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, "After a word ending in घञ, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix ज is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते — श्येनपाता, so also तैलपाता ॥ The nasal is added by VI. 3. 71. Thus श्येनपाता मृगया 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलपाता स्वधा "an oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown".

The repetition of सास्यां in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been obtained from the last sūtra, indicates that this is a general rule, and not one confined to "games" only. Thus वण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथौ वर्तते = वण्डपाता तिथिः; मौसलपाता तिथिः ॥

तदधीते तद्वेद ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अधीते-तद्-वेद ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्विति द्वितीयासमर्थादधीते वेद इत्येतयोरर्थं योर्यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In others words, the sūtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As छन्दोऽधीते = छान्दसः 'who studies Prosody'. वैयाकरणः (VII. 3. 3) 'who knows grammar'. So also नैरुक्तः, नैमित्तः 'who knows the causes'. भौहूर्तः, औत्पातः ॥

The word तद् is repeated in this sūtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

ऋतूक्थादिसूत्रान्ताड्ठक् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतु-उक्थादि-सूत्रान्तात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतुविशेषत्वाच्चिभ्य उक्थादिभ्यश्च सूत्रान्ताच्च ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये ।
अणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रान्तादकल्पादेरिष्यते ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्तादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विद्या च नाङ्गक्षत्रधर्मसंसर्गत्रिपूर्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यष्ट्वन्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुसूलेक्ष्यलक्षणे च ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ इकन्परोचरपदात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शतपथेः षिकन् पथो बहुलम् ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word 'sūtra'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्निष्टोमिकः 'who understands or studies Agnishtoma Sacrifice'. वाजपेयिकः, औक्थिकः, लौकायतिकः, वार्तिकसूत्रिकः, सामहसूत्रिकः ॥

Ishti :—If a word ending in 'sūtra', begins with the word 'Kalpa', the affix अण् is added and not ठक्. Thus : काल्पसूत्रः 'who studies Kalpa-sūtra'.

Vārt :—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविद्यिकः, सार्वविद्यिकः, गौलक्षणिकः, आश्वलक्षणिकः, मातृकल्पिकः, पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

Vārt :—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, क्षत्र, धर्म, संसर्ग and त्रि ॥ As अङ्गविद्यामधीते = आङ्ग विद्यः, क्षात्रविद्यः, धर्मविद्यः, सांसर्गविद्यः, त्रैविद्यः ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not ठक् ॥

Vārt :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यायिका), and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावक्रीतिकः, प्रैयङ्गविकः, वासवदत्तिकः, सौमनोत्तरिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः ॥

Vārt :—The affix ल comes in the same sense, after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेदः, सर्वतन्त्रः, स्रवार्तिकः, ससंग्रहः, द्विवेदः पञ्चव्याकरणः ॥

Vārt :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after the words अनुसू, लभ्य, and लक्षण; As अनुसूनामग्रन्थ स्तमधीते = आनुसुकः, लाक्षिकः, लाक्षणिकः ॥

Vārt :—The affix इकम् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद्; as, पूर्वपदिकः ॥

Vārt :—The affix षिकन् comes diversely in the same sense, after the compound words शतपथ, and शष्टिपथ. As शतपथिकः f. शतपथिकी IV. I. 41), षष्टिपथिकः (f. षष्टिपथिकी). By the force of the word 'diversely' we get the affix अण्, as शतपथः and षाष्टिपथः ॥

1 उक्थ, 2 लोकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त, 8 द्वि-
पदा, 9 ज्योतिष (द्विपरी, ज्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनेकल्प, 12 यज्ञ, 13 धर्म, 14 च-

चा, 15 क्रमेतर, 16 श्लक्ष्ण, 17 संहिता, 18 पदक्रम (पद।क्रम) 19 संघट्ट संघात also संघट) 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिषद्*, 22 संग्रह, 23 गण, 24 गुण (गुणागुण st. गण, गुण), 25 आयुर्वेद. 26 अनुगुण.

क्रमादिभ्यो वुन् ॥ ६१ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

61. The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of “who studies or who knows”, after the words ‘Krama &c’.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्रमकः (VII. 1. 1) पदकः &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पद, 3 शिक्षा, 4 मीमांसा, 5 सामन् belong to this class.

अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु, ब्राह्मणात् इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुब्राह्मणशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

62. The affix ‘ini’ comes in the sense of “who studies or who knows”, after the word ‘anubrâhmana’.

This debars अण् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means ‘a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brâhmana book’. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनौ, अनुब्राह्मणिनः &c. The affix इनि also has the force of मनुष्, and by Sûtra V. 2. 115 अत इनि टनौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and ठन् in the sense of मनुष्; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense.

वसन्तादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसन्तादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्त इत्येवमादिभ्यष्टक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of “who studies or who knows”, after the words ‘vasanta &c.’

This debars अण् ॥ As, वासन्तिकः ‘who studies the book relating to Spring’. वार्षिकः &c ॥ 1 वसन्त, 2 वर्षा, 3 शरद्, 4 हेमन्त, 5 शिशिर, 6 प्रथम, 7 गुण, 8 चरम, 9 अनुगुण, 10 अपर्वन्, 11 अथर्वन् 12 मीष्म,

प्रोक्ताल्लुक् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रोक्तात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तादभ्येत्वेदित्रोरुत्पन्नस्य लुग्भवति ॥

64. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting “who studies or who knows that” are elided by ‘luk’.

This sûtra may be rendered in the following way also :—“ There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer”. The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV. 3. 101 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम् ‘the system of Grammar enounced by Pāṇini’.

पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also आपिशलः ॥ The difference between the word पाणिनीय meaning the system of Grammar, and पाणिनीय formed with अण्, meaning whostudies that Grammar, would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी ॥ For had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sūtra, in forming the feminine, डीप् would be required by IV.1.15, as the word would end in अण्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अण् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 3). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by दाप्, the accent is on the middle, owing to the छ affix. (Phit Su II. 19)

सूत्राच्च कोपधात् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रात्-च-कोपधात्-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूत्रवाचिनः ककारोपधादुत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रकृतोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

65. The affix denoting "who studies that or who knows that" is elided by luk, after the title of a sūtra work, having क् as penultimate.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pāṇini sūtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Aṣṭaka'. So also वृशका वैयाघ्रपदीयाः, त्रिकाः काशकृत्स्नाः ॥

Vārt:—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a numeral: as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्तिकं सूत्रमधीते = महावार्तिकः, so also कालपकः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate'? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चातुष्टयः ॥ This sūtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the Announcer.

छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दो-ब्राह्मणानि-च-तत्-विष-याणि-(प्रोक्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तग्रहणमनुवर्तते । छन्दांसि ब्राह्मणानि च प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाण्येव भवन्ति ॥

66. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brāhmaṇas, express this relation only.

The word प्रोक्त is to be read into this sūtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brāhmaṇa, is that of expressing "one who studies" or "one who knows". तद्विषयाणि means "this relation", i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of अभ्येतृ or वेदितृ ॥ In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer', have the force of "one who studies or one who knows" when added to Veda-Text or Brāhmaṇas. That is, a प्रोक्त affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, except when an अभ्येतृ or

वेदित् affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a प्रोक्त affix when added to a Veda or a Brâhmaṇa, means "he who studies or knows the Veda announced by". In fact there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठाः meaning 'those who study or know Kaṭha Veda'. The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix णिनि denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104 : then we elide it by IV. 3. 107, leaving the bare word कठ, then we add अण्, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64. कठ-णिनि = कठ-णि- (IV. 3. 107) ; कठ-णि-अण् = कठ (IV. 2. 64) Plural कठाः "those who study the Veda announced by Kaṭha".

Other examples to illustrate this sūtra are : मौढाः (IV. 3. 101) 'who study the Veda announced by Muda'. पैप्पलादः, आर्चाभिनः (IV. 3. 104) वाजसनेयिनः (IV. 3. 106) "who study the Veda announced by Pippalâda, Richâva, or Vâjasaneya". Similarly with words denoting a Brâhmaṇa-Text. Thus : ताण्डिनः (IV. 3. 104), भाल्लविनः (IV. 3. 105), शाव्यायनिनः (IV. 3. 105) ऐतरेयिनः (IV. 3. 105) "who study the Brâhmaṇas announced by Tândya, Bhallava, Śātyâyana, or Aitareya".

Why is the word Brâhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sūtra ? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brâhmaṇa-Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brâhmaṇa announced by Yājnyavalkya. Thus याज्ञवल्क्येन प्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि = याज्ञवल्क्यानि ॥ Similarly सौलभानि ॥ These Brâhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them, See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning "and" is employed in the sūtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sūtra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sūtra Texts also. Thus काश्यपिनः, कौशिकिनः "who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kâśyapa or Kuśika" so also sūtra : as, पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः "the Bhikshus who study the Sūtras promulgated by Parasara". शैलालिनो नदाः, कर्मन्दिनः, कृशद्विनः &c.

Why do we say "Chhandas and Brâhmaṇas"? Because the प्रोक्त affix after any other word will have its own significance, pure and simple ; as, पाणिनीयं व्याकरणम् ॥ पैत्रीकल्पः ॥

The Quadruply-significant affixes.

तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नास्ति ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मिन्-अस्ति-इति-देशे-तत्-नास्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमथोदास्मान्निति सप्तम्यथे यथाविहित प्रत्यया भवात्, यत्प्रथमासमर्थमस्ति चेत्तद्वर्तते, यदस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्ट देशश्चेत्स तन्नामा भवति ॥

67. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of—"that thing is in this"—the place taking a name therefrom.

The words of this aphorism require a detailed examination. तद् 'that', i. e. the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. अस्मिन् "in this"—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति "is" this qualifies the sense of the base. इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशे तन्नाम्नि "a country having that name"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is:—"the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists".

This sūtra and the three subsequent sūtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sūtras, are called चातुरार्थिक "quadruple significant".

Thus उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = औदुम्बरः Audumbara--the country in which there are glomerous fig trees. Similarly बालूबजः, पार्वतः &c. all these words are formed by the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83).

This sūtra debars the मत्वर्थीय affixes.

तेन निर्वृत्तम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-निर्वृत्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासर्थान्निर्वृत्तमित्यस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him', when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तन्नाम्नि of the last sūtra governs this and the two subsequent sūtras. By these four sūtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाम्बी नगरी "the city of Kauśāmbī, completed by Kuśāmba". Similarly साहस्री परिखा "a mote completed by a thousand (gold coins) or persons". A place is named after the means or the person, by which or through whom it is established.

तस्य निवासः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थान्निवास इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति देशनामधेये गम्यमाने ॥

69. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place'; the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sūtra literally means "his dwelling place". A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus शैवः "the country of

the 'Sibis', औदिष्टः ॥ ऋजुनावान्निवासौ देशः = अर्जुनावः ॥ The word ऋजुनावां = ऋज्वी-
नैर्वेषां ॥

अदूरभवश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदूरभवः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वा समर्थ विभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाददूरभव इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. The word तस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sūtra. It means, therefore, "an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off" the whole word being the name of a place. Thus विदिशाया अदूर भव = वैदिशम् is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśā flows. So also हैमवतम् ॥

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this; so that the four sūtras 67, 68, 69 and 70 form but one complete sūtra, and the meaning denoted by these will be understood in the subsequent aphorisms.

ओरञ् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाप्रथाविहितं समर्थविभक्तियुक्तादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तदस्मिन्नस्तीत्येवमादि-
ष्वर्थेषु । अणोपवादः ॥

71. The affix अञ् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix अण् (IV. I. 83). Thus आरड्वम् from अरडु 'a tribe of Kshatriyas'; काक्षतवम् from कक्षतु, and कार्कटेलवम् from कर्क-
टेलू ॥ But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumati, named after the sugar-
canes near it'. Here we add the affix मतुप् taught in the subsequent sūtra IV. 2. 85, which debars अञ् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2). The affix अञ् governs the six sūtras upto IV. 2. 77. The difference between अञ् and अण् consists in the accent.

मतोश्च बहुजङ्गात् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः-च-बहुच्-अङ्गात्-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुज् अङ्गं यस्यासौ बहुजङ्गो मतुप् तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः । अणो-
पवादः ॥

72. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मतुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic.

The word बहुजङ्ग is a compound of बहुच् meaning literally 'many vowels' i. e. polysyllabic, and of अङ्गः meaning stem. A word which, exclusive

of the affix मनुष्, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अञ् ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus ऐषुकावतम्, सैधुकावतम् ॥

Why do we say "after a polysyllabic stem"? Observe आहिमतम् यावमतम् ॥ Here though the word अहिमत् ends in the affix मनुष्, yet the अङ्ग or the stem viz. अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming names of countries. In fact, the word बहुच् qualifies the word अङ्ग, as it stands without the affix मनुष्, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore मालावतां निवासः = मालावतम् by अण् ॥

बहुच्: कूपेषु ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुच्-कूपेषु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुच्: प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः कूपेष्वभिधेयेषु ॥

73. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars अण्. Thus दीर्घवरत्रेण निर्वृत्तः कूपः = दीर्घवरत्रः "a well completed by Dirghavaratra". So also कापिलवरत्रः ॥

उदक् च विपाशः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदक्-च-विपाशः-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपाश उच्यते कूले ये कूपात्तेष्वभिधेयेष्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः ॥

74. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipâsâ.

This debars अण्; and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus दात्तः "a well completed by Datta", गौतमः &c.

Why do we say on the "northern bank"? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipâsâ, then the affix अण् will apply as दात्तः and गौतमः, the difference being in the accent. This sūtra illustrates the refined distinctions drawn by the author, and the importance attached to accents in former times.

संकलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संकलादिभ्यः-च-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संकल इत्येवमादभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः । अणोपवादः ॥

75. The affix अञ् comes after the words sankala &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars अण् ॥ The word संकलः is equivalent to संगतः कलः ॥ Thus सौंकलः, पैण्कलः &c.

1 संकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 उत्तम, 4 उदुप, 5 उद्वप (उद्वप), 6 उत्पुट, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुद्वभ, 10 सुदत्त, 11 सुभृत, 12 सुपृत*, 13 सुनेत्र, 14 सुमङ्गल*, 15 सुपिङ्गल, 16 सुत*, 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 पूतक (पूतिका; पूतीका), 19 पूलास, 20 कूलास, 21 पलाश, 22 निवेश, 23 गवेष,

24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आन्*, 27 अहन्, 28 लोमन्, 29 वेमन्, 30 वरुण (चरण), 31 ब्रह्म, 32 स-
चोज. 33 अभिषिक्त, 34 गोभृत्, 35 राजभृत्, 36 भल्ल, 37 मल्ल*, 38 माल. also 39 शर्मन्,
40 गृह, 41 भूत.

स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राशु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रीषु-सौवीर-शाल्व-प्राशु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्याप्प्रातिपदिकादम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः सौवीरे स्त्रीलिङ्गे देशे वाच्ये साल्वे प्राचि ॥

76. So also when the place is situate in the lands of the Sauvîra, or Sâlva or of the Eastern people ; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of देशतन्नाम्नि (IV. 2. 67) : so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus दात्तामित्रि "the city founded by Dattâmitra" (in Sauvîra). So also वैधूमाग्री (in Sâlva) काकन्दी, माकन्दी. माणिचरी, जारुषी (in Eastern countries).

सुवास्त्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवास्त्वादिभ्यः (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवास्तु इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

77. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense.

This debars the affix अञ् which would have otherwise come by IV.2,71 and 73. Thus सुवास्तोरदूरभवं नगरं = सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्णवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvṛitti came from IV. 1. 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sūtra debars sūtra IV. 2. 85. Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु, 2 वर्ण, 3 भण्डु, 4 खण्डु (कण्डु), 5 सेवालिन (सेचालिन), 6 कर्पूरिन,
7 शिखण्डिन, 8 गर्त, 9 कर्कश, 10 शकटीकर्ण (शदीकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क,
13 कर्कन्धुमती (कर्कन्धू), 14 गोह (गोह्य and गाहि), 15 अहिसक्य 16 इत् ॥

रोणी ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोणी-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोणीशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

78. The affix अण् comes after राणे in the fourfold sense.

This debars अञ् of IV. 2. 74. This sūtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case. As a general rule all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in these sūtras. The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under all circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound. In fact, the nominative case in this sūtra is a very ingenious explanatory artificiality. Thus रौणः, आजक्रौणः or सैहिकरौणः

कोपधाच्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोपधात्-च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

79. The affix **अण्** comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having **क्** for its penultimate.

This debars **अञ्** which would have come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. Thus **कार्णच्छिद्रिकः कूपः ॥ कार्णवेष्टकः ॥ कार्कवाकवम्, वैशङ्कवम् ॥**

**बुञ्छणकठजिलसेनिरढअण्ययफक्फिञ्ज्यककठको अरीहणकृशाश्वश्यकुमुद-
काशतृणप्रेक्षाश्मसखिसङ्काशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ॥ ८० ॥
पदानि ॥ बुञ्-छण्-क-ठच्-इल्-श-इनि-र-ठञ्-ण्य-य-फक्-फिञ्-इञ्-ज्य-कक्-ठको; अ-
रीहण-कृशाश्व-ऋश्य-कुमुद-काश-तृण-प्रेक्ष-अश्म-सखि-सङ्काश-बल-पक्ष- कर्ण- सुत
ङ्गम-प्रागादिन्-वराह-कुमुदादिभ्यः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ बुञ्जादयः सप्तदश प्रत्यया, अरीहणादयोऽपि सप्तदशैव प्रातिपदिकगणाः । आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमाभि-
संबध्यते । तत्र यथासंख्यं सप्तदशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकगणेभ्यः सप्तदश प्रत्यया भवन्ति चातुरर्थिकाः ॥ यथा—
(1) अरीहणादिभ्यो बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (2) कृशाश्वदिभ्यश्छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (3) ऋश्यादिभ्यः कः
प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (4) कुमुदादिभ्यश्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (5) काशादिभ्य इल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (6) तृणा-
दिभ्यः शः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (7) प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (8) अश्मादिभ्यो र प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
(9) सख्यादिभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (10) संकाशादिभ्यो ण्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (11) बलादिभ्यो यः प्र-
त्ययो भवति ॥ (12) पक्षादिभ्यः फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (13) कर्णादिभ्यः फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (14)
सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (15) प्रगदिन्नादिभ्यो ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (16) वराहा-
दिभ्यः कक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (17) कुमुदादिभ्यश्चक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥**

80. In the above four senses are added the follow-
ing 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respec-
tively :—

1. बुञ् (=अक्) after अरीहण &c. 2. छण् (=ईय) after कृशाश्व &c. 3. क after
ऋश्य &c. 4. ठच् (=इक्) after कुमुद &c. 5. इल् after काश &c. 6. स (or श) after तृण
&c. 7. इनि (=इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8. र after अश्मन् &c. 9. ढञ् (=एव) after सखि &c.
10. ण्य (=य) after संकाश &c. 11. य after बल &c. 12. फक् (=आयर्न) after पक्ष &c.
13. फिञ् (=आयनि), after कर्ण &c. 14. इञ् (इ) after सुतङ्गम &c. 15. ज्य (य) after प्रगदिन्
&c. 16. कक् (क्) after वराह &c. 17. चक् (इक्) after कुमुद &c.

The above affixes बुञ् &c. are applied to the above classes of words.
आदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part
of the sūtra upto चक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the
seventeen word-class. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by
I. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

(1) अरीहणकम्, द्रोघणकम् (2) काशाश्वीयः, आरुष्टीयः, (3) ऋश्यकः, न्यमोधकः, (4)
कुमुदिकम्, शक्करिकम्, (5) वाशिलम्, काशिलम्, (6) तृणसः, नडसः, (7) प्रेक्षिन्, हलकिन्, (8)
अश्मरः, (9) सखियम्, सखिदत्तेयम्, 10 सांकाश्यम्, काम्पल्यम्, (11) बल्यः, कल्यम्, (12) पा-
क्षायणः, तांषायणः, (13) कर्णायनिः, वासिष्ठायनिः, (14) सुतङ्गमिः, मोनिचिस्तिः, (15) प्रागय
(16) वराहकम्, पालाशकम्, and (17) lastly कुमुदिकम् ॥

The word शिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes viz अरीहणादि, (36), कुमुदादि (14), and वराहादि (3), Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the वरणादि class (IV. 2. 82), therefore this universal अण् (IV. 1. 83) will be elided after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when शिरीषवन was formed from शिरीषाः ॥

1 अरीहण, 2 वृषण, 3 वृहण*, 4 भगल, 5 उलन्द, 6 किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 क्रोष्ट्रायण, 9 औ-
ष्ट्रायण*, 10 वैगर्तायण, 11 मैत्रायण, 12 भास्त्रायण, 13 वैमतायन (also वैमत्तायन), 14 गौमतायन
(गो), 15 सौमतायन, 16 सौसायन, 17 धौमतायन*, 18 सौमायन*. 19 ऐन्द्रायण*, 20 कौन्द्रायण*,
21 खाडायन, 22 शाण्डिल्यायन, 23 रायस्पोष, 24 विपथ, 25 विपाश, 26 उडण्ड, 27 उडञ्चन,
28 खाण्डवीरण (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काशकृत्स्न (कश), 31 जागबवत (वन्त), 32 शिशप, 33 रैवत (रेवत), 34 बिल्व (बैल्व K.) 35 सुयज्ञ, 36 शिरीष, 37 बधिर, 38 जम्बु, 39 खदिर,
40 सुशर्मन् (सुशर्म K.), 41 हलतृ*, 42 भलन्दन*, 43 खण्डु*, 44 कनल* (कलन), 45 यज्ञदत्त*.
46 सार, 47 वैगर्तायण (sic) and 48 खाण्डायन.

1 कृशाश्व, 2 अरिष्ट, 3 अरिश्म (अरीश्व), 4 वेदमन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमश*, 7 रोमश*, 8 रोमक,
9 लोमक*, 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 वर्चल*, 13 सुर्वचल*, 14 सुकर, 15 सूकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रातर), 17
सदृश, 18 पुरग, 19 पुराग*, 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 अजिन, 23 विनत (विनता, वनिता),
24 अवनत, 25 विकुव्यास (v. 1. कुविद्यास; विकुपास), 26 पराशर*, 27 अरुस्, 28 अयस्*, 29 मौद्ग-
ल्य, 30 यूकर* (मौद्गल्याकर). 31 रोमन्, 32 बर्बर, 33 अवयास and अयावस्

1 ऋश्य, 2 न्यग्रोध, 3 शर (शिरा), 4 निलीन, 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध (v. 1.
निबन्धन; निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगृह, 11 उपगृह, 12 असनि, 13 सित, 14 मत*, 15 वेदमन्*,
16 उत्तराश्मन्, 17 अश्मन्*, 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खदिर, 21 शर्करा, 22 अनडुह, 23
अरडु*, 24 परिवंश, 25 वेणु, 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 वण्ड*, 29 परिवृत्त, 30 कर्दम, 31 अंशु.

1 कुमुद, 2 शर्करा, 3 न्यग्रोध, 4 इक्षुट (इत्कट, उत्कट), 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7
गर्त, 8 बीज, 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्यास*, 11 शकट*, 12 कच*, 13 मधु*, 14 शिरीष, 15 अश्व*, 16
अश्वत्थ, 17 बल्लज, 18 यवाष, 19 कूप, 20 विकङ्कत, 21 वृशभाम. 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश,
24 त्रिक, 25 कत.

1 काश, 2 पाश (वाश), 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 पलाश, 5 पीयूषा (पीयूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड,
9 वन, 10 कर्दम, 11 कच्छूल*, 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 बिस (विश and विस), 15 तृण, 16 कर्पूर, 17
बर्बर*, 18 मधुर*, 19 मह (गुह) 20 कपित्थ*, 21 जतु, 22 शीपालः. 23 नर, 24 कंटक.

1 तृण, 2 नड, 3 मूल*, 4 वन, 5 पर्ण, 6 वर्ण, 7 वराण*, 8 बिल*, 9 पुल*, 10 फल*, 11
अर्जुन*, 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण*, 14 बल, 15 चरण, 16 बुस. 17 जन, 18 लव.

1 प्रेक्षका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 बन्धुका. 4 ध्रुवका, 5 क्षिपका 6 न्यग्रोध, 7 इक्षुट (इर्कट)
8 कङ्कट (कर्कटा), 9 संकट, 10 कट*, 11 कूप*, 12 बुक*, 13 पुक*, 14 पुट*, 15 मह (महा), 16 परि-
वाप*, 17 यवाष* (d. i. यवास), 18 ध्रुवका*, 19 गर्त*, 20 कूपक (कूपका) 21 हिरण्य*. 22 बुधका,
23 सुकटा, 24 मङ्कट, 25 मुक.

1 अश्मन्, 2 युथ (also युष), 3 ऊष (रूष and रुष), 4 मीन, 5 नद, 6 र्ध, 7 वृन्द, 8 गुद*,
9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिखा, 12 कोट (काट), 13 पाम (पाम!), 14 कन्द*, 15 कान्द*, 17 गह्व*, 18
गुड*, 19 कूण्डल*, 20 पीन*. 21 गह्व*.

1 साखि, 2 अग्निदत्त, 3 वायुदत्त, 4 सखिदत्त, 5 गोपिल (गोहित and गोहिल), 6 भल्ल
7 पल (भल्लपाल st. भल्ल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक*, 10 छगल, 11 अशोक, 12 करवीर,
13 वासव*, 14 वीर*, 15 पूर*, 16 वज्र*, 17 कुशीरक*, 18 सोहर (शोहर; सोकर), 19 सरक (सकर),
20 सरस, 21 समर*, 22 समल, 23 सुरस, 24 रोह, 25 समाल, 26 कदल, 27 सप्तल, 28 चक्रपाल,
29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशीर ॥

1 संकाश, 2 कम्पिल, 3 कम्भार (कम्भर), 4 समीर, 5 सूरसेन (शूर), 6 सरक*, 7 सूर*, 8
सुपान्थिन् (rightly सुपथिन्), पन्थ (सक्थ!) च, 9 शूप (यूथ), 10 अंश, 11 अङ्ग*, 12 नासा*, 13
पलित*, 14 अनुनाश*, 15 अश्मन्, 16 कूट, 17 मलिन, 18 दश*, 19 कुम्भ*, 20 शीर्ष*, 21 विरत
(चिरन्त; बिरत!), 22 समल*, 23 सीर*, 24 पञ्जर*, 25 मन्थ*, 26 नल*, 27 रोमन*, 28 लोमन्*,
29 पुलिन*, 30 सुपरि*, 31 कटिपि°, 32 सकर्णक*, 33 वृष्टि*, 34 तीर्थ, 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर*,
37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40 विरह,

1 बल, 2 चुल (बुल), 3 नल*, 4 दल*, 5 वट* 6 लकुल*, 7 डरल*, 8 पुल°, 9 मल°,
10 डल, 11 डुल, 12 वन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल, 15 कवल,

1 पक्ष, 2 तुक्ष°, 3 तुष, 4 कुण्ड°, 5 अण्ड, 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बालिक), 7 वलिक°, 8 चित्र
9 अस्ति°, 10 पथिन् पन्थ च (also पान्थायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक (सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल
(सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिश्वन् (स्वन्), 18 रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्तिन्°, 21 मकर°,
22 लोमक, 23 शीर्ष°, 24 निवात°, 25 पाक°, 26 सिंहक, 27 अंकुश°, 28 सुवर्णक, 29 हंसक
(हंसका), 30 हंसक°, 31 कुत्स°, 32 बिल°, 33 खिल°, 34 यमल, 35 हस्त, 36 कला°, 37 सकर्णक
(सकण्डक), 38 अश्मन्, 39 अस्तिबल ॥

1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ, 3 अर्क, 4 अर्कलूष (लूष), 5 ह्रुपद (डुपद), 6 आनुडुह्य (अन), 7 पाञ्चजन्य,
8 स्फिञ्ज, 9 कुम्भी°, 10 कुन्ती°, 11 जित्वन् (जित्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13 कुलिश, 14 आण्डी-
वत (आण्डीवत्), 15 जव°, 16 जैत्र°, 17 आनक°, 18 अलुश, 19 शल, 20 स्थिरा ॥

1 सुतंगम, 2 मुनिचित (चित्), 3 विप्रचित (चित्), 4 महाचित्*, 5 महापुत्र, 6 स्वन°,
7 श्वेत, 8 खडिक (गडिक) 9 शुक्र, 10 विप्र, 11 वीजवापिन्, 12 अर्जुन, 13 श्वन्, 14 अजिर,
15 जीव, 16 खण्डिन*, 17 कर्ण*, 18 विप्रह*,

1 प्रगादिन्, 2 मगादिन्, 3 मरदिन्, (शरदिन्), 4 कविल (कलिव), 5 खण्डित (खडिव),
6 गदित (गदिव), 7 चूडार, 8 मडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्दार°, 10 कोविदार ॥

1 वराह, 2 पलाश, 3 शिरीष, 4 पिनद्ध, 5 निबद्ध, 6 बलाह*, 7 स्थूल (स्थूण), 8 विदग्ध,
9 विजग्ध, 10 विभग्न, 11 निमग्न्°, 12 बाहु, 13 खादिर, 14 शर्करा, 15 विनद्ध, 16 विरुद्ध, 17 मूल ॥

1 कुमुद, 2 गोमय, 3 रथकार, 4 दशग्राम, 5 अश्वत्थ, 6 शालमलि (ली), 7 शिरीष, 8 मुनि-
स्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल, 10 कूट, 11 मधूकर्ण, 12 घासकुन्द*, 13 शुचिकर्ण, 14 मुचुकर्ण, 15 कुन्द ॥

जनपदे लुप् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदे लुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देशे तन्नाम्रीति यश्चातुरर्थिकः प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य देशविशेषे जनपदेऽभिधेये लुप्भवति ॥

81. The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup* elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom).

The words within bracket in the above sūtra are added by the reading together of this sūtra with sūtra I. 2. 51. Dr. Otto Böhtlingk the learned

translator of Pāṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sūtra. The aphorism literally means : (The quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the place (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus पंचालानां निवासो जनपदः = पंचालाः । So also कुरवः, मत्स्याः, अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः, मगधाः, सुह्याः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no lup-elision of the affix in the following examples : औदुम्बरो जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees'. वैदिशो जनपदः &c ? Because here the words औदुम्बरः and वैदिशः are not names of Kingdom, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase तन्नाम्नि is understood here also.

वरणादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णादिभ्यश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वरण इत्येवमादिभ्य उत्पन्नस्य चातुरार्थकस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति ॥

82. Also after the word वरण &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरण the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप् ॥ The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a kingdom (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणानामदूरभवं नगरं = वरणाः "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varanā", So also शृङ्गी, शात्मलयः ॥

The word च in the sūtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कटुकबदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, (वरण), 2 शृङ्गी, 3 शात्मलि, 4 शृण्डी*, 5 श्याण्डी°, 6 पर्णी, 7 ताम्रपर्णी, 8 गोद (पूर्वो गोदो, पूर्वण गोदो, अपरेण गोदो), 9 आलिङ्गनायन, 10 जानपदी (जालपदी; जालपद) 11 जम्बू*, 12 पुष्कर*, 13 चम्पा*, 14 पम्पा*, 15 वल्गु°, 16 उज्जयनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गया, 18 मथुरा, 19 तक्षशिला, 20 उरसा (उरशा) 21 गोमती°, 22 वल्भी*, 23 कटुकबदरी (with कन्दुक), 24 शिरीषाः 25 काञ्ची, 26 सदाण्डी, 27 वणिकि, 28 वैणिकि, Is an आकृतिगण ॥

शर्कराया वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्करायाः-वा (लुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दादुत्पन्नस्य चातुरार्थकस्य प्रत्ययस्य वा लुप् भवति ॥

83. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided.

Why do we say "Optionally"? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुसुमादि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV.2.80 classes 4 and 16), and must necessarily take the affixes ङच् and कक् taught therein: for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अण्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality

And when the word takes this universal affix (IV 1. 83), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + अण् = शर्करैश्च, शर्करा + अण् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

ठक्छौ च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दादृक् छ इत्येतां प्रत्ययो भवतश्चातुरार्थकौ ॥

84. The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely two formed by this sūtra, two by the last, and two by the sūtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शर्करैश्च, शर्करिकैश्च (formed by ठक्), शर्करिकैश्च (formed by कक्), शर्करिकैश्च (formed by ठक्), and शर्करायाम् (by छ).

नद्यां मतुप् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याम्-मनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यामभिधेयायां मतुप्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थकः ॥

85. The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मन् and वन्). Thus उवुम्बरावती, मन्मन्मन्वती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमन्ती, ह्रुमन्ती ॥ See VI. 3. 119 by which the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219 by which the udatta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10 by which मन् becomes वन् ॥

The affix मतुप् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and भैरवथी, which are formed by अण् added under IV. 2. 68.

मध्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्वादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो मतुप्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थकः ॥

86. The affix मतुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above.

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a river. As मधुमान्, विसवान् &c.

1 मधु, 2 बिस, 3 स्थाणु, 4 वेणु, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 शमी, 7 करीर (किरीर) 8 हिम, 9 किशरा, 10 शर्याण (शर्पणा) 11 मरुत्, 12 वार्दाली, 13 शर, 14 इष्टका, 15 आसुति, 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्दी, 18 शकल, 19 शलाका, 20 आमिषी (आमिषी) 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन्, 23 रुष्टि (मुष्टि हृष्टि) 24 रुष्य 25 तक्षशिला, 26 खड (खडा) 27 वट, 28 वेद (वेदा) 29 रम्य, 30 ऋक्ष, 31 मरुव, 32 शर्वाघाट.

कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो इमतुप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमुद-नड-वेतसेभ्यः-इमतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमुद नड वेतस इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो इमतुप् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थकः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ महिषाघाति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The affix इमतुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and वेतस, in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुद्वान्, नड्वान्, वेतस्वान् ॥

Vârt :—So also after the word महिष, as महिष्मान् ॥

नडशादाङ् ड्वलच् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नड-शादात्-ड्वलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडशादशब्दाभ्यां ड्वलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थकः ॥

88. The affix ड्वलच् comes after नड and शाद् in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नड्वलम् and शाड्वलम् ॥

शिखाया वलच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिखाया-वलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिखाशब्दाद्वलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थकः । यथासंभवमर्थसंबन्धः ॥

89. The affix वलच् comes after the word शिखा in the above four-senses.

Thus शिखावलम् 'the city Sîkhâ-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'. The word शिखा takes वलच् by V. 2. 111, the affix having the same force as मनुष् V. 2. 94, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That वलच् should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

उत्करादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्करादिभ्यः-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्कर इत्येवमादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवाते चातुरार्थकः ॥

90. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses:

As उत्करीयम्, शङ्करीयम् ॥

1 उत्कर, 2 संफल, 3 शकर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलामूल, 6 अभ्रमन्, 7 सुवणे (सुपर्ण) 8 खलाजिन, 9 तिक, 10 कितव, 11 अणक*, 12 वैवण, 13 पिचुक, 14 अभ्रत्य, 15 काश, 16 क्षुद्र (शकाक्षुद्र st. काश, क्षुद्र) 17 भस्त्रा, 18 शाल, 19 जन्या, 20 अजिर (अजिन) 21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्क्रोश, 23 क्षान्त (क्षान्त) 24 खदिर, 25 शूर्पणाय, 26 श्यावनाय, 27 नैवाकव (नैव, बक) 28 तृण°, 29 वृक्ष 30 शाक*, 31 पलाश, 32 विजिगीषा*, 33 अनेक, 34 आत्प, 35 फल*, 36 संपर*, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक*, 41 इडा, 42 अरण्य, 43 निशान्त°, 44 पर्ण, 45 नीचायक°, 46 शंकर, 47 अवरोहित, 48 क्षार°, 49 विशाल, 50 वेच, 51 अराहण°, 52 खण्ड, 53 वातागर 54 मन्त्रणार्ह°, 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56 नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तावृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष) 57 आर्द्रवृक्ष. 58 तृणव, 59 अन्य, 60 मञ्ज, 61 अर्जुनवृक्ष.

नडादीनां कुक् च ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नडादीनाम्, कुक्-च (छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादीनां कुगागमो भवति, छश्च प्रत्ययश्चातुरार्थकः । यथासंभवमर्थसंबन्धः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कूञ्चाया ह्रस्वत्वं । तक्षन्लोपश्च ॥

91. The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c, when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem. As नड + कुक् + छ = नडकीयम्; वृक्षकीयम्, &c.

The words कुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न् is elided : e. g. कुञ्चकीयम्, तक्षकीयम् ॥

1 नड, 2 वृक्ष, 3 बिल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेत्र, 6 वतस, 7 इक्षु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 तृण, 11 कुञ्चा (कुञ्चाया) ह्रस्वत्वं च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपश्च.

शेषे ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेष इत्यधिकारोऽयम् । यानित ऊर्ध्वं प्रत्ययाननुक्रमिष्यामः, शेषेऽर्थे ते वेदितव्याः ॥

92. The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above.

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms. "Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV. 1 92) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification", the last, be called शेष or the remainder—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix अण् &c. Thus चाक्षुषं 'visible' viz. colour which is apprehended by vision' from चक्षुष्; श्रावणः 'audible' viz. sound, from श्रवण, औपनिषदः 'treated of in Upanishad' i. e. soul, दार्षदः from दृषद्, 'ground on a stone' i. e. flour of a fried corn, चातुरं 'ridden in by four person' viz. a cart; चातुरंशम् 'who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon' viz. a goblin; औलूखलः 'pounded in a mortar' viz. barley; आश्वः 'drawn by horses' viz. a chariot. (Adapted from Dr. Ballantyne's Laghukaumudi).

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे "in the remainder" extends from this aphorism forward as far as IV. 3. 134. The affixes छ &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of 'progeny' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जात 'being born' (IV. 3. 25), प्रोक्तः (IV. 3. 101), आगतः (IV. 3. 74) &c. निवासः (IV. 3. 89), &c कृतः &c (IV. 3. 38).

Thus सौन्नः means "born in Srughna (IV. 3. 25), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srughna, or skillful in Srughna (IV. 3. 38), or abundant in Srughna (IV. 3. 39), or suited to Srughna (IV. 3. 41), or staying in Srughna (IV. 3. 53), or what has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 74) or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90)"

राष्ट्रावारपाराद् घञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राष्ट्र-अवारपारात्-घ-ञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राष्ट्र अवारपार इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं घञादित्येता प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विगृहीतावपीष्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विपरीताद्यं ॥

93. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इय is substituted for घ, and ईन for ख (VII. 1. 2). Thus राष्ट्रियः 'born &c. in a country', अवारपारीणः 'who or what goes or extends to both banks'.

Vārt.—The affix ख comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. अवारीणः 'belonging to this bank of the river', पारीणः 'belonging to the other bank', पारावारीणः 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this'. Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes are those of 'being born' &c. to be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 and sūtras that follow it.

"There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first whereof is घ, and the last where of are ख्यु (IV. 3. 24), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced therefrom' IV. 2. 25, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable". (Dr. Ballantyne's *Laghu Kaumudi*).

ग्रामाद्यखञौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्, य-खञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दाद्य खञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

94. The affixes य and खञ् (ईन) come after the word 'grāma'.

As ग्राम्य and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic'.

कत्त्रयादिभ्यो ढकञ् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कत्त्रि-आदिभ्यो-ढकञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कत्त्रि इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढकञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुल्याया यलोपश्च ॥

95. The affix ढकञ् (पयक) comes after the words कत्त्रि &c.

As कत्त्रियकः, औग्मेयकः &c.

1 कत्त्रि, 2 उग्मि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोदन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 माहिष्मती, 10 वर्मती, (चर्मण्वती) 11 उख्या, 12 ग्राम, 13 कुडपाया (कुल्याया) यलोपश्च, 14 यञ्जी, 15 भक्ति.

कुलकुक्षिमीवाभ्यः श्वास्यलङ्कारेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुल-कुक्षि-मीवाभ्यः, श्व-आसि-अलङ्कारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलकुक्षिग्रीवासब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं श्वन् असि अलंकार इत्येतेषु ज्ञातादिष्वर्थेषु ढक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The same affix ढक् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament'.

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25. &c): but the whole word has specific significance. As कौलेयकः = a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौक्षेयकः = a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath), भैवेयकः = a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by अण् as, कौलः, कौक्षः and भैवः ॥

नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् ॥ ९७ ॥ नद्यादिभ्यः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदी इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ढक् (एय) comes after the words 'nadî' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3. 25. &c).

Thus नदियं, 'pertaining to a river', माहेयम् earthen', &c.

1 नदी, 2 मही, 3 वाराणसी, 4 श्रावस्ती, 5 कौशाम्बी, 6 वनकौशाम्बी (वनको) 7 काशफरी° 8 काशफरी (फारी) 9 खाद्री, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाठा (पावा) 12 माया (मावा) 13 शाल्वा (शा-ल्वा) 14 शर्का°, 15 सेतकी (वासेनकी) 16 वडवाया वृषे, 17 शल्वा.

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पूर्व-नगरेयम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पूर-वन-गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As पौरेयम्, वानेयम् and गैरेयम् ॥

दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दक्षिणा, पश्चात्, पुरसः, त्यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दक्षिणा पश्चात् पुरस् इत्येतेभ्यस्त्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

98. After the words 'dakshinâ', 'paschât' and 'puras' the affix 'tyak' (त्य) is added in the remaining senses.

As दक्षिणात्यः 'pertaining or produced in the south'; पश्चात्यः 'occidental', पौरस्त्यः 'oriental'.

कापिश्याः श्फक् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कापिश्याः, श्फक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कापिशीशब्दान् श्फक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बाह्युर्दिपदिभ्यश्चेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

99. After the word 'Kâpisi', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses; (the feminine being formed by ङीष् IV. 1. 41),

Thus कापिशायनं मधु, कापिशायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor'.

Vart:—So also after बाहलि, उर्वि and पर्वि as, बाहलायनी, और्वायनी, पर्वायनी ॥ This debars वृज् of IV. 2. 125.

रङ्गोरमनुष्येऽण् च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ रङ्गोः-अमनुष्ये-अण्-च-(ष्फक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रङ्गुशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात्ष्फक्च शेषिकोऽमनुष्येभिधेये ॥

100. After the word रङ्गु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As रङ्गुवो गौः or रङ्गुवायणो गौः but रङ्गुवको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Q. The word रङ्गु belongs to कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण्, and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sūtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanuysha is that of इव; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add ष्फक्; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as रङ्गुवः "a woolen blanket". When we want to denote a living being other than man, then we add अण् and ष्फक् of this sūtra. The अण् is repeated in this sūtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix ष्फक् ॥

The word रङ्गु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by वृज् of IV. 2. 125, and वृज् is debarred by ढग् of IV. 2. 119, and ढग् is debarred by अण् of IV. 2. 132, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sūtra debars that and ordains अण् and ष्फक् ॥

द्युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यु, प्राग्-अपाग्-उदक्-प्रतीचो-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् प्राच् अपाच् उदच् प्रत्यच् इत्येतेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ।

101. After the words 'div', 'prāch', 'apāch', 'udach' and 'pratyach', the affix यत् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदीच्यम्, (IV. 4. 130) and प्रतीच्यम् ॥ For accent see VI. 1. 213. When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyu' and 'tyul', e. g. प्राक्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). The word अपाच् means south.

कन्थायाष्ठक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्थायाः ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाशब्दादठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

102. After the word 'Kanthâ', comes the affix ठक् in the remaining senses.

As कान्थिकः ॥

वर्णो बुक् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णो-बुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाया इत्येव । वर्णो या कन्था तस्या बुक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

103. To the same stem is added the affix बुक् when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu.

The Varṇu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varṇu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus कान्थिकम् ॥

अव्ययात्त्यप् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्-त्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययात् त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

Kārikā अमेहक्वतसिन्नेभ्यस्त्यप्प्रविधिर्योऽव्ययात्स्मृतः ।

निनिर्भ्यां ध्रुवगत्योश्च प्रवेशो नियमे तथा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्यप्नेर्ध्रुवे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निसो गते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आविसदृच्छन्वसि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अरण्याणोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धित्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्तरावहम् ॥

104. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide. The affix त्यप् is restricted to the following Indeclinables:—अमा 'together', इह 'here', कु 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7) and त्र (V. 3. 10). As अमात्यः 'a minister', इहत्यः, कुत्यः, ततस्त्यः, तत्रत्यः &c.

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe: आपारेष्टः, पौरस्तः, पारस्तः formed from the Indeclinables उपरि, पुर, and पार; moreover, the Indeclinables, that are Vṛiddha (i. e. having आ, ऐ and औ in the first syllable), take the affix छ in the same sense. As, आरातीय ॥

Vārt:—The त्यप् is added to नि, in the sense of "fixed" as, निव्यम् = ध्रुवम् ॥

Vārt:—The त्यप् is added to निस् in the sense of 'going'. As निव्यः "Chandalas &c who have gone out of the caste".

Vārt:—The त्यप् is added to the word आविस् in the Vedas: As, आवि-
ष्टो वर्द्धते ॥

Vārt:—The affix ञ comes after अरण्यः e. g. आरण्याः सुमनसः ॥

Vārt:—The affix एत्य comes after वृ, e. g. वृत्त्यः पथिकः ॥

Vārt:—The affix आहप् comes after उत्तर e. g. औत्तराहः ॥

पेषमोहः श्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पेषमस्-ह्यस्-श्वसो-अन्यत-
रस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऐषमस् ह्यस् श्वस् इत्येतेभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

105. The affix त्यप् is added optionally after the words 'aishamas', 'hyas', and 'svas'; in the remaining senses.

As ऐषमस्त्वञ् or ऐषमस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23), ह्यस्त्यम् or ह्यस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23); श्वस्त्यम् or श्वस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23) or शौवस्तिकम् (IV. 3. 15). The word 'svas' takes the augment सुद् also, hence the above three forms.

तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ् औ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर-रूप्य-उत्तर-पदात्-अञ्-औ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीरोत्तरपदाद् रूप्योत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकाद्यथासंख्यमञ् अ इत्येतां प्रत्ययो भवतः शेषिकोः ॥

106. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending with तीर, and the ञ् comes after a word ending with रूप्य; in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus काकतीरम्, पाल्लतीरम्, वार्करूप्यम्, शैवरूप्यम् ॥ The words formed by अञ्, take the affix डीप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 15); those in ञ् take the affix दाप् (IV. 1. 4). The sūtra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्तात्, for had it been so, the affix would apply to बहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called uttara-pada, as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix V. 3. 68. Therefore, we have बाहुरूप्यम् formed by अण् ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां अः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, असंज्ञायाम्-अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंज्ञायामिति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । दिक्पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकादसंज्ञा विषयाद् अः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

107. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another that signifies 'direction', provided the compound is not a Name.

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix अ is added, forming the feminine in आ ॥ The word असंज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base'. This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वशाला + अ = पूर्वशालः (VI. 4. 148, VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall'. Similarly दक्षिणशालः, आपरशालः ॥

Why do we say "when not a Name"? Observe, from the word पृथु-कामशमी (II. 1. 50) we have पृथु-कामशमैः (VII. 3. 14). The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpuruṣa kind is formed by the words पृथु + इषु-कामशमी; "Ishukāmshami-in-the-East"; the whole being the name of the city.

Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vṛddhied, as is the general rule VII. 2. 117; but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vṛddhied, viz the letter इ of इषुकामशमी by rule VII. 3. 14. Similarly अपरेषुकामशमैः "who is in Ishukāmashamî-in-the-West".

The word 'ष्व' is used in the sūtra for the sake of percision, for had the sūtra been दिक्पूर्वसंज्ञार्था, there would rise the doubt, whether the the word-form दिक् was meant, or words denoting दिक् were meant. In fact the स्वरूपविधि is debarred by the use of the word ॥ For had it meant दिक्; the rule would have applied to words like दिग्गजः &c.

मद्रेभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्रेभ्यो-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपरान्मद्रेष्वद्वयप्रत्ययौ भवति शैषिकः ॥

108. The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्रे, preceded by a word denoting direction; in the remaining senses.

Thus पूर्वमद्रेः f. °द्री; अपरमद्रेः f. द्री ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sūtra, the initial vowel is vṛddhied by VII. 3. 13 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद्रे ॥

उदीच्यग्रामाच्चबहुचोन्तोदात्तात् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्ग्रहणं निवृत्तम् । उदीच्यग्रामवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् बहुचोऽन्तोदात्तोर् अञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

109. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udatta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here. The अञ् debars अण् ॥ Thus शैवपुरम्, नाण्डपुरम् ॥

Why do we say "village of north-folk"? Observe माथुरम् formed by अण्; difference in accent.

Why do we say "consisting of more than two syllables"? Observe ध्वजी-ध्वजम् ॥

Why do we say "being oxytone"? Observe शार्करोधानम् ॥ Here धा is udatta by VI. 1. 194, taking लिट् accent.

प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपधादण् ॥ ११० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थोत्तरपदात् पलद्यादिभ्यः ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

110. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रस्थ, after the words पलदी &c, and

after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अण् of the last aphorism. Thus माद्रीप्रस्थः, माहक्रीप्रस्थः, पालदः, पाषिदः, नैलिनकः, चैयातकः ॥

In the class Paladyâdi, those words which denote villages of वाहीक, will not take डम् or ङिङ् affix of IV. 2. 117; but will take the affix अण् of this rule. Such as the words गौष्टी and नैतकी ॥

The word गोमती occurs in Paladî class, and consequently it does not take the affix वुञ् (IV. 2. 123) which it would otherwise have taken by reason of its being a Vṛiddha word ending in long ई ॥

The word वाहीक has a penultimate क, but it is recited in Paladî class, showing that it does not take the affix छ of IV. 2. 114 though it is a Vṛiddha word.

The affix अण् is repeated in this sūtra, (though its anuvṛitti comes from IV. 1. 83), in order to exclude the application of any rule which might have debarred the general अण् ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 वाहीक, 5 कलकीट (मलकीट) 6 बहुकीट (बाहुकीट) 7 जालकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलभिदा, 11 गौष्टी, 12 नैकती (नैतकी), 13 परिखा, 14 रसेन, 15 गामती, 16 पटचर, 17 उदपान (उद्यानि) 18 यकृद्धोम, 19 सकृद्धोमन् ॥

कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रमिह न प्रत्ययार्थो न च प्रकृतिविशेषणं, तर्ह्येवं संबध्यते, कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे यः प्रत्ययो ॥ १११ ॥ तस्तदन्तेभ्य एवाण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

111. The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means "that after a word ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kaṇva &c, in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses." This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus काण्वाः "the pupils of Kāṇva". गौकक्षाः (IV. 1. 105).

Why do we say "when denoting Family-names?" Thus the word काण्व, when it means कण्व देवताऽस्य, forms its secondary derivative काण्वीयम् by छ ॥

The Kaṇva-class is a sub-class of Gargâdi. The Family-names from कण्व and गौकक्ष are काण्व्य and गौकाक्ष्य by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added. काण्व्य+अण्=काण्वः (VI. 4. 148 and VI. 4. 152).

इञश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इञः, च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे य इञ् विहितस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपादिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

112. After a Family-name formed by इञ्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus from दक्ष we have Patronymic दाक्षि, from which दाक्षा: "the pupils of Dākshi"; दाक्षाः, माहकाः ॥ The final इ is elided before अण् by VI. 4. 148.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गमिः, a word formed by इञ् of IV. 2. 80, not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गमीयम् by छ (IV. 2. 114).

न द्वयचः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-द्वयचः, प्राच्य-भरतेषु(अण्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयचः प्रातिपदिकाप्राच्यभरतगोत्रादिमन्तादण् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इञ्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sūtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sūtra. The result being, that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, form the शैषिक derivatives by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus पौष्कीयाः, काशीयाः from पौष्कि, काशि ॥ Why do we say "consisting of two syllables"? Observe पान्नागाराः formed by अण् from पान्नागारि ॥

Why do we say "when it denotes the family-names of East folks or Bharata"? Observe: दाक्षाः from दाक्षि ॥

Q. How do you form काशीय when by rule IV. 2. 116, the proper form would be काशिकी or काशिका ?

Ans. The word काशि of sūtra 116 refers to a country because it occurs with चेद्दि, while the काशि of the example under the present aphorism is a Family-name.

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prāchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by Jñāpaka or inference, that wherever Prāchya is used in these sūtras, it does not include the Bharatas. Sec. II 4. 66.

वृद्धाच्छः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-छः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धाप्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

114. After a word called Vridhdha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses.

The word गोत्र does not govern this sūtra. This is a general rule. The Vridhdha is defined in I. 1. 73 &c. This debars अण् ॥ Thus from गार्ग्य we

have गार्गीय (VI. 4. 148 & 152). So also वान्सीयः, शालीयः, मालीयः ॥

This rule being a subsequent one, debars the following preceding rules, in case of conflict of rules (I. 4. 2) 1. The rule relating to Indeclinables (104), 2. The rule relating to words ending in तीर and रूप्य (106) 3. The rule relating to Villages of North-folk (109), 4. The rule relating to penultimate क (110). Thus.

इह—इहत्थ; but आरात्—आरातीयः करवतीर—कारवतीरम्; but वायसतीर—वायसतीरीयः चणारूप्य—चाणारूप्यम्; but माणिरूप्य—माणिरूप्यकः (IV. 2, 21) शिवपुर—शैवपुरम्; but वाडवर्ष—वाडवर्षीयः, निलीनक—नैलीनकः; but औलूक—औलूकीयः ॥

भवतच्छसौ ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवतः, ठक्-छसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवच्छब्दाद् वृद्धात् ठक्छसौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

115. The affix ठक् and छस् come after the Vriddha word भवत्, in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a Vriddha word because it belongs to tyadâdi class (I. 1. 74). This rule debars छ of the last aphorism. In the affix, छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of Pada पद (I. 4. 16). Thus भवत् + ठक् = भावत्कः; भवत् + छस् = भवदीयः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as Vriddha, then it takes the general affix अण्; as भावतः ॥ This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing शतृ to भू ॥

काश्यादिभ्यश्चञ्जिठौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यादिभ्यः-ठञ्-जिठौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काशि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्चञ् जिठ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आपसादिपूर्वपञ्चकालान्तात् ॥

116. The affixes ठञ् and जिठ् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशि &c.

In the affixes ठञ् and जिठ्, the ण् is replaced by इक्, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by ठञ् will take डीप् (IV. 1. 15), the others will take टाप् (IV. 1. 4). Thus काशिका or काशिकी, बैदिका or बैदिकी ॥

The word वृद्धात् is to be read in to this sūtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

The word देवदत्तः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. Thas देवदत्तिकः ॥ But when it is the name of a Vāhika village, it is not a Vriddha word. The secondary derivative then will be देवदत्तः ॥

Q. In the Māhābhāṣya it is said that a Proper name is optionally

treated as a Vṛiddha, and it gives example of देवदत्तीयाः or देवदत्ताः ॥ So then देवदत्तः is a Vṛiddha word and will take these affixes.

Ans. No. In that very passage of Mahābhāṣya it is further stated that the option in the case of Proper-Names is allowed only for the purposes of the application of the affix छ (IV. 2. 114) and not the affix ठञ् and झिड् ॥

Vārt :—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपत्, ऊर्ध्व and तद्; as आपत्कालिकी or °का, और्ध्वकालिकी or °कौ, तान्कालिकी or °का ॥

1 काशि, 2 चेदि (वैदी) 3 सांयाति*, 4 संवाह, 5 अच्युत, 6 मोदमान (मोहमान) 7 शकुल-
द, 8 हस्तिकर्षू, 9 कुनामन्, (कुदामन्, 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवासन (गोधाशन) 13 भारद्वा*, 14
भरिद्वम. 15 अरिच*, 16 देवदत्त, 17 दशमाम (दसमाम) 18 शौवादतान (सौधावतान) 19 युवराज,
20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोदन*, 23 सिन्धुमित्र, 24 दसमित्र, 25 सुधामित्र*, 26 सोममित्र*, 27 छा
गमित्र*, 28 सधमित्र*, 29 आपदादिपूर्वपदात् (आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्तात्, 30 संज्ञा, 31 भौरिकि,
32 भौलिङ्गि, 33 सर्वमित्र, 34 साधुमित्र ॥

वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहीक-ग्रामेभ्यः च, (ठञ् जिठौ) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहीकग्रामवाजिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्च मिठौ प्रत्ययो भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

117. The affixes ठञ् and झिड् come, in the remain-
ing senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting the villages of
Vāhika.

The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sūtra. This debars the affix
छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus शाकलिकी or शाकलिका, मान्यविकी or मान्यविका ॥

विभाषोशीनरेषु ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-उशीनरेषु (ठञ्-झिठौ) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उशीनरेषु ये वाहीकग्रामास्तद्वाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विभाषा ठञ् झिठौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

118. The affixes ठञ् and झिड् come optionally in
the remaining senses, after Vṛiddha words denoting Vāhika
villages situated in Usīna.

Thus आह्नजालिकी, °लिका and °लीया; so also सौदर्शनिकी, सौदर्शनिका and सौ-
दर्शनीया ॥

ओर्देशे ठञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, देशे, ठञ् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

119. The affix ठञ्, comes in the remaining senses,
after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धात्' does not govern this sūtra. For had it been
understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating
it in the next.

Thus नैषादकण्टकः, शाबरजम्बुकः ॥ Why do we say देशे 'denoting a coun-
try'? Observe पाटवाः 'the pupils of पटु' formed by अण् ॥

In the previous sūtras, the anuvṛitti of ठञ् and ञिच् both were current ; hence the repetition of ठञ् in this sūtra, because we could not take the anuvṛitti of ठञ् from the last sūtra without drawing the anuvṛitti of ञिच् ॥

वृद्धात्प्राचाम् ॥ १२० पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-प्राचाम्-(ठञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ओर्देश इत्येव । उवर्णान्ताद् वृद्धात्प्राग्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

120. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after a vriddha word ending in उ and denoting a locality of the East-folks.

The phrase ओर्देश is here understood. Thus भाटकजम्बुकः, शाकजम्बुकः नापितवास्तुकः ॥

The affix ठञ् would have been valid by the last sūtra also, the present sūtra makes a नियम or restriction, showing that in the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛiddha. Therefore it does not apply to मल्लवास्तु, from which we have मल्लवास्तवः ॥

धन्वयोपधाद्बुञ् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन्व-य-उपधात्-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धन्वञ्चिनी यकारोपधाच्च देशाभिधायिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाद् बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

121. The affix बुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a vriddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vriddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here. The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus परिधन्वकः, ऐरावतकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly सांकाश्यकः and काम्पिल्यकः are examples of य penultimate.

प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थ-पुर-वहान्तात्-च-(बुञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थपुर वह इत्येवमन्तादेशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् वृद्धाद्बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

122. The affix बुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛiddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह.

This debars छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus मालाप्रस्थकः, नान्सीपुरकः, कान्तिपुरकः, पैलु-वहकः, फाल्गुनीवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix बुञ् by the next sūtra also, but as that sūtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sūtra is general in its scope.

रोपधेतोः प्राचाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ र-उपधा-ईतोः-प्राचाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रोपधारीकारान्ताच्च प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

123. The affix **ब्रुम्** comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate **र** or ending in **ई** ॥

This debars **छ** ॥ Thus पादलिपुत्रकाः, ऐकचक्रकाः ॥ So also with words ending in **ई** ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दकः, माकन्दी—माकन्दकः (VI. 4. 148).

Why do we say प्राचाञ् 'of the East-folk'? Observe दात्तामित्रियः formed by **छ**. The **त्** in ईत् in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness.

जनपदतदवध्योश्च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपद-तद्व-अवध्योः च-(ब्रुम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धाजनपदवाचिनस्तद्वधिवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकाद्ब्रुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

124. The affix **ब्रुम्** comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

The phrases वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here, being qualified by जनपद and तद्वधि ॥ This debars the affix **छ** ॥ Thus आभिसारकः and आदर्शकः are examples of जनपद ॥ And औपुष्टकः and इयामायनकः from औपुष्ट and इयामायन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदावधि ॥

The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village. This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of **छ** by IV. 2. 137 to words like त्रिगर्तृ which is an arid desert: as त्रैगर्तृकः ॥ The word तद्वधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवृद्धात्-अपि-बहुवचन-विषयात्-(ब्रुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाद् वृद्धाच्च जनपदात् तद्वधिवाचिनश्च बहुवचनविषयात्प्रातिपदिकाद् ब्रुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

125. The affix **ब्रुम्** comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vriddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vriddha words.

The words जनपद and तद्वधि are to be read into the aphorism. This debars **छ** and अण् ॥ Thus from अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः and कलिङ्गाः which are non-Vriddha Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have आङ्गकः, वाङ्गकः and कालिङ्गकः ॥ Similarly अजमीढाः and अजकन्दाः are non-Vriddha always plural words, denoting boundary of kingdom; we have from them आजमीढकः and आजकन्दकः ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vriddha जनपद word by the last sūtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus शर्वकः and जाम्बकः from शर्वाः and

जाम्बाः ॥ So also to Vṛiddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom: कालंजराः—कालंजरकः, त्रैकुलिशाः—वैकुलिशकः ॥

The word विषय is used in the sūtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form. Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तन्यः plural of वर्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वर्तनः ॥

The word अपि is used in the sūtra to indicate that Vṛiddha-words which would have taken बुम् by the last sūtra are not debarred by this sūtra, when they are plural in form. This debarring would have taken place, by the rule of interpretation known as तत्क्रौण्डिन्यन्यायः; but for the use of the word अपि ॥ This maxim or nyāya is thus explained in Padamanjari:—पूर्वसूत्रे हि जनपदसामान्ये वृद्धान् बुम् विहितः, यथा ब्राह्मणसामान्ये अधिवानः इह तु बहुवचनविषयो विशेषेऽवृद्धाद् बुम्, यथा क्रौण्डिन्ये तत्क्रदानं, ततश्च बहुवचनादपि वृद्धाद् बुम्प्रति आरभ्यमाणाऽवृद्धाद् बुम् वृद्धाद् बुम्प्रोवाधकः स्यादित्यपि शब्दन समुच्चीयते इत्यर्थः ॥

कच्छाग्निवक्त्रगतोत्तरपदात् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छ-अग्नि-वक्त्र-गर्त-उत्तरपदात्-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छाद्युत्तरपदाद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्चाद् वृद्धादवृद्धाच्चबुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

126. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vṛiddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachchha', 'agni', 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debarbs छ and अण् ॥ As दारुकच्छकः, पेंपलीकच्छकः, काण्डाग्रकः, वभुजाग्रकः, ऐन्द्रवक्त्रकः, सैन्धुवक्त्रकः, बाहुगर्तकः and चाक्रगर्तकः ॥

The word उत्तरपद in the sūtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

धूमादिभ्यश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धूमादिभ्यः-च-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ धूमादिभ्यो देशवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

127. The affix बुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhūma &c, denoting country.

This debarbs अण् &c. धौमकः, खाण्डकः &c. The word पाथेय occurs in the list. It would have taken बुम् by IV. 2. 121 as it has य as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken बुम् by 124 ante; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां क्षत्रियाणां स्व = वैदेहकम् "the property of Videha Kṣatriyās". So also आनर्तकम् ॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the

derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus सामुद्रिका नौः and सामुद्रको मनुष्यः ॥ Otherwise not : सामुद्रम् "Oceanic water".

1 धूम, 2 षडण्ड (खडण्ड and खण्ड) 3 शशादन, 4 अर्जुनाव (आर्जुनाद्) 5 माहकस्थली, 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 माहिषस्थली*, 8 मानस्थली (माषस्थली) 9 अदृस्थली*, 10 मदुकस्थली*, 11 समुद्रस्थली, 12 षण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विवेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 सात्रासाह, 17 क्षष्प, 18 (शिष्य) 18 मित्रवर्ध (मित्रवर्ध; मित्र, वल) 19 भक्षाली*, 20 मद्रकूल, 21 आजीकूल (आञ्जीकूल) 22 व्याहाव, 23 ब्रमाहाव, 24 संस्फीय (संहीय) 25 बर्बर, 26 वर्ज्य, 27 गर्त (वर्चगर्त) 28 आनर्त, 29 माठर, 30 पाथेय, 31 घोष, 32 पल्ली (वल्ली) 33 आराज्ञी, 34 धार्तराज्ञी, 35 आवय, 36 तीर्थ (अवयांत तीर्थ) 37 कूलात्सौवीरेषु, 38 समुद्रान्नावि मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीप) 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयनी, (उज्जयिनी) 44 पट्टार*, 45 दक्षिणापथ, 46 साकेत. 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षास्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मानवल्ली, 51 सुराज्ञी ॥

नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगरात्-कुत्सन-प्रावीण्ययोः-(बुञ्ज्)

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरशब्दाव्बुञ्ज् प्रत्ययो भवति शौषिकः कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

A. केनायं मुषितः पन्था गात्रे पक्ष्मालिधूसरः ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ चौराहि नागरका भवन्ति ॥ A. केनेह लिखितं चित्रं मनोनेत्रविकाशि यत् ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ प्रवीणा हि नागरका भवन्ति ॥

128. The affix बुञ्ज् comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word कुत्सनं which is equivalent to निन्दनं or 'blame or censure'; and प्रावीण्यं which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus नागरकः 'a knave, a cunning person, or a skillful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागराः ब्राह्मणाः 'the Nagara Brāhmaṇas'.

अरण्यान्मनुष्ये ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरण्यात्-मनुष्ये-(बुञ्ज्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरण्यशब्दाव्बुञ्ज् प्रत्ययो भवति शौषिको मनुष्येऽभिधेये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पथ्यध्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्यं हस्तिष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

129. The affix बुञ्ज् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word अरण्य, in the sense of a man.

This debars the affix ञ्. Thus आरण्यकः मनुष्यः 'a forester'.

Vārt :—It should be stated rather that the affix बुञ्ज् is added to अरण्य in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim. 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant'. Thus आरण्यकः पन्थाः अध्यायः न्यायः विहारः, मनुष्यः or हस्ती ॥

Vārt :—Optionally when the sense is that of a cow-dung as आरण्याः or आरण्यका गोमयाः ॥

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As आरण्याः पशवः 'wild beasts'.

विभाषा कुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-कुरु-युगन्धराभ्याम्-(बुञ्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु युगन्धर इत्येताभ्यां विभाषा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

130. The affix बुञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara

Thus कौरवकः or कौरवैः, यौगन्धरकः or यौगन्धरैः ॥ These words denote जनपद or inhabited countries, and therefore by sūtra IV. 2. 125 they would always have taken the affix बुञ्. The present sūtra makes the application of बुञ् optional and not obligatory. The word कुरु occurs in the list of कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133). By virtue of its being so classified, it will take अण् also. And when it means man or something found in men, it will take necessarily, not optionally, the affix बुञ् by virtue of sūtra IV. 2. 134. As कौरवको मनुष्यः, कौरवक-मस्य हसितम् ॥ This aphorism therefore, teaches option regarding कुरु with these restrictions, while it teaches option absolutely with regard to the word युगन्धरः ॥

मद्रवृज्योः कन् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्र-वृज्योः-कन् ।
वृत्तिः ॥ मद्रवृजिशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

131. The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vriji'.

This debars बुञ्, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra', वृजिकः ॥

कोपधादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क-उपधात्-अण् ।
वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधात् प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses after a word denoting a place and having the letter क as its penultimate.

This debars बुञ् in the case of words which denote जनपद or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote जनपद, will have taken अण् even without this rule. Thus आषिकः "born in कषिकाः" So also माहिषिकः ॥

The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in उ, and would have otherwise taken इञ् by IV. 2. 119. Thus ऐस्वाकः "born in इस्वाकु" ॥ The word ऐशे is understood in this sūtra.

कच्छादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छादिभ्यः-च-(अण्) ।
वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छ इत्येवमादिभ्यो ङशाचिभ्योऽणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words kachchha &c denoting places.

The word देशे is understood here. This debars बुम् &c. Thus काच्छः, सैन्धवः, वार्णवः &c. The words कच्छ &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sūtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The word विजापक occurs in this list. It would have taken अण् by the last sūtra also, because it has क as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra by which it takes बुम् also under certain conditions.

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वर्ण, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 अनुग्रह (अण्, अण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 अनूप, 13 भजवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलूतर (कुलून) 16 रङ्कु॥

मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्बुम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनुष्य-तत्स्थयोः बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्थे च जातादौ प्रत्ययार्थे कच्छादिभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix बुम् comes after the words kachchha &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus काच्छकः 'a man born in Kutch'. काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'. काच्छिका चूडा ॥ Similarly सैन्धवको मनुष्यः, सैन्धवकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम्, सैन्धविका चूडा ॥

Why do we say "when meaning man or what exists in man?" Observe काच्छो गौः 'The cow of Kutch'. सैन्धवो वार्णवः ॥

अपदातौ साल्वात् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपदातौ-साल्वात्-(बुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदातावेव मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्थे साल्वशब्दाद् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135 The affix बुम् comes after the word साल्व in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

The word साल्व which occurs in the कच्छादि class, would have taken बुम् by the last sūtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sūtra makes a restriction. Thus साल्वको मनुष्यः, साल्वकमस्य हसितं जल्पितं &c. But साल्वः पदाति ब्रजति 'the Sālva foot soldier goes.'

गोयवाग्वोश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-यवाग्वोः-च-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गवि यवाग्वां च जातादौ प्रत्ययार्थे साल्वशब्दाद् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

136. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words साल्व, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars अण् of IV. 2. 133. Thus सालुको मां: "the cows born in Salva". सालुका द्रवाणू: 'the barley gruel of Sálva'. In other cases we have सालुम् ।

गर्तोत्तरपदाच्छः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्त-उत्तरपदाद् छः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्तोत्तरपदशेषवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

137. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term:

This debars अण् ॥ The word देशे is to be read into the sūtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes डम् and त्रिच् of sūtra 117 *ante*. Thus वृकगर्तीयम्, शृगालगर्तीयम्, इवादिगर्तीयम् 'born in porcupine's hole &c'. The word उत्तरपद is used in the sūtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बाहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V. 3. 68) and not a pada

गहादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गहादिभ्यः-च-(छः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गह इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यश्च छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

138. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus गहीयः, 'belonging to a cave'. अन्तःस्थीयः &c.

In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमम्यमं चाण् चरणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यमीयाः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमाः" ॥ The word मध्यम here has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमीयः means पृथिवीमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix अण् is applied in the case of चरण, it has the sense of निवास of sūtra IV. 3. 89 and not all the other senses. Thus त्रयः प्राच्याः, त्रयः औदीच्याः, त्रयो माध्यमाः "three Charaṇas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle". The words मुखतस् and पार्श्वतः occur in the list. They have the affix तस्, but before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided. Thus मुखतीयम् and पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

The augment कृक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ ॥ As जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥ The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

The affix छ ण् comes after the words वेणु &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus वेणुकीयम्, वेवकीयम्, औत्तरपदकीयम्, प्रास्थकीयम्, माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

1 गह, 2 अन्तःस्थ, 3 सम, 4 विषम, 5 मध्यमम्यमचाण् चरणे 6 उत्तम, 7 अङ्ग, 8 वङ्ग, 9 मगध, 10 पूर्वपक्ष, 11 अपरपक्ष, 12 अधम शाख, 13 उत्तमशाख, 14 एकशाख, 15 समानशाख, 16 समानग्राम*, 17 एकग्राम, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकपलाश, 20 इष्टम, 21 इष्टनीक (इष्टनी) 22 अवस्यन्दन (अवस्यन्दी and अवस्कन्द) 23 कामप्रस्थ, 24 खाडायन (शाडिकाडायनि; खाडायनि and खाण्डायनी) 25 काटे-रणि (कावेराणि and कामवेराणि) 26 लावेराणि*, 27 सौमित्रि*, 28 शैशिरि, 29 आसुन्*, 30 देवशर्मि (देवशर्मन्) 31 औति, 32 आर्हिसि, 33 आमित्रि, 34 व्याडि, 35 बैजि (वैजि), 36 आश्वि, 37 आ-नृशशि, 38 शौज्जि, 39 आग्रिशर्मि, (अग्रिशर्मन्) 40 भौजि, 41 वाराटकि (आराटकि), 42 वाल्मीकि, 43 क्षेमवृद्धि (क्षेमवृद्धिन्), 44 आश्वत्थि, 45 औद्ग्राहमानि*, 46 ऐक, 47 त्रिन्दवि*, 48 दन्ताग्र*, 49 हंस*, 50 तन्त्रग्र*, 51 उत्तर, 52 अनन्तर (अन्तर), 53 मुखपार्श्वतसोलोपः (also मुखतीय and पार्श्वतीय), 54 जनपरयोः कुक् च (also जनकीय and परकीय), 55 देवस्य च, 56 वेणुकादिभ्यश्छण्. 57 आसुरि, 58 सौवि, 59 पारकि. It is an आकृतिगण ॥

प्राचां कटादेः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम-कटादेः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्देशवाचिनः कटादेः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

139. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक् of the sūtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटघोषीयम्, कटपट्टलीयम् ॥

राज्ञः क च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ राज्ञः-क-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राज्ञः ककारश्चान्तदेशो भवति छश्च प्रत्ययः ॥

140. The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ is added.

This sūtra only teaches substitution: for राजन् would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देशे does not govern this sūtra, not being appropriate.

वृद्धादकेकान्तखोपधात् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-अक-इक-अन्त-खोपधात्-(छः)

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धादेशवाचिनो ऽक इक इत्येवमन्तात् खकारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकाच् छ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Vriddha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having ख as its penultimate.

The word देशे must be read into the sūtra. This debars the अण् of Sūtra 132 ante: as well as the affixes ordained by Sūtras 117 and 123.

Thus अकः—भारोहणीयम्, द्रौघणीयम् ॥ इकः—आश्वपथिकीयम्, शास्त्रदिकीयम् ॥ खोपधात्—कौटिशिखीयम्, आयामुखीयम् ॥

Vart:--The words सौसुक &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in उक् ॥ Thus सौसुकीयम्, मौसुकीयम्, ऐन्द्रवेणुकीयम् ॥

कन्थापलदनगरग्रामहृदोत्तरपदात् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था-पलद-नगर-ग्राम-हृद-उत्तरपदात्-(छ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाद्युत्तरपददेशवाचिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

142. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vriddha words, having the words kanthâ, palada, nagara, grâma and hrada, as second terms.

This debars the other affixes such as डम् and जिङ् of 117 ante Thus शशिकन्थीयम्, माहिककन्थीयम्, शशिकपलीयम्, माहिकपलीयम्. शशिनगरीयम्, माहिकनगरीयम्, शशिमामीयम्, माहिकमामीयम्, शशिहृदीयम्, माहिकिहृदीयम् ॥

पर्वताच्च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्वतात्-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

143. The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पर्वतीयो राजा "the hill-king". पर्वतीयः पुरुषः 'the hill man'.

विभाषा ऽमनुष्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-अमनुष्ये-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति वाऽमनुष्ये वाच्ये ॥

144. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पार्वतानि फलानि 'hill fruits', पर्वतीयमुदकम् or पार्वतमुदकम् 'hill water'.

Why do we say अमनुष्ये 'not-human'? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

कृकणपर्णाद्भारद्वाजे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृकण-पर्णाद्-भारद्वाजे-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृकणपर्णशब्दाभ्यां भारद्वाजदेशवाचिभ्यां छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

145. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after कृकण and पर्ण when denoting the country of Bharadvâja.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bharadvâjas?" Observe कार्कणम्, पार्णम् &c.

ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ्च ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः-अन्य-तस्याम्-
खञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः चकाराच्छञ् ॥

1. The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

The regulating power of the word देशे ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण्, and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vṛiddha, as they belong to Tyadâdi class (I. 1. 74), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114; the present sūtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद्-1-अण् = युष्माक + अण् (IV. 3. 2) = यौष्माकः; युष्मद्-1-छ = युष्मद्-1-ईय = युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2). युष्मद्-1-खञ् = युष्माक-1-ईन (IV. 3. 2) = यौष्माकीनः (VII. 1. 2, and VIII. 4. 2). So also आस्माकः, अस्मदीयः; and आस्माकीनः ॥

तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन् अणि-च-युष्माक-आ-
स्माकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्नित साक्षाद्विहितः खञ् निर्दिश्यते न चकारानुकृष्टः । तस्मिन्त्यत्रि अणि च युष्मदस्म-
दोर्यथासंख्यं युष्माक अस्माक इत्येतावदशौ भवतः ॥

2. When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ्, and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sūtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not

done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms : as (1) तस्मिन् खञ्जि युष्मदस्मदोयुष्माकास्माकौ भवतः (5) ततोऽणि च ॥ i. e. (1) when खञ्ज् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding Sūtra, e. g. यौष्माकीणः, आस्माकीनः with खञ्ज्, and यौष्माकः and आस्माकः with अण् ॥ This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as युष्मदीयः and अस्मदीयः ॥

तवकममकावेकवचने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवक-ममकौ-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनपरयोयुष्मदस्मदोस्तवक ममक इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो यथासंख्यं तस्मिन्खञ्जि अणि च परतः ॥

3. In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when खञ्ज् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee', मामकीनः "belonging to me." तावकः and मामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will त्वदीयः, मदीयः.

The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix सु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्थे ॥

अर्धाद्यत् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धशब्दात् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

4. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्द्ध in the remaining senses.

This debarb अण् ॥ Thus अर्द्धम् 'belonging to half.'

Vārt:—When it has a prior term the affix ङ् is used. As बाल्यार्द्धिकम्, (बाल्यार्थवस्तु = बाल्यं) ॥ गौतमाद्धिकम् ॥

परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-अधम-उत्तम-पूर्वात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर अवर अधम उत्तम इत्येवंपूर्वाच्चाधायत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

5. The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhama', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्द्धम्, अवरार्द्धम्, अधमार्द्धम्, उत्तमार्द्धम् ॥

Q. Why do we say पूर्वात् 'preceded by'? Its use seems to be superfluous. If the sūtra stood as परावराधमोत्तमेभ्यः, it would have given the same sense. For the अर्धात् being supplied from the last sūtra, the whole sūtra.

would have been परावराधमोत्तमेभ्योऽर्धाद् यत् which must mean 'preceded by para &c.'

A. The words पर and अवर have meanings other than that of दिक् or direction. As परं सुखं 'highest pleasure.' अवरं सुखं 'lowest pleasure.' Therefore, when these words पर and अवर denote direction, then by the subsequent rule, the affix would have been always ठञ् and यत् ॥ The employment of the term पूर्व in the sūtra, prevents the application of the affix ठञ् even when the words denote direction.

According to the Vārtika सपूर्वपदाद् ठञ् given under the last sūtra, the word अर्थ preceded by any word would have taken ठञ्, hence the necessity of this sūtra ordainig यत्, when the first terms are पर &c.

दिक्पूर्वपदादठञ्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्व-पदात्-ठञ्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादर्थान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च शैषिकः ॥

6. And the affix ठञ् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By च, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्धम् पौर्वार्धिकम्, दक्षिणार्धम् or दक्षिणार्द्धिकम् ॥

The word पद is used in the sūtra in order to prevent ambiguity. Had the sūtra stood merely as दिक्पूर्वाद् ठञ्च, it might have meant (I.1.68), 'Ardha preceded by the word दिक् takes ठञ् also', for then स्वरूपविधि would have applied, and दग्ध जातः would have taken the affix.

ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्ठञौ ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम-जनपद-एकदेशात्-अञ्-ठञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादित्येव । ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकादिक्पूर्वपदादर्थान्तादञ् ठञौ प्रत्ययो भवतः शैषिकौ यतोपवादाः ॥

7. The affixes अञ् and ठञ् come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदात् is to be read into the sūtra. This debars यत् ॥ Thus इमे खलुस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वार्धाः or पौर्वार्धिकः "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". So also दक्षिणार्धाः or दक्षिणार्धिकः ॥ The word पौर्वार्द्धाः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्द्धे भवाः and is a Taddhitārtha compound.

मध्यान्मः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्-मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यशब्दान्मः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ आदिधेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अवोधसोलोपश्च ॥

8. After the word मध्य there is the affix म in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ As मध्यमः "middlemost".

Vart:—So also after the word आदि ॥ As आदिमः "Adam, or born in the beginning".

Vart:—So also after the words अवस् and अधस्, the final स् being elided. As अवन्म, अधमम् ॥

अ सांप्रतिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-साम्प्रतिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारः प्रत्ययो भवति मध्यशब्दात्सांप्रतिके जातादा प्रत्ययार्थे ।

9. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As नातिरीधं नाति हृष्यं मध्यं काष्ठम् "the proper piece of wood--neither too long nor too short". मध्यं वैश्वकरणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull". मध्यास्त्री "a proper wife".

द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वीपात्-अनुसमुद्रम्-यञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रसमीपे यो द्वीपस्तस्माद् यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

10. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhâdi (IV. 2. 133), and would have taken अण्; and by sūtra IV. 2. 134, it would have taken हुञ् also. The present sūtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वैप्यम् 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वैप्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् ॥

Why do we say अनुसमुद्रं? Observe द्वैपकम् or द्वैपम् (IV. 2. 133 and 134). The word 'anu-samudra' is an Avyayibhâva compound (II. 1. 15).

कालाट्ठञ् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars अण् ॥ The affix छ which comes after Vṛiddha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकः 'monthly' आर्द्धमासिकः, 'bi-monthly', सांघत्सारिकः 'annual'.

The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As कादम्बरपुष्पिकं, त्रैहिपलालिकम् ॥ The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto 25. (तत्र जातः).

श्राद्धे शरदः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्राद्धे-शरदः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात् उञ् प्रत्ययो भवति श्राद्धे ऽभिधेये शैषिकः ॥

12. The affix उञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing श्राद्ध ॥

This debarb अण् (IV. 3. 16). The word श्राद्धे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not श्रद्धावान् पुरुषः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शारदिकं श्राद्धं 'the autumnal Śrāddha'. When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

विभाषा रोगातपयोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-रोग-आतपयोः (उञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगे आतपे चाभिधेये शरच्छब्दादुञ् प्रत्ययो वा भवति शैषिकः ॥

13. The affix उञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिको रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शारदिक आतपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine'.

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारदं दधि 'the autumnal curd'. This उञ् debarb the ऋतु अण् (IV. 3. 16).

निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निशा-प्रदोषाभ्याम्-च (उञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशाप्रदोषशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा उञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

14. The affix उञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'nisâ', and 'pradosha'.

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV. 3. 11 ante, the उञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal'. प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

श्वसस्तुद् च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वसः-तुद्-च-उञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वः शब्दाद्विभाषा उञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य च तुङागमो भवति ॥

15. The affix उञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुद् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix ल्यप् by sūtra IV. 2. 105. This sūtra ordains उञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes tyu and tyul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. Thus श्वस्-तुद्-उञ् = शौक्स्-तु-इक (VII. 3. 3) = शौवस्तिकः "belonging to to-morrow or ephemeral". Otherwise श्वस्त्यः and श्वस्तनः ॥

सन्धिवेलाद्युतुनक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्धि-वेलाद्, ऋतु-नक्षत्रेभ्यः,

अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्धिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

16. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses,

after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars ठञ् ॥ The repetition of अण् debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vṛiddha in this list (IV. 2. 114). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्ध्यम् (2) त्रेष्मम्, शैशिरम् (3) तैषम्, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ season and asterisms respectively.

The affix अण् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival, as संवत्सरं फलं or पर्व ॥

1 संधिवेला, 2 संध्या, 3 अमावास्या, 4 त्रयोदशी, 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पञ्चदशी, 7 पौर्णमासी, 8 प्रतिपद्, 9 संवत्सराफलपर्वणोः ॥

प्रावृष एण्यः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-एण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषशब्दादेयः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

17. The affix एण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष ॥

This debars the अण् of the last sūtra, though 'prāvṛṣh' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season."

वर्षाभ्यष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षाभ्यः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दाद्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

18. The affix ठक् comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. Thus वार्षिकमनुत्पन्नम् । The इक् has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 here.

छन्दासि ठञ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दासि-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दाच् छन्दासि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

19. In the Chhandas, the word 'varshâ' takes the affix ठञ् in the remaining senses.

This debars ठक्. The form will be the same, but there will be difference in accent. As नभश्च नभस्यश्च वार्षिकावृत्तौ ॥ The word ऋतु here means "month." i. e. Nabha and Navasya are two rainy months.

वसन्ताच्च ॥ २० ॥ वसन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्तशब्दाच् छन्दासि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

20. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word 'vasanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus मधुश्च माधुश्च वैमल्लिकावृत् ॥

हेमन्ताच्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

21. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'hemanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus सहश्च सहस्यश्च हेमन्तिकावृत् ॥ The making of two separate Sûtras of 20 and 21, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of word हेमन्त only is taken.

सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र-अण्-च-तलोपः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्निधौ चोपः तकारलोपः ॥

22. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त् of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हेमन्त वासः 'wintery residence.' हेमन्तमुपलेपनम् ॥

The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sūtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the secular literature.

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sūtra IV. 3. 16 as हेमन्ती पङ्क्तिः but there is no elision of त् there. Thus there are three forms हेमन्तः (IV. 3. 16), हेमान्तिकं (IV. 3. 21) and हेमनम् ॥

सायंचिरंप्राह्णप्रगेव्ययेभ्यश्च्युत्युलौ तुद् च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सायम्-चिरम्-प्राह्ण-प्रगे-अव्ययेभ्यः-च्यु-त्युलौ-तुद्-च- ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चनुभ्योऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यष्टुप् टुपलौस्तस्तयोस्तुद् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चिरपरुपरारिभ्यस्त्रो वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रगस्य छन्दसि गलोपश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अग्रपञ्चाङ्गिम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

23. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes च्यु and त्युल् and their augment is तुद् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also. Thus सायं-+च्यु = सायं-+तुद्-+च्यु = सायंतनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'belonging to the evening'. चिरंतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रागेतनम् "what is of the early morn".

The word सायं is a word ending in म् and is an Indeclinable. These

affixes would also come by virtue of its being an Indeclinable, after that सायं ॥ The present सायं is derived from the root से by adding the affix घञ् ॥ It always ends in स् when these affixes are added. The word चिरं always ends in स् ॥ प्राह्णे and प्रगे always end in ण् ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are दोषातनम् 'belonging to the night' दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day'.

Vart :—The affix ढ comes after the words चिर, परुन् and परारि ॥ As चिरढम्, परुढम्, and परारिढम् ॥

Vart :—The ण of प्रग in elided in the Chhandas before this affix ढ. as. प्रढम् ॥

Vart :—The affix डिमञ् comes after अय, आदि and पश्चाद्; as, अभिमम्, आदिमञ् and पश्चिमञ् ॥

Vart :—So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिमञ् ॥

The difference between tyu and tyul is in accent, Thus सायन्तेन and सायन्तेन, चिरन्तेन and चिरन्तेन, प्राह्णेतेन and प्राह्णेतेन, प्रगेतेन, प्रगेतेन, दिवातेन and दिवातेन, दोषातेन and दोषातेन ॥

विभाषापूर्वाह्णापराह्णाभ्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्णाभ्याम् (दुच-दुचलौ-तुद्-च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णापराह्णशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा दुचदुचलौ प्रत्ययौ भवत, स्तुद् च तयोरागमः ॥

24. Optionally after the words पूर्वाह्ण and अपराह्ण there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल् and their augment is तुद् ॥

In the alternative ट्यु of IV. 3. 11 also occurs. As पूर्वाह्णेतेनम्, अपराह्णेतेनम् with tyu, or पूर्वाह्णिकम् अपराह्णिकम् with thañ. With tyul. we have पूर्वाह्णेतेन and अपराह्णेतेन ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17. When the word is taken as incapable of having the case-affix, we have, पूर्वाह्णेतेन or पूर्वाह्णेतेनः ॥

तत्रजातः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-जातः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणादयो घादयश्च प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतास्तेषामतः प्रभृत्यर्थाः समर्थविभक्तयश्च निदिश्यन्ते ॥ तत्रांत सप्तमीसमथाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes अण् &c. घ &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV. 2. 92. This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus सुग्रेजातः = सुग्र + अण् = सौग्रः 'born in Srughna'. So also माथुरः 'born in Mathura', औत्सः 'born in Utsa', औदपानः 'born in Udapāna'.

शास्त्रियः (IV. 2. 93), अवारपारीणः (IV. 2. 93) शाकलिकः (IV. 2. 117), ग्राम्यः (IV. 2. 94), ग्रामीणः (IV. 2. 94), कात्रेयकः (IV. 2. 95) औम्भेयकः (IV. 2. 95).

प्रावृषष्टप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-ठप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषश्चात्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. After the word प्रावृष् being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix ठप् in the sense of produced therein.

This debars एण्य of sūtra IV. 3. 17. The ष् of ठप् is for the sake of accent. प्रावृषि जातः = प्रावृषिकः 'produced in the rainy season'.

संज्ञायां शरदो बुञ् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-शरदाः-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix बुञ् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein,' the whole word being a name.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus शारदका र्भाः 'the grass called Śāradaka'. शारदका मुद्राः 'the pulse called Śāradaka.'

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe शरदं सस्यम् 'the autumnal crop.'

According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sūtras up to IV. 3. 38.

पूर्वाह्णपराह्णाद्राद्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराद् बुन् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्ण-आद्रा-मूल-प्रदोष-अवस्कराद्-बुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

28; The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आद्रा, मूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः, अपराह्णकः This debars IV. 3. 24. आद्रिकः, मूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. प्रदोषकः This debars ठप् of IV. 3. 14. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

पथः पन्थ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथः-पन्थ-च (बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशब्दाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

29. The affix बुन् comes after the word पथ, in the sense of 'produced therein', and thereby in the room of पथ, the substitute is पन्थ ॥

Thus पथि जातः = पन्थकः 'produced in the way.'

This debars the अण् ॥

अमावास्याया वा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावास्यायाः-वा-(बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्याशब्दाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

30. The affix बुन् comes optionally after the word amâvâsyâ, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. Thus अमावास्यकः or आमावास्यः ॥ This affix बुन् is applied to the word अमावस्य also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वान् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus अमावस्यकः or आमावस्यः ॥

अ च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्याशब्दादकारः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

31. And the affix अ also is added to the word amâvâsyâ, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the बुन् and अण् already given. Thus अमावास्यः, अमावास्यकः, आमावास्यः ॥ So also after the word अमावस्य, as अमावस्यः, अमावस्यकः and आमावस्यः ॥

सिन्ध्वपकराभ्यां कन् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-अपकराभ्याम्-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुशब्दादपकरशब्दाच्च कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

32. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix कन् in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kachchhâdi class and takes अण् and बुन् (IV. 2. 133); and अपकर would have also taken अण् under the general rule. This sūtra debars these affixes. Thus सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः ॥

अणञौ च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-अञौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्ध्वपकरशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यमणञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

33. And the affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्धवैः and आपकरः ॥

श्रविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुलाल्लुक् ॥ ३४ ॥
पदानि ॥ श्रविष्ठा-फल्गुनी-अनुराधा-स्वाति-तिष्य-पुनर्वसु-हस्त-विशाखा-अषाढा-ब-
हुलात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रविष्ठादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्य आगतस्य जातार्थे लुक् भवति ॥ -
वास्तर्कम् ॥ लुक्प्रकरणे चित्रारवतीरोहिणीभ्यः स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ फल्गुन्यषाढाभ्यां टानौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रविष्ठाषाढाभ्यां छणपि वक्तव्यः ॥

34. The affix denoting 'born therein' is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishṭhâ', 'phalgunî', 'anurâdhâ', 'svâtî', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hasta', 'visâkhâ', 'ashâḍhâ', and 'bahula' all denoting asterisms.

The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I. 2. 49. Thus श्रविष्ठासु जातः = श्रविष्ठः 'produced under Śravishṭhâ'. So also फल्गुनः, अनुराधः, स्वातिः, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विशाखः, अषाढः, बहुलः ॥ The 'Bahula' is another Name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥

Vart.—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitra' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine affix which would have been elided after the two words Revatî and Rohiṇî, by I. 2. 49. is reordained by IV. 1. 41, because these words belong to गौरादि class.

Vart.—The affixes ट and अन् come respectively after फल्गुनी and अषाढौ in forming the Feminine derivatives. As फल्गुनी (IV. 1. 15) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

Vart.—The affix छण् also comes after 'Śravishṭhâ' and 'ashâḍhâ' As श्रविष्ठीयः and अषाढीयः ॥

स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानान्त-गोशाल-खरशालात्-च-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् गोशालशब्दखरशालशब्दज्जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

35. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gosâla' and 'kharasâla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अश्वस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥

वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्छतभिषजो वा ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वत्स-शाला, अभिजि-त्-अश्वयुक्-शतभिषजो-वा (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वत्सशालादिभ्यः परस्य जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य लुग्वा भवति ॥

36. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasâla', 'abhijit', 'asvayuk', and 'ṣatabhik'.

As वत्सशालायां जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजिन् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुजः, शतभिक् or शतभिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशाला are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra.

नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्यः-बहुलम् (लुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्य उत्तरस्य जातार्ये प्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुभवाति ॥

37. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein,' after an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रोहिणः (IV. 3. 16) मृगशिरा or मार्गशीर्षः (IV. 3. 16).

कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-लब्ध-क्रीत-कुशलाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् कृतादिष्वर्थेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there' 'bought there' 'dexterous therein'.

Thus सौम्यः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Srughna". So also the words माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

प्रायभवः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राय-भवः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् ज्ञाप्राप्तिपरिक्रात्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्रायः means something less than all i. e. abundant. Thus सौम्यः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Srughna', = सुप्ते प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति. So also माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

This sūtra may appear to be superfluous as being covered by the more comprehensive sūtra सचभवः (IV. 3. 53). If प्रायभवः be explained as अनि-स्थभवः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्टक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपजानु-उपकर्ण-उपनीवेः-ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपजान्वादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'mostly to be found there,' after the words 'upajānu,' 'upakarna,' and upanîvi,' being in the 7th case in construction.

This debars भण् &c. Thus औपजानुकः, औपकर्णिकः औपनीविकः ।

संभूते ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ संभूते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् ज्ञाप्राप्तिपरिक्रात्र् संभूतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix डी and आप्, being in the 7th case in construc-

tion, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein.'

Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूत, all the other words of the sūtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूत does not mean in this sūtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the word जात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy' i. e. अवकल्पितः and प्रमाणातिरेकः ॥

Thus सुप्ते संभवति = सौप्तः 'what is suited to the country of Srughna.' So also माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The word तत्र is understood here also.

कोशाद्ढञ् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोशात्-ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोशशब्दाद् ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र संभूतइत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

42. The affix ढञ् comes after the words कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कोशे संभूत = कौशेयं वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes.'

The word कोश means 'cocoon.' कौशेयः may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon,' and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कौशेय is however क्लीढ and means 'silken.' Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath,' as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sūtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134, under the heading of विकार rather than of संभूतः ॥

In fact after the sūtra एण्या-ढञ् (IV. 3. 159), the addition of कोशाच्च would have been more appropriate.

कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-साधु-पुष्प्यत्-पच्यमा-
नेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः साध्वादिष्वर्थेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good.' 'flowering' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हेमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हेमन्तः प्राकारः शैशिरमनुलेपम् ॥ So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्त्यः कुन्दलताः 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring', मैष्ण्यः पाटलाः ॥ So also शरदि पच्यन्ते = शारदाः शालयः "the grains that ripen in autumn". मैष्मा यवाः 'the barley that ripens in summer'.

This sūtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix अण् &c.

उत्ते च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्ते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालाविति च । सप्तमीसमर्थत्वात्कालवाचिनः प्रातपद्विकारुत्ते यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते = हेमन्ता यवाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' ग्रैष्मा ब्रीहयः ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in which the anuvṛitti of उन्त only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sūtra.

आश्वयुज्या वुञ् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्वयुज्याः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आश्वयुजीशब्दाद् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उप्तेर्ये ॥

45. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars ढञ् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या मुष्ठाः = आश्वयुजका माषाः 'the pulse sown in Āśvayujī.' It is the name of the full-moon in the Asterism of Āśvini. Āśvayuj and Āśvini are the same. Some texts read अश्वनी instead of अश्विनी ॥

ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-वसन्तात्-अन्यतरस्याम्-
(वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मवसन्तशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्यां वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उप्तेर्ये ॥ ऋत्वणोपवादः ॥

46. The affix वुञ् comes optionally after the words 'grīṣhma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown'.

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus ग्रैष्मम् or ग्रैष्मकम् सस्यम् 'the crop sown in summer'. वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

देयमृणे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देयम्-ऋणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादेयमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यद् देयमृणं चेत् तद् भवति ॥

47. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयमृणं = मासिकं 'a debt due in a month'. भार्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम् ॥ Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासेदेया भिक्षा where no affix is added.

कलाप्यश्वत्थयववुसाद्वुन् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि, अश्वत्थ, यव, वुसात्, वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि अश्वत्थ यववुस इत्येतेभ्यः कालवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यो देयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यववुस denoting time

and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलापी &c are words which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks- mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the āsvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यववृक्ष 'barley-chaff? Thus कलापि-निकाले देयमृणं = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season) tails.' अश्वत्थकम् and यववृक्षकम् ॥

ग्रीष्मावरसमादयुञ्ज ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-अवर-समात्, युञ्ज ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मावरसमादयुञ्ज्यां युञ्ज् प्रत्ययो भवति देयमृणइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

49. The affix युञ्ज् comes in the sense of 'debt-due' after the words 'grīshma' and 'avarasama'.

This debarb the अण् and ठञ् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मदेयमृणं = ग्रीष्मकम् ॥ So also भावरसमकम् ॥ This affix causes Vriddhi, while युञ्ज् would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'. The word भावरसमकम् means either आगामिनां संवत्सराणामाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीति वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न ह्यस्य ॥

संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ्च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ संवत्सर-आग्रहायणीभ्यां-ठ-ञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संवत्सराग्रहायणीशब्दाभ्यां ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् युञ्चदेयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संवत्सरात्फलपर्वणोरिति पठ्यते ॥

50. The affix ठञ् also (as well as युञ्ज्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'agrâhâyanî' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे देयमृणं = सांवत्सारिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ॥

The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhiveladi Class (IV. 3. 16) and takes अण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sūtra enjoins ठञ् when 'debt' is indicated.

व्याहरति मृगः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्याहरति मृगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः सप्तमीसमर्थात्प्रातिपदिकाद् व्याहरति मृगः इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then wanders', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निशायां व्याहरति मृगः = नैशः "an animal that wanders at night." So also प्रादोषः or प्रादोषिकः (I V. 3. 14) 'a brute that yells in the morning.'

Why do we say मृगः 'a beast'? Observe निशायां व्याहरति उलूकः ॥ Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to make noise.' The Sûtra may, therefore, also be translated as : "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83) comes in expressing a wild beast who makes noise at that time".

तदस्य सोढम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदाने ॥ तद्-अस्य-सोढम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थकालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थं सोढञ्चेत्तद्वति ॥

52. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कालात् is understood here also. तद्=that : सोढम्=जितम् or अभ्यस्तं "endured or habituated". Thus निशा सहचरितमभ्ययनं=निशा "reading by night". तत् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य=नैशः or नैशिकः 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night'. So प्रादेशिकः or प्रादेशः ॥

तत्र भवः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थान् ज्याप्प्रातिपदिकाद्भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛitti of कालात् ceases. The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in sūtra तत्र जातः (IV. 3. 25). Thus, सुप्ते भवः=सौप्तः "who stays in Srughna". मायुरः, राट्टियः ॥

The repetition of तत्र in the sūtra though its annuvṛitti could have been drawn from the previous sūtras, is for the sake of stopping the annuvṛitti of तदस्य ॥

दिगादिभ्यो यत् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिगादिभ्यः-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग् इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उक्तात्संज्ञायाम् ॥

54. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars भण् and छ ॥ As दिशि भवः=दिश्यम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्ग्यम् ॥

The words मुख and जघन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुख्यं 'who stays in the van of the army'. सेनाजघन्यन् 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In

fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उक्क् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उक्क्या = रजस्वला, otherwise we have औक्कोमस्यः ॥

¹ दिश्, 2 वर्ग, 3 पूग, 4 गण, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाय्य (धाय्या) 7 मित्र, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पथिन्, 11 रहस्, 12 अलीक, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देश*, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 जघन, 20 मेघ, 21 यूथ, 22 उक्कात्संज्ञायाम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वंश, 25 वेश (विश) 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28 अनुवंश. ॥

शरीरावयवाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरीर-अवयवात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरीरावयवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकार्थप्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

55. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अण् ॥ As दन्तेषु भवं = दन्त्यम् 'dental i. e. what stays there, कर्ण्यम्, ओष्ठ्यम् ॥ So also पादे भवं = पद्यं (VI. 3. 53), नासिकायां भवं = नस्यम् ॥

दृतिकुक्षिकलशिखस्त्यस्त्यहेर्दञ् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृति-कुक्षि-कलशि-वस्ति-अस्ति-अहेः दञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो दञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

56. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'dṛiti'. 'kukshi', 'kalasi', vasti' 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus हार्तेयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षेयम्, कालशेयम्, वास्तेयम्, आस्तेयम् and आहियम् ॥ आहियम् is the name of a poison. The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिकीरा गौः. अस्तिमान् = धनवान् ॥

ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीवाभ्यः-अण्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीवाशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराड्ढञ्च, तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

57. The affix अण् also (as well as दञ्) comes after the word 'grīvā' in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55) ग्रीवासु भवं = ग्रवेयम् or ग्रैवम् ॥ The word ग्रीवा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sūtra.

गम्भीराञ्ज्यः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम्भीरात्-ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम्भीराशब्दाद् ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहिर्देवपञ्चजनेभ्यश्चोति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्मासाद् यज्ञे ज्यो वक्तव्यः ॥

58. The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhîra'.

This debars अण् ॥ गम्भीरे भवं = गम्भीर्यम् 'gravity'.

Vārt:—So also after बहिः, देव and पंचजन. As बाह्यम्, वैव्यम् and पांचजन्यम् ॥ The final of बहिस् is elided by the vārtika under IV. 1. 85. The word 'daivya' could be also formed under another Vārtika of the same.

Vārt:—The affix ñya comes after chaturmāsa in the sense of a sacrifice; as, चातुर्मास्यानि व्रतानि, चातुर्मास्यो यज्ञः, otherwise चातुर्मासः ॥

अव्ययीभावाच्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावात्-ञ्य (ञ्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकाच्च ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

59. After an Avyayībhāva Compound, the affix ञ्य is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ The affix ञ्य however, does not come after every Avyayībhāva Compound, but only after the words included in the list of परि-मुखादि as given in the Gaṇapātha.

Thus परिमुखं भवं = परिमुख्यम्. So also पारिहन्यम् ॥ Not so औपकुलम्, the word उपकुल not belonging to the class परिमुख्य ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहनु, 3 पर्योष्ठ, 4 पथुल, 5 औपमुल, 6 खल, 7 परिसीर, 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपस्थल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपथ, 13 अनुखड्ग, 14 अनुतिल, 15 अनुशीत, 16 अनुमाष, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुयुप, 19 अनुवंश, 20 अनुगङ्ग, 21 प्रतिशाख, 22 अनुसाय ॥

अन्तःपूर्वपदादृञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः-पूर्व-पदात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावादित्येव । अन्तःशब्दो विभक्त्यर्थे समस्यते, । तत्पूर्वपदादव्ययीभावादृञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समानशब्दादृञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तदादेश ॥

वा० ॥ अध्यात्मादिभ्यश्च ॥

वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वदेहाच्च ठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वदेहाच्च ॥

वा० ॥ लोकोत्तरपदाच्च ॥

वा० ॥ मुखपार्श्वशब्दाभ्यां तसन्ताभ्यामीयः प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ मध्यशब्दादीयः ॥

वा० ॥ जनपरयोः कुक्च ॥

वा० ॥ मध्यो मध्यं दिनं चास्मात् ॥

वा० ॥ मण्मीयौ च प्रत्ययौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

वा० ॥ स्थाप्नो लुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ अजिनान्ताच्च ॥

Kārikā

समानस्य तदादेश अध्यात्मादिषु चेष्यते ।

ऊर्ध्वदेहाच्च देहाच्च लोकोत्तरपदस्य च ॥

मुखपार्श्वतसोरीयः कुण्डजनस्य परस्य च ॥

ईयः कार्योथ मध्यस्य मण्मीयौ प्रत्ययौ तथा ॥

मध्यो मध्यं दिनं चास्मात्स्थाप्नो लुगजिनात्तथा ॥

60. After an Avyayībhāva compound, having the word अन्तर् as prior term, the affix ठञ् is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भान्तर्वेदिकम्, भान्तर्गे हिकम् ॥

Vart:—The affix ठञ् comes after समान, as समाने भवं = सामानिकम् ॥

Vart:—So also after a word beginning with समान, as, सामानग्रामिकम्, सामानं देशिकं.

Vart:—So also after the words अध्यात्म, &c as, आध्यात्मिकम्, आधिदैविकम्, आधिभौतिकम् ॥ The class अध्यात्मादि is Ākṛitigaṇa.

Vart:—So also after ऊर्ध्वन्मः as, और्ध्वन्मिकः ॥ The word 'ūrdhva' is a synonym of ऊर्ध्वम् ॥

Vart:—So also ऊर्ध्वदेह, as और्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥

Vart:—So also after a compound having the word लोक as second term; as, ऐहलौकिकम्, पारलौकिकम् ॥

Vart:—The words मुख and पाद्वं ending in तस्, take the affix ईय; as, मुखतीयम्, पाद्वंतीयम् ॥

Vart:—The affix ईय comes after जन and पर with the augment कुक्, as जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥

Vart:—The affix ईय comes after मध्य, as, मधीयः ॥

Vart:—So also the affix मण् and मीय come after मध्य; As. माध्यमम्, माध्यमीयम् ॥

Vart:—So also the affix दिनण् (दिनम् in Padamanjari) comes after मध्य, whereby it becomes मध्यम् as माध्यन्दिनम् in माध्यन्दिन उपगच्छति ॥

Vart:—There is elision of the affix after the word स्थात, as, अभ्यस्थाता ॥

Vart:—So also there is elision after the words ending in अजिन, as वृकाजिनः, सिंहजिनः

ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्-परि-अनु-पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दान्तादव्ययीभावात्परि अनु इत्येवंपूर्वादृष्टम् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

61. After the word 'grāma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayîbhâva), there is the affix ठञ् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पारिग्रामिकः, आनुग्रामिकः ॥

जिह्वामूलाङ्गुलेश्चः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिह्वामूल-अङ्गुलेः- छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिह्वामूलशब्दादङ्गुलिशब्दाच्चछः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

62. After the words 'jihvâmûla', and 'anguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यन् (IV. 3. 55). Thus जिह्वामूलीयम्, अंगुलीयम् ॥

वर्गान्ताच्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्गान्तात्-च (छ)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गशब्दान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्च छः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवादः ॥

63. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

This debars अण् ॥ As कवर्गायम्, चवर्गीयम् ॥

अशब्दे यत्खावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशब्दे-यत्-खौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गान्तादित्येव । शब्दादन्यस्मिन्प्रत्ययार्थे वर्गान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादन्यतरस्यां यत्खौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

64. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and ख are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As वासुदेववर्ग्यः (by यत्), वासुदेववर्गीणः, (by ख), and वासुदेववर्गीयः (by छ) ॥
दुधिमिरवर्ग्यः °वर्गीणः or °वर्गीयः ॥

Of course, when the word means 'शब्द' it takes one affix only i. e. छ ; as कवर्गीय वर्णः 'a letter belonging to क class'.

कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ण-ललाटात्-कन् अलङ्कारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णललाटशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषयेऽलङ्कारेऽभिधेये ॥

65. The affix कन् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karna' and 'lalât', the word denoting an ornament.

This debars यन् (IV. 3. 55). Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Why do we say 'denoting an ornament, ? Observe कर्ण्यम् 'what is in the ear', ललाट्यम् ॥

तस्य व्याख्यानइति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-व्याख्याने-इति-च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकाद्व्याख्यानेऽभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भवे च ॥

66. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as, in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानं as well as तत्रभव, the latter being read into the sūtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपां व्याख्यानः = सौपो ग्रन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case-affixes'. So also तैङ्गः 'Tainga--a Commentary on Verbal affixes' कर्तः 'Kârta--a Commentary on kṛit affixes'. सौपा &c. may also mean सुप्सु भवे &c.

Why do we say व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः 'after the name of the thing explainable'? The thing to be explained must be a Book, therefore, the affix will not apply to the name of a city &c. For example, if a model be made to describe the city of Pāṭaliputra, such a model will not be named after Pāṭaliputra by the addition of affix. Thus सुकोशला is a model giving a description of Pāṭaliputra. This will not be called Pāṭaliputram.

The anuvṛitti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavāda sūtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛitti of भव into this sūtra also.

बहुचोन्तोदात्तादृञ् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुचः-अन्तोदात्तात् ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुचा व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकादन्तोदात्ताद्भवव्याख्यानयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix ठञ् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udātta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus बाल्वणत्विकम् 'a commentary of the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ण' ॥ नान्तानतिक्रम् 'a commentary on (अनन्त) udātta and anudātta (नन्त)' ॥ The radicals बाल्वणत्व and नान्तानन्त are acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169)

Why do we say बहुचः 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपम्, तैडम् &c. A word of two syllables will take ठक् (IV. 3. 72). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe सांहितम् from संहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49)

क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतु-यज्ञेभ्यः, च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रतुभ्यो यज्ञेभ्यश्च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix ठञ् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajña.

This debars अण् ॥ Kratu :—अग्निष्टोमिकः 'a commentary on a work on Agniśtoma sacrifices? वाजपेयिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ yajña:—पाकयज्ञिकः, नावयज्ञिकः ॥

This sūtra refers to words which are not antodātta. The words 'vājapeya' and 'rājasūya' are acute in the middle.

The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifices only. Thus षाञ्चौदनिकः, शशौदनिकः ॥

The sūtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. i. 68).

अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायेषु-एव-ऋषे, (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषिशब्दः प्रवरनामधेयानि तेभ्य ऋषिशब्देभ्यः भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix ठञ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Rishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyāya only.

The word ऋषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list. The word so formed means always an Adhyāya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः is understood in this sūtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a Rishi".

Thus वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो दा = वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः "Vāsishtika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha". विश्वामित्रकः "a chapter of commentary on Viśvāmitra".

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात् छन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पौरोडाश-पुरोडाशात्-छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौरोडाशशब्दश्च पुरोडाशशब्दश्च भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix छन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'paurodāsa' and 'purodasa'.

The verses on the purification &c of Purodāśa 'a sacred cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such paurodāśa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः. Its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. i. 41). A book on Purodāśa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. i. 41). The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV. i. 41). The commentary here refers to the 'mantras' or verses relating to Purodāśa, and not to the sacrifice.

छन्दसो यदणौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-यत्-अणौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दः शब्दश्च भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोर्दणौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

71. The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the word Chhandas.

This debars डक् of the following sūtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्दसः ॥

द्वयजृद्ब्राह्मणर्कप्रथमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्याताद् ठक् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वयच-
ऋत्-ब्राह्मण-ऋक्-प्रथम-अध्वर-पुरश्चरण-नाम-आख्यातात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयजृद्ब्राह्मणः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो व्याख्यातव्यनामभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix ठक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short ऋ, and the words 'brahmana', 'rik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharana', 'nama', 'akhyata' and 'namakhyata', being the names of explainable works.

This debars अण् and ठञ् ॥ 1. Dissyllabic :—ऐष्टिकः, पाशुकः ॥ 2. Ending in ऋ :—चातुर्होतुकः, पांचहोतुकः ॥ So also ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्चिकः, प्राथमिकः, आध्वरिकः, पौरश्चरणिकः, नामिकः, आख्यातिकः, नामाख्यातिकः ॥

अणुगयनादिभ्यः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-ऋगयनादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋगयनादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोरण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the words 'rigayana' &c.

This debars ठञ्, ठक् and छ ॥ आर्गयनः, पादव्याख्यानः ॥

The repetition of अण् in the sūtra, though the annuvṛitti of this affix was coming from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavāda rule to the words in this list. Thus वास्तुविद्याः ॥

1 ऋगयन, 2 पदव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोमान, 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविधिति, 6 न्याय, 7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण, 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 अङ्गविद्या, 14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात, 16 उत्पाद, 17 उद्याव, 18 संवत्सर, 19 मुहूर्त, 20 उपनिषद्, 21 निमित्त, 22 शिक्षा, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दो वि-
जिनी 25 व्याव. ॥

तत आगतः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ततः, आगतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इति पञ्चमीसमर्थादागत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word being in 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus ब्रह्मादागतः = सौदनः 'what has come from Srughna'. माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ।

तगायस्थानेभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-आयस्थानेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्य इति स्वामिमाहो भाग उच्यते स यस्मिन्नुत्पद्यते तदायस्थानम् । आयस्थानवाचिभ्यः प्रा-
तिपदिकेभ्यश्च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

75. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix ठक् in the sense of 'come thence'.

The word आय means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of आय is called आयस्थान ॥

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus शौल्कशालिकः 'what is derived from custom house'. आकरिकम् 'revenue derived from mines'.

The plural in the sūtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68).

शुण्डिकादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७६ ॥ शुण्डिकादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुण्डिक इत्यवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

76. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c.

This debars टक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः ॥

The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV. 3. 73, बाधक-बाधनार्थम् ॥ As औत्पानः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्थण्डिल, 4 उत्पान, 5 उपल, 6 तीर्थ, 7 भूमि, 8 तृण, 9 पर्ण. ॥

विद्यायोनिःसंबन्धेभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विद्या-योनि-संबन्धेभ्यः-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिकृतः संबन्धो येषां ते विद्यायोनिःसंबन्धाः ॥ तद्वाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

77. The affix वुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनिःसंबन्धाः ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix वुञ्. This debars अण् and छ. Thus उपाध्यायादागतम् = औपाध्यायकम् 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' शैष्यकम् आचार्यकम् ॥ So also योनिःसंबन्धः as मातामहकः 'wealth derived from a maternal grand-father.' पितामहकः, मातुलकः ॥

ऋतुष्टञ् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतुः-उञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिःसंबन्धेभ्य इत्येव । ऋकारान्तेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विद्यायोनिःसंबन्धवाचिभ्यश्च षञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

78. The affix उञ् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short ऋ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars वुञ् ॥ Thus होत्रागतम् = होतृकम् 'derived from Hotri.' पौतृकम् ॥ So also of 'blood,' as :—भ्रातृकम्, स्वासृकम्, मातृकम् ॥

The ऋ in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long ऋ ॥

When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सावित्रम् ॥

पितुर्यच्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितुः-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादृञ्च तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

79. The affix यत् as well as ढञ् comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितृगतं = पैतृकं or पित्र्यम् (VII. 4. 27. and VI. 4. 148) 'paternal—i.e. wealth inherited from father.'

गोत्रादङ्कवत् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्-अङ्कवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादङ्कवत्प्रत्ययविधिर्भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

80. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

The word गोत्र in the sūtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting ञ्ङु are taught in IV. 3. 126 and 127. The affix वुञ् of IV. 3. 126 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sūtra, not merely the affix अण् of IV. 3. 127, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus औपगवानामङ्कः = औपगवकः 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagū.' So also कापटवकः, नाडायनकः, चारायणकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as आपगवेभ्य आगतम् = औपगवकम्, कापटवकम्, नाडायनकम्, चारायणकम् (formed by वुञ् IV. 3. 126).

Similarly वैदः, गार्गः, दाक्षः formed by अण् of IV. 3. 127 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gārgyas, the Dākshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. The word वत् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in कालेभ्यो भववत् (IV. 2. 34), चरणेभ्यो धमवत् IV. 2. 46).

हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-मनुष्येभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्-रूप्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्चान्यतरस्यां रूप्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

81. The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause,' or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समादागतं = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause.' So also विषमरूप्यम् or विषमीयम्, ॥ So of men

also देवदत्तरूप्यम् or देवदत्तम् (IV. 1. 83) 'what originates with देवदत्तः', यज्ञदत्तरूप्यम् or यज्ञदत्तम् ॥

The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in II. 3. 23 : and according to the jñāpaka in the present sūtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु, ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II. 3. 25.

मयद् च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्च मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

82. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayat' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus समयम्, विषममयम्, देवदत्तमयम्, यज्ञदत्तमयम् ॥

The द् of मयद् indicates that the feminine of these words are formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), as, समयी ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यमयदौ ॥

प्रभवति ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इत्येव । पञ्चमीसमर्थान् ज्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

83. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of 'what appears for the first time'.

The word ततः is understood in the sūtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हैमवती "The Haimavati", a name of the Ganges, meaning 'which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown'. So also दारदी "The Dārādī" i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तत्र जातः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

विदूराज्यः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदूरात्-ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदूरशब्दाद् ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ततः प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Karika

बालवायो विदूरं च प्रकृत्यन्तरमेव वा ।

न वै तत्रेति चेद्ब्रूयाज्जित्वरीववृषाचरेत् ॥

84. The affix **य** comes, in the sense of 'what manifests itself there', after the words 'vidûra'.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **विदूरात् प्रभवति = वैदूर्यः** 'a kind of gem found at Vidûra'. The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidûra, but in a mountain called **वालवाय** ॥ Vidûra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to **वालवाय**, when the latter word is replaced by **विदूर**; such substitute being only shown in the sûtra, the appropriate sthâni (vâlavâya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidûra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidûra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vâlavâya by the name of Vidûra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvari.

तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-गच्छति-पथि-दूतयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्गच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति योऽसौ गच्छति पन्थाश्चैनं स भवति दूतो वा ॥

85. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'what goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus **सुग्नं गच्छति = सौघ्नः** "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna." So also **मायुरः** ॥ The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Why do we say **पथिदूतयोः** "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe **सुग्नं गच्छति सार्थः** 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निष्क्रामति-द्वारम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयासमर्थादभिनिष्क्रामतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत् तदभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारं चेद् भवति ॥

86. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus **सौघ्नः** 'a gate which looks towards Srughna',—as a gate of Kânyakubja. So also **मायुरम्, राष्ट्रियम्** ॥

Objection. The sûtra would have stood better as **अभिनिष्क्रमणं द्वारं**, for by using **अभिनिष्क्रामति**, you make the word **द्वारं** as if it was a being endowed with sense.

Ans. This objection may be answered by saying that the gate is the well-known instrument (**करण**) to the action of **अभिनिष्क्रमण**; and an instrument may be used as an agent to a verb: as **साध्वसिच्छिनत्ति** 'the sword cuts nicely.'

Why do we say द्वारम् “when it is a gate”? Observe सुन्नमभिनिष्क्रमति पुरुषः ‘a person faces towards Srughna’.

अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकृत्य-कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थ्याधिकृत्य कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्कृतं ग्रन्थश्चे-
त्स भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लुबाख्यायिकायस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुलम् ॥

87. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of ‘made in relation to any subject,’ when the thing made is a ‘book.’

The word अधिकृत्य means ‘aiming at’ ‘alluding to, referring to.’ Thus सुभद्रामधिकृत्य कृतोग्रन्थः = सौभद्रः ‘Saubhadra or a book relating to the history of Subhadrâ.’ So also गौरिमित्रः, यायातः, किरातार्जुनीयम् ॥

Why do we say मन्ये ‘when meaning a book’? Observe, सुभद्रामधिकृत्यकृतः प्रासादः ‘a palace built in memory of Subhadrâ’; where there is no affix.

Vart:—The affix is elided diversely when the book is a story. Thus वासवदत्तामधि कृत्य कृता ऽऽ ख्यायिका = वासवदत्ता “Vâsavadattâ, a story relating to Vâsavadattâ.” सुमनोहरा, उर्वशी ॥ Sometimes the elision does not take place, as भैरवरी ॥

शिशुकन्दयमसभद्वन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिशु-कन्द-यमस-
भ-द्वन्द्व-इन्द्र-जननादिभ्यः-श्छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिशुकन्दादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति अधिकृत्य कृते मन्ये ॥ अणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इन्द्रे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः ॥

88. The affix छ comes in the sense of ‘a book made relating to a subject’, after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz ‘sisukranda,’ ‘yamasabha,’ the Dvandva-compounds, and the words ‘indra-janana’ &c.

The word तद् (IV. 3. 85) and अधिकृत्य कृते मन्ये should be read into the sūtra. This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुकन्दीयः ‘a book treating of the crying of infants.’ यमसभः ‘a book relating to the court of Yama’. A Dvandva-Compound: as, अभिकाश्यपीयः, इयेनक्रपोतीयः, शङ्खार्थसंबन्धीयम् प्रकरणं, वाक्यपदीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are âkritigana, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, प्रद्युम्नागमनीयम् &c.

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the Dvanda-Compounds देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ‘the book of the wars of the Gods and Demons.’ राक्षोसुरम् मौणमुख्यम् ॥

The words शिशुकन्ध and वमसभ might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sūtra, is merely for the sake of amplification.

सोऽस्य निवासः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः-अस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति अल्पप्रथमासमर्थं निवासश्चेत् भवति ॥

89. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place'

The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. अस्य 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. निवासः, shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. निवास means "a country i. e. where a person lives (nivasanti asmin)".

सुघ्नो निवासोऽस्य = सौघ्नः 'a present dweller of Srughna', माधुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

अभिजनश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिजनः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्येत्येव । स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति अल्पप्रथमासमर्थमभिजनश्चेत् भवति ॥

90. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between निवासः and अभिजनः is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (अभिजनाः) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus सौघ्नः 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'. माधुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of 'abhijana' only runs.

आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधजीविभ्यः-छः-पर्वते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्याभिजन इति वर्तते । आयुधजीविभ्य इति तार्थ्ये चतुर्थी, पर्वत इति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादभिजनादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word आयुधजीवी means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase सोऽस्याभिजनः is to be read into the sūtra. Thus हृदगोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविनां = हृदगोलीयाः 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hridgola mountain'. So also अन्धकवर्त्तीयाः, रोहितगिरीयाः ॥

Why do we say आयुधजीविभ्यः ? Observe आक्षोढा ब्राह्मणाः "the Brahmanas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains". Why do we say 'mountains' ? Observe. सांकाश्यका आयुधजीविनः ॥

शाण्डिकादिभ्यो ङ्यः ॥ ९२ ॥ शाण्डिकादिभ्यः, ङ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ङ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति सोस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

92. The affix ङ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शाण्डिक &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus शाण्डिक्यः, सार्वसेन्यः &c.

1 शाण्डिक, 2 सर्वसेन 3 सर्वकेश, 4 शक, 5 शट, (सट), 6 रक, 7 शङ्ख, 8 बोध.

सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्यो णञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-तक्षशिलादिभ्यः, अण्-अञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यते । सिन्धादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तक्षशिलादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यमणञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः सोस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

93. The affixes अण् and अञ come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshasila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'.

Thus सैन्धवः, वार्णवः ॥

Many of the words occurring in Sindhu-class, are found in Kachchh-adi class (IV. 2. 133) also. Those words would have taken अण् by sūtra IV. 2. 133. The present sūtra prevents the affixing of वुञ् (IV. 2. 134) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sūtra IV. 2. 134, when the further significance of अभिजनः is added to them.

So also ताक्षशिलः, वात्सोद्गरणः &c.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्ण, 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 सात्व, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस), 10 वरु (वर), 11 गान्धका (गन्धिका), 12 कुलून, 13 विरसा ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वात्सोद्गरण, 3 कैमेवुर (कौमेवुर), 4 मामणी, 5 छगल*, 6 क्रोडुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 किनर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डवारण), 11 पर्वत*, 12 अवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सरालक.

तूदीशालातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्छण्ड्यकः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूदी-शालातुर-वर्मती-कूचवारात्, ढक्-छण्-ढञ्-यकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूद्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः षड्वेभ्यो यथासंख्यं चत्वार एव ढक् छण् ढञ् यक् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति सोस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

94. After the words तूदी, शालातुर, वर्मती, and कूचवार, come respectively the affixes ढक्, छण्, ढञ्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वर्मतेयः and कौचवार्यः ॥

भक्तिः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समर्थविभक्तिः प्रत्ययार्थश्चानुवर्तते । अभिजन इति निवृत्तम् । स ज्ञान प्रथमासमर्थवस्येति षड्वर्त्ये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं भक्तिश्चेत्तद्वति ॥

95. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sūtra means 'serving', 'worshipping' or 'loving'.

Thus सुघ्नो भक्तिरस्य = सौघ्नः 'a person who is loyal to Srughna'. So also माधुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word अभिजनः ceases. The word सः and अस्य should be read into the sūtra.

अचित्ताद्देशकालाट्ठक् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्तात्, अदेश-कालात्, ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ देशकालव्यतिरिक्तादचित्तवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाट्ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये;
अणोपवादः ॥

96. After a word denoting a thing not having consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix ठक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debarbs अण्; and छ also. Thus अबूपाभक्तिरस्य = आपूपिकः 'a person who loves cakes'. शाक्कुलिकः, पायसिकः ॥

Why do we say 'not having consciousness'? Observe देवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe सौघ्नः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe श्रेष्ठः 'who loves Summer'.

महाराजाट्ठक् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराजात्, ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दाद् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन् विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

97. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debarbs अण् ॥ As महाराजिकः 'who loves or serves the Mahārāja'. The difference between this ठक् and the ठक् of the last aphorism, is in accent only.

वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां बुन् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वासुदेव-अर्जुनाभ्याम्, बुन् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वासुदेवार्जुनशब्दाभ्यां बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छानोरपवादः ॥

98. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after the words 'Vâsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debarbs छ and अण् ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Q. The word वासुदेव being the name of a Kshatriya would have taken बुम् by the next sūtra, and there is no difference here between बुन् and बुम्, why then include the word वासुदेव in this sūtra?

A. The word वासुदेव here is the name of God (in which all dwell वसन्ति भस्मिन्) and not the designation of a Kshatriya.

By the general rule of compounds (II. 2. 34) a word of fewer vowels is placed first, and so Arjuna ought to have been placed first. The not doing so in this sūtra indicates (jñāpaka) the existence of this rule 'that a word denoting an object of reverence is placed first.'

गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं बुम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यः-बहुलम्-बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्राख्येभ्यः क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बहुलं बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

99 The affix बुम् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars अण् and छ. Thus: ग्लौचकायनक 'who loves or serves &c Gluchukāyani.' So also औपगवकः, कापटवकः ॥ Kshatriyas:—नाकुलकः, मातृदेवकः, साम्बकः ॥

The word आख्यां in the sūtra indicates that the words should be the names of *well-known* or *famous* Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनो भवितरस्य = पाणिनीयः, पौरवीयः ॥

The word गोत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वं जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥

जनपदिनाम्, जनपदवत्, सर्वम्, जनपदेन, समान, शब्दानाम्, बहुवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदिनो ये बहुवचने जनपदेन समानशब्दास्तेषां जनपदवत्सर्वं भवति प्रत्ययः प्रकृतिश्च सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

100. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis. जनपदिनाम् gen. plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Kshatriya-Princes, बहुवचने 'in the plural', जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the janapada denoting word', जनपदवत् सर्वम् 'every thing is like jana-pada'. In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya Princes which in the plural have

the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word.' Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sûtras IV. 2. 124 &c. and those affixes will apply here. Thus अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by वुञ् of Sûtra IV. 2. 125, meaning 'who loves the country of Aṅgās' Similarly वाङ्गकः, सौद्यकः, रोम्हकः ॥

Similarly अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया, भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by the same affix वुञ्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas called Aṅgās'. So वाङ्गकः, सौद्यकः &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriya Princes'; (janapadinām). Observe. पञ्चाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य = पञ्चालाः ॥ Here the general affix अण् is employed.

The word सर्व is used in the sūtra to show that not only the affixes are the same, but the bases to which the affixes are added will be the same. In the plural, the Kshatriya and the Janapada bases have the same form, but in the singular and dual, the forms of Kshatriya-bases are different. Thus मद्रस्यापत्यं = sing. मद्रः (IV. 1. 170) dual, मद्रौ pl. मद्राः. The form मद्राः denotes both 'the Kings or Kshatriyas of Madrās' as well as 'the country called Madrās'. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ So also in the singular and dual, मद्राः will be the base to which the affix will be added. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्य मद्रौ वा भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ Similarly वाज्यं (from वृजि IV. 1. 171), as, वाज्यो वा भक्तिरस्य वाज्यो वा भक्तिरस्य = वजिकः ॥

Why do we say जनपदेन समान शब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janapada word'? Thus अनुषण्डो जनपदः, पौरवो राजः स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीयः ॥ Here Paurava and Anushaṇḍa have not the same sound.

The word बहुवचने is used in the sūtra, to indicate, that, though the समान शब्दता or 'the similarity of word-form', occurs in the plural number only, yet this atideśa rule applies to the same words in the singular and dual also. For in the plural, the form will be same, because there the Tadrāja affix is elided; but in the singular and dual, the Tadrāja affix is not elided, and therefore, the word denoting a principality and the word denoting a prince will not have the same form; but this rule applies there also. As वाङ्गः or वाङ्गो भक्तिरस्य वाङ्गकः ॥

तेन प्रोक्तम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, प्रोक्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनोति तृतीयासमर्थान्त्वोक्तमित्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्राक्तं means प्रकर्षेणोक्तं 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृतं

has been already taught in the sūtra कृते ग्रन्थे (IV. 3. 16). Thus अन्येन कृता मायुरेण प्रोक्ता = मायुरी वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Paṇini' आपिशलम्, काशकृत्स्नम् ॥

Works like Chhandas which were made (कृतं) by nobody, but which were promulgated (प्रोक्तं) from time of time by inspired commentators, may be quoted as examples of the application of this sūtra. Or it may apply to the case of a book whose *author* is another, but whose promulgator or expounder is another. In short, speaking roughly, प्रोक्त is a 'revelation', and कृतः is a 'composition', one a revealer or prophet, the other an author.

According to some, this sūtra is almost a superfluity. They argue thus: The word प्रोक्त is formed by adding प्र to वच् and means 'to lecture' 'to teach', and also the 'means of such teaching &c'. In the first sense of 'lecturing or teaching', the affix is not found. For in every village there are persons who teach or lecture upon Kāṭha, Kalāpa &c. . For example सुशर्मन् may be such a lecturer, but we do not say सुशर्मणा प्रोक्ते काठकं = सौशर्मणम् ॥ Moreover, where we find this affix employed, it is with regard to Books, for which the rule कृते ग्रन्थे is sufficient. If it be said that it should be taught for the Chhandas: that is also unnecessary, as the Vedas are not कृत but eternal, the agent only remembers them. If it be said, it refers to the sense of the Vedas, the same objection applies as to the first. But the letter of the Veda is not eternal, it is the sense that is eternal. Therefore the Rishis who revealed, for the first time, at the beginning of a Kalpa, the sense of the Veda, in appropriate language will be called its promulgators, and the works so revealed will be named after such Rishis, as काठकम्, कालापकम् and मैत्रकम् ॥ This sūtra, however, is confined to those cases where the author of the book is one person and its promulgator is another: as मायुरी वृत्तिः ॥

तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखाण्डिकोखाच्छण् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्तिरि-वरतन्तु-खाण्डिक-उखात्-छण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तित्तिर्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यश्छण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसीत्यत्रास्यानुवृत्तेश्छन्दोधिकारविहितानां च तद्विषयत्वेभ्येत ॥

102. The affix छण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khandika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तैत्तिरीयाः 'those who learn (IV. 2. 64) the Veda enounced by Tittiri'. वारतन्तवीयाः, खाण्डिकीयाः, औखीयाः ॥

According to Kāśikā this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to secular śloka, as तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तं श्लोकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sūtra IV. 3. 106. and तद्विषयता from IV 2 66.

काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यप-कौशिकाभ्याम्,
ऋषिभ्याम्, णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपकौशिकशब्दाभ्यामृषिवाचिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छ-
त्वापवादः ॥

103. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kâsyapa' and 'Kausika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ. The ण of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛiddhi (useful in the subsequent sūtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the Kalpa enounced by Kâsyapa', कौशिकिनः ॥ Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe इदानीन्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यपेन प्रोक्त = काश्यपीयम् "a work enounced by a modern Kâsyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kâsyapa : not a Rishi'.

कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि-वैशम्पायन-अ-
न्तिवासिभ्यः, च (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलाप्यन्तेवासिनां वैशम्पायनान्ते वासिनां च वे वाचकाः शब्दास्तेभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ते-
न प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

Kârîka

हरिद्वेषां प्रथमस्तत्तच्छगलितुंभुरु ।

उलपेन चतुर्थेन कालापकमिहोच्यते ॥

आलम्बिश्चरकः प्राचां पलङ्गकमलावुभौ ।

क्षुचाभारुणिताण्डयाश्च मध्यमीयास्त्रयोऽपरे ॥

इयामायन उदीच्येषु उक्तः कठकलापिनोः ।

104. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalâpî, and 'Vaisampâyana,' the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him.'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalâpâ : as, हरिद्रु, छगली, तुम्बुरुः, उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaisampâyana : as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, क्षुचाभ, आरुणि; ताण्डय, इयामायन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हरिद्रविणः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the works enounced by Haridru.' तम्बुरविणः, औलपिनः and छगली takes ḍhinuk IV. 3. 109 ॥ आलम्बिनः, पालङ्गिनः, आरुणिनः, आर्चार्चामिनः, कामलिनः, ताण्डिनः, इयामायनिनः ॥ The affix is elided after कठ (IV. 3. 107), and is replaced by अण् (IV. 3. 108) after कलापी ॥

The pupils must be direct ones, and not pupil of pupils. For had that been the meaning, Kalâpî being a pupil of Vaisampâyana, the words 'pupils of Vaisampâyana' would have included the 'pupils of Kalâpî.' But that is not so, the word Kalâpî being separately mentioned in the sūtra. So

also Kāṭha is a pupil of Vaiśampāyana, and Khāḍāyana is a pupil of Kāṭha and had the sūtra applied to pupil's pupil also, then the affix णिनि would have applied to खाडायन also. But that is not the case, Khāḍāyana being mentioned in Śaunakādi class. (IV. 3. 106).

The word चरकः means वैशम्पायनः, hence चरकाः means pupils of वैशम्पायनः ॥

पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुराण-प्रोक्तेषु-ब्राह्मण-कल्पेषु (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणमेतत् । तृतीयासमर्थान्प्रोक्ते णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्ताश्चैव ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति ॥

105. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sūtra further gives the sense of the affix. पुराण means 'Ancient Sages,' equivalent to पुरातन. Of Brāhmaṇa literature, the examples are, शाखायनिनः, एतत्तयनः ॥ Kalpa work : as पैङ्गीकल्पः, आरुणपराजी ॥

Why do we say पुराणप्रोक्तेषु 'announced by ancient sages.'? Observe ब्राह्मवल्कानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्विनः कल्पः ॥ (VI. 4. 151) Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The तद् विषय affix (IV. 2. 66) will not also apply to these, because the word ब्राह्मण in IV. 2. 66 is restricted to पुराणप्रोक्त of the present sūtra.

शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौनकादिभ्यः-छन्दसि-(णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शौनक इत्येवमादिभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दस्यभिधेयः । छाणो-रपवादः ॥

106. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after the words शौनक &c, in denoting Chhandas.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शौनकिनः 'who study (IV. 2. 64) the Chhandas enounced by Śaunaka.' वाजसनेयिनः &c.

'Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas'? Observe शौनकीया शिक्षा 'the orthography of Śaunaka.'

The word कठशाठ occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix. After the single word कठ the affix is elided (IV. 3. 107). Thus कठशाठाभ्यां प्रोक्तमधीयते = काठशाठिनः ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 शार्ङ्गरव, 4 शापेय (सापेय), 5 शाण्डेय (शाखेय), 6 खाडायन, 7 स्तम्भ (स्कम्भ), 8 स्कन्ध, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुभार, 11 रज्जुकण्ठ, 12 कठशाठ, 13 कषाय (कशाय) 14 तल*, 15 वण्ड*, 16 पुरुषांसक (पुरुषासक), 17 अश्वपेज (अश्वपेय), 18 साङ्गरव, 19 स्कन्ध, 20 देवदत्तशठ, 21 तलवकार.

पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ पाराशर्य-शिलालि-
भ्याम्-भिक्षु-नट-सूत्रयोः (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनिरिहानुवर्तते, न द्विन्कु । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मि-
न्निषये ॥

110. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounc-
ed by him', after the words Pârâsarya and Silalin, the works
enounced being Bhikshu-Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra respectively.

The affix णिनि is to be read into the sûtra and not द्विन्कु ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र
and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षु 'religious mendicants' and
नटः 'jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पाराशर + णिनि (VI. 4. 152) = पाराशरिन्, 'the treatise
of Pârâsarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly शैलालिन् ॥ These words,
of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced
by Pârâsarya and Sailâlin'. See IV. 2. 66. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, शैलालिनो नटाः ॥
According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV. 2. 66) and
never a प्रोक्त alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Nata Sûtras'? Observe
पाराशरम्, शैलालम् ॥

कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मन्द-कृशाश्वात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वाद्वाभ्यामिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

111. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounc-
ed by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sûtra and
Nata-Sûtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Krisâsva'.

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः, 'the' mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sûtra
of Karmandin'. कृशाश्विनो नटाः 'the actors who study the Nata Sûtra of Kriśâśvin.'
Otherwise कर्मन्दिक् and कृशाश्विक् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

तेनैकदिक् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-एकदिक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थोऽेकदिगित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word
in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same
direction with that.'

The word एक दिक् means तुल्य दिक् i. e. a common direction. Thus
सुशम्ना एकदिक् = सौदामनी विद्युत् "a lightening, literally that which is in the same
direction as the hill called the Sudâman." So हैमवती, वैककुषी, पैलुमूली ॥

The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛitti
from IV. 3. 101, is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the छन्दस्

which regulated all the preceding ten sūtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 which was applied in those sūtras does not apply here.

तसिश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तसिश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन्विषये । पूर्वेण घादिषु अणादिषु च प्राप्तेष्वयमपरः प्रत्ययो विधीयते ॥

113. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अण् & च &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables (I. 1. 37). Thus हिमवतः 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीलूमूलतः, सुदामतः ॥

उरसो यच्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसो-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात्तसिश्च, तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

114. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ।

Thus उरसा एकादिग = उरस्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sūtra by force of the word च ॥

उपज्ञाते ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थवृत्तज्ञातइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. After a word in 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं, i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनिनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् अकालकं व्याकरणं 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pāṇini'. So also काशकृत्स्नम् गुरुलाघवम्, आपिशलम्, दुष्करणम् ॥ Compare II. 4. 21. The Pāṇini's Grammar is called अकालकं as it does not define काल or tenses; गुरुलाघवम् is the name of the sciences of wealth (यद्योपायाणां गौरवं लाघवमिति चिन्त्यते) ॥ The word Duskaraṇa is the name of a Grammar, so-called because of the technical term दुष् occurring in it. Some say it means कामशास्त्रः ॥

कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव तृतीयासमर्थवृत्तकृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्कृतं ग्रन्थश्चेत्स भवति ॥

116. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिना कृताः = वाररुचाः श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vāruruchi'. So also हैकुपादो ग्रन्थः, हैकुरादो ग्रन्थः, जालूकः ॥

Why do we say 'a book'? Observe तक्षकृतः प्रासादः 'the palace made by Taksha'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्तीयासमर्थात्कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चैतत्संज्ञाज्ञायते ॥

117. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name.

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम् = माक्षिकम्, कार्मुकम्, सारघम्, पौक्तिकम् ॥ All these are names of 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', मक्षिका, सरघा and पुत्तिका meaning 'a bee'. मक्षिका + अण् = माक्षिक (VI. 4. 148). The anuvṛtti of "ग्रन्थ" does not, of course, apply here.

कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुला-लादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति चैतत्सर्वमनुवर्तते । कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

118. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulâla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit. 'made by a potter'. So also वारुडकम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 वरुड, 3 खण्डाल, 4 निषाद, 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिरिध (सिरिन्ध), 8 सैरिन्ध (सैरिन्धय), 9 देवराज, 10 परिषद् (पर्यद्), 11 वधू, 12 मधु*, 13 रुह, 14 रुह, 15 अनडुह, 16 ब्रह्मन्, 17 कुम्भकार, 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव. ॥

क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्रा-भ्रमर-वटर-पादपात्, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति सर्वमनुवर्तते । क्षुद्रादिभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतइत्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् । अणोपवादः ॥

119. The affix अञ् comes after the words 'kshudrâ', 'bhramara', 'vatara', and 'pâdapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अण्, there being difference in accent between अण् and अम् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम् = क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee'. So also भ्रामरम्, वाटरम् and पादपम् ॥

तस्येदम् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-इदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद्विमित्येतस्मिन् षडे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवत्याणादयः पञ्च महोत्सर्गाः ।
यादयश्च प्रत्यया यथाविहितं विधीयन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहेस्तुरणिच् च ॥ वा० अग्नीधः शरणे रण् भं च ॥ वा० ॥ समिधामाधानेषेण्यण् ॥

120. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV, 1. 83) and the affixes घ &c. (IV. 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोरिदम् = औपगवम्, 'of Upagu'. कापटवम्, राष्ट्रियम्, अवारपारीणं ॥ The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c. Thus देवदत्तस्यानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men.

Vārt:—The verb वह takes वृ (तृण् and तृच्) and अण् preceded by an इद् As, संवादुः स्वं = सांवहित्रम् ॥

Vārt:—The affix रम् comes after अग्नीधः, in the sense of 'house', and the base gets the designation of भ ॥ As अग्नीध्रम् ॥ The word अग्नीध्र being treated as a Bha and not as a Pada, the ध is not changed to इ (VIII. 2. 39).

Vārt:—The affix 'shenyan' comes after सामिधा, in the sense of placing. Thus सामिधेन्यो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सामिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) ऋक् ॥

रथाद्यत् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रथसीताहलेभ्यो याद्वेधावीति तदन्तविधिरुपसंखयायते ॥

121. The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येदं = रथ्यम् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle.' The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot. This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परमरथ्यम्, उत्तमरथ्यम् because of the Vārtika रथसीताहलेभ्यो याद्वेधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta-vidhi.

पत्रपूर्वादञ् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्रपूर्वात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रपूर्वाद्वयशब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

122. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आश्वरथं चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart.' औष्ट्ररथम् ॥ गार्धभ रथं ॥

The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix घृत् (III. 2. 182).

पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्र-अध्वर्यु-परिषदः, चं॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रं वाहनं तद्वाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादध्वर्युपरिषच्छब्दाभ्यां चाभ्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्निषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पत्राद्वाह्ये ॥

123. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अञ् is added.

This debarbs अण् ॥ The पत्रं means वाहनं ॥ When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अञ् added to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus अद्वस्येदम् वहनीयम् = आद्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by horse.' So also औष्ट्रम्, गर्दभम् ॥ So also आध्वर्यवम् and पारिषदम् ॥

हलसीरादठक् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलसीराशब्दाभ्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्यस्मिन्निषये ऽणोपवादः ॥

124. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sîra.'

Thus हलस्येदम् = हलिकम्, सैरिकम् ॥

द्वन्द्वाद्वुञ् वैरमैथुनिकयोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-वुञ्-वैर-मैथुनिकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वात्संज्ञकाद्-वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्निषये, वैरमैथुनिकयोः प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणयोः । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वैरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship'

This debarbs अण् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' बाभ्रव्यशालङ्कायनिका, काकोलू-किका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, अत्रिभरद्वाजिका, कुत्सकुशिकिका ॥

The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vârt :—Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ राक्षोऽसुरम् वैरम् ॥

गोत्रेचरणाद्वुञ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-चरणात्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिभ्यश्चरणवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्निषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

126. The affix वुञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debarbs अण् as well छ ॥ Thus gotra:—ग्लौचुकायनकम्, औपगवकम् ॥ According to Patanjali, the word चरण which ordinarily means Vedic School,

means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (āmnaya). Thus कठानां धर्म आम्नायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma-Sūtras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kāthas'. So also कालापकम्, मौदकम्, पैप्पलावकम् ॥

संघाङ्गलक्षणेष्वाञ्जिजामण् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-अङ्ग-लक्षणेष्वाञ्ज-यञ्-इजां, अण् ॥

नृत्तिः ॥ संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेष्वमन्तात् यमन्तात् इमन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येह मित्येतस्मिन् विषये । पूर्वस्य वृत्तोऽपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घोषग्रहणमत्र कर्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अञ्, यञ् or इञ्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

The word संघ means 'congregation'. The word लक्षण and अङ्ग should be distinguished. लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning. The word अङ्ग is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another : as a mark on a cow showing to what person or clan that cow belongs. The अङ्ग though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the लक्षण is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sūtra debars वृज् of the last aphorism.

Vārt :—The word घोष 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with संघ &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark (3) sign (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

Thus अमन्तात् (IV. I. 104)—बैदः 'a congregation, or mark or sign or a hamlet of the Bidas'. यमन्तात् (IV. I. 105)—गार्ग्य + अण् = गार्गः (VI. 4. 148, 151) "a congregation, or a mark, or a sign or a hamlet belonging to the Gārgyās? इमन्तात् (IV. I. 95),—दाक्षि + अण् = दाक्षः (VI. 4. 148) 'a congregation &c of the Dākshis'.

The ण् of अण् could not serve the purpose of Vṛiddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vṛiddhi by virtue of the affixes अञ्, यञ् or इञ् in which they end. The अ would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vṛiddhi is concerned, but अण् is used to show that the feminine is formed by डीप् (IV. I. 15), Thus बैदी ॥ It further prevents पुंवङ्गाव in compounds (VI. 3. 39), as, बैदी विद्याऽस्य = बैदीविद्यः i. e. विद्वानामसाधारणी या विद्या सा यस्यास्ति स ॥

शाकलाद्वा ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शाकलात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकलशब्दास्संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेषु वाण्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । वुञ्जो-
पवादः ॥

128. The affix अण् optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word शाकल ॥

This debars वुञ् ॥ Thus शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शाकलाः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 64), शाकलानाम् संघः = शाकलः or शाकलकः (IV. 3. 126) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śākala.'

छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ्ज्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोग-औक्थिक-
याज्ञिक-बह्वृच-नटात्, ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादयो निवृत्ताः, सामान्येन विधानम् । छन्दोगादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्ये-
तस्मिन्निषये । वुञ्जोपवादः ॥

129. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhândoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yājñika,' 'bahvricha' and 'nata.'

The anuvṛitti of संघ &c ceases. The ञ्य debars अण् and वुञ् ॥ The phrase चरणाद्धर्माययोः from sūtra IV. 3. 126 is understood here and applies even to the word नटः ॥

Thus छन्दोगानां धर्मो वा ऽऽ म्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga.' So also औक्थिक्यम्, याज्ञिक्यम्, बह्वृच्यम् and नाट्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have : छान्दोगं कुलम् 'the family of Chhandoga.'

न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दण्ड-माणव, अन्तेवासिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डमाणवाः, अन्तेवासिनः शिष्या, स्तेष्वभिधेयेषु वुञ् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

130. The affix वुञ् is not used after a Family-name when it denotes a 'beginner pupil', and 'a boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमाणवाः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'daṇḍa' and nothing intrinsic. i. e. a mere beginner. The न is changed to ण in माणव by IV. 1. 161 kārīkâ. अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's house. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus शक्षाः "the junior or the senior pupils of Dākshi." माहकाः ॥ So also गौक्षर्षौ दण्डमाणवा अन्तेवासिनोवा ॥

रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

131. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रेवातिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require वुञ् (IV. 3. 126), this ordains छ instead. Thus रेवातिकीयः, स्वापिशीयः &c.

1 रेवातिक, 2 स्वापिशि, 3 क्षेमवृद्धि, 4 गौरमीवि (गौरमीव), 5 औदमेधि (औदमेधि), 6 औदवापि (औदवाहि), 7 बैजवापि.

कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौपिञ्जल-हास्तिपदात्-अण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदशब्दाभ्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । गोत्रवृजोपवादः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hâstipada'.

This debars वुञ् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika.

आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ आथर्वणिकस्य, इकलोपः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणित्येव । आथर्वणिकशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्मान्नियोगेन चैकलोपः, तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । चरणवृजोपवादः ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'âtharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars वुञ् (IV. 3. 126). Thus आथर्वणिकस्यायम् = आथर्वणो धर्म आम्नायोवा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणाद् धर्मांन्नाययोः is understood here. This sūtra is also a vārtika.

तस्य विकारः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, विकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद्विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof'.

The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its aunivṛitti could have been supplied from the previous sūtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of शेषे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend further. The affixes taught, therefore, under शेषे (IV. 2. 92 &c). such as घ, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sūtra: the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter. To give an example under this sūtra, we must take such a word which is not governed or provided for, by the subsequent sūtras. That is the

word must not denote a living animal for to it अञ् (IV. 3. 154) applies; it must have udâtta on the first syllable, for an anudâtta will have अञ् (IV. 3. 140); it must not have a Vṛiddhi vowel आ, ऐ, or औ in the first syllable, to which मयट् (IV. 3. 144) applies; and it must not be a word specifically mentioned in any one of the following aphorisms. Thus it applies to the words अश्मन् and भस्मन् formed by मनिन् (Un IV. 146, 145) and to मृत्तिका formed by तिकन् (V. 4. 39) which are âdyudâtta owing to निन् accent. Thus अश्मनो विकारः = अश्विनः ॥ The टि is sometimes elided. (VI. 4. 144 Vârt) As आश्मः ॥ So also भस्मनः and मार्तिकः ॥

अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवे, च, प्राणी-ओषधि-वृक्षेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्योषधिवृक्षवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यो ऽवयवे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति चकासङ्गि-कारे च ॥

135. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sūtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sūtra.

Thus कपोतस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = कपोतः (IV. 3. 154) ॥ So also मायूरः, तैत्तिरः 'a modification, product or part of a peacock &c—viz a fan &c.' So also ओषधिः as, मौर्वम् 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also वृक्ष, as, कारीरं meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Kârîra tree".

In the subsequent sūtras, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.

बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिल्व इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । यथायोगमञ्मयदोरपवादः ।

136. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part,' after the words बिल्व &c.

This debarb अञ् and मयट् ॥ Thus बिल्वः 'the modification or part of Bilwa.' The word गवेधूकाः occurs in this list. It would have taken 'an' by the next sūtra also; its inclusion in the class of Bilwâdi is for the sake of preventing the application of मयट् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 व्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 मुर, 5 मसूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वेणु, 9 गवेधुका, 10 कर्पासी, 11 पाटली, 12 कर्कण्डू, 13 कुटीर.

कोपधाच्च ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, उपधात्-च (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधात्प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति यथायोगं विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः। अञोपवादः ॥

137. After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अञ्. Thus तर्कु तार्क्यम्, तित्तिडीक, तैत्तिडीक; माण्डूकम्, शार्दूलकम्, माधूकम् ॥ The word तित्तिडीक &c have acute on the middle. (Phit Su. II. 16).

अपुजतुनोः षुक् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपु-जतुनोः-षुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपुजतुशब्दाभ्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे, तत्सन्नियोगेन तयोः पुगागमो भवति। ओरञोपवादः ॥

138. The affix अण् with the augment षुक् comes in the sense of 'its modification,' after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 139). As, षुणो विकारः = षाण्यम्; जातुषम् "modification of tin and lac." In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix.

ओरञ् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोपवादः ॥

139. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part,' (provided that the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus देवदारवम्, भाद्रदारवम् ॥ The words देवदारु and भाद्रदारु are ādy-udātta owing to Phit Su. II. 14 (पीतद्रवर्थानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

अनुदात्तादेश्च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, च (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोपवादः ॥

140. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'modification or part,' after a word having anudātta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus शधित्थम्, कापित्थम्, माहित्थम् ॥ The word शधित्थम् is an upapada-samāsa of शधि + स्थ, the स being changed to त; and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतिस्वर ॥

पलाशादिभ्यो वा ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः-वा (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वा ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

141. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाश &c.

Thus पालाशम् or पालाशम् so also खदिरम् or खादिरम्, यावासम् or यावासम् ॥

This sūtra is an example of prāpta and aprāpta vibhāṣā. The words पलाश, खदिर, शिशापा and स्यन्दन being gravely accented on the first syllable, the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional, and is prāpta-vibhāṣā. In the case of others it is aprāpta-vibhāṣā.

1 पलाश, 2 खदिर, 3 शिशापा, 4 स्यन्दन (स्पन्दन), 5 पूलाक*, 6 करीर, 7 शिरीष, 8 यावास, 9 विकङ्कत.

शम्यादलञ् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्याः-दलञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमीशब्दाद् दलञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अत्रोपवादः ॥

142. The affix दलञ् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शमी.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus शमीलं भस्म, शमीली सुक् (IV. 1. 60).

मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-वा-एतयोः, भाषायाम्, अभक्ष्य-आच्छादनयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृतिमात्राद्वा मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति भक्ष्याच्छादनवर्जितयोर्विकारावयवयोरर्थयोर्भाषायां विषये यथावत् प्रत्ययेषु प्राप्तेषु ॥

143. The affix मयद् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of product and part, in secular language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus अश्ममयम् or आश्मनम् '(IV. 3. 134)' मूर्धामयम् or मूर्धम् (IV. 3. 135).

Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in secular language'? Witness वैल्वः खादिरो वा शूपः स्यात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of'? Observe मूत्रः शूपः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कार्पासम् आच्छादनम् ॥

Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sūtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sūtra? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 135, 136 &c are replaced also by मयद् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कपोतम् (IV. 3. 135), लोहमयम् or लौहम् ॥

नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्यः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, वृद्ध-शरादिभ्यः (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोरित्येव । वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः शरादिभ्यश्चाभक्ष्याच्छादनयोर्विकारावयवयोर्भाषायां विषये नित्यं मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix मयट् comes in the sense of its product or part, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vṛiddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vṛiddha—आम्रमयम्, शालमयम्, शाकमयम् ॥ After शरादि words:—शरमयम्, हर्ममयम्, मृन्मयम् ॥

Why do we use the word नित्यः 'invariably' in the sūtra, when by the mere fact of making a separate sūtra, the affix would be obligatory? The affix मयट्, according to Patanjali comes invariably after words of one syllable. That is done by using the word नित्य in the sūtra. Thus, त्वङ् मयम्, स्रग् मयम्, वाङ् मयम् ॥

1 शर, 2 हर्म, 3 मृद्, 4 कुटी. 5 तृण, 6 सोम, 7 बल्वज (वल्वज).

गोश्च पुरीषे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, च-पुरीषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दात्पुरीषे ऽभिधेये मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. affix मयट् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung.'

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'. Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sūtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung'? Observe गव्यं=milk. The affix यत् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 160), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikāra' of गो ॥

पिष्टाच्च ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पिष्टात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दान्नित्यं मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

146. The affix मयट् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पैटी सुरा in the sense of तस्येदम् ॥

संज्ञायां कन् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दात्कन् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारं संज्ञायां विषये । मयटोपवादः ॥

147. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product, after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयट् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥

व्रीहेः पुरोडाशे ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रीहेः-पुरोडाशे (मयट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रीहेशब्दान्मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति पुरोडाशे विकारे । बिल्वाद्यणोपवादः ॥

148. The affix मयट् comes after the word व्रीहि in the sense of a 'Purodāsa.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 136). Thus त्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः 'a sacred cake made of barley.' Otherwise त्रेहम् ॥

असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंज्ञायाम्, तिल-यवाभ्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिलयवशब्दाभ्यामसंज्ञाविषये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

149. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम्, यवमयम्, ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Namer?" Observe तैलम् 'oil,' यावकः formed with कन्. (यावादिभ्यः कन् V. 4. 29)

द्व्यचक्षुश्छन्दसि ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यचः-छन्दसि (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः प्रातिपदिकाश्च छन्दसि विषये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

150. In the Chhandas, after a dissyllabic word, the affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part.'

This ordains मयद् in the sacred literature also, secular literature being dealt with in IV. 3. 143. Thus पर्णमयः, वर्ममयः, शरमयः in the following वस्त्य पर्णमयी जुहुर्भवति, वर्ममयम् वासो भवति, शरमयम् बहिर् भवति ॥

नोत्त्वद्वर्द्धबिल्वात् ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उत्त्वत्-वर्द्ध-बिल्वात् (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्त्वतः प्रातिपदिकाद्वर्द्धबिल्वशब्दाभ्यां च मयद् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

151. The affix मयद् does not come in the Chhandas after the dissyllabic words, having a short vowel उ in them, nor after the words 'vardhra' and 'bilwa.'

Thus मौञ्जं शिक्यम् from मुञ्ज by अण् ॥ गर्भं चक्रम्, वार्ध्नी बालप्रयिता भवति; बिल्वो ब्रह्मवर्चसक्रामेन कार्यः ॥

The word उत्त्वत् means 'having उत् or short u (I. 1. 70)' The rule does not apply to words containing long ऊ, as भूमयान्यभ्याणि ॥ The वत् in उत्त्वत् shows that the rule applies not only to words ending in उ, but also to words having उ. Had वत् not been used, the tadanta-vidhi would require the application of the rule to words ending in उ, but not to those which had उ in any other part of their form. So that the prohibition applies to वेणु also, as वेणुवी वृत्तिः (IV. 3. 136).

The word मुञ्ज is ādy-udatta by तृणधान्यानां (Phit II. 4): and therefore it takes the universal अण् (IV. 3. 134). The word गर्भुत् is formed by the affix उन् plus the augment मुद् (स्योऽरुत्तिः, शोमुद्च U. I. 94 and 95), and is finally acute, and therefore it takes अञ् by IV. 3. 140, and forms गर्भुत् ॥ This word has

acute on the final also, as तस्या एतं गार्मुतं चरुं निर्वयेत् ॥ The word वर्ध is ādy-udātta by Phit II. 19. and therefore takes अण्, the feminine being formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 15).

तालादिभ्योः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तालादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तालादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

152. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tāla &c'.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, बार्हिणम्, ऐन्द्रालिशम् ॥

1 तालाद्धनुषि, 2 बार्हिण, 3 इन्द्रालिश, 4 इन्द्रावृक्ष, 5 इन्द्रायुध, 6 चय (चाप, चर्म), 7 दद्या-माक, 8 पीयूषा.

जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातरूपेभ्यः-परिमाणे (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातरूपं सुवर्णम् । बहुवचननिर्देशात्तद्वाचिनः सर्वे गृह्यन्ते । जातरूपवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे विकारे । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

153. The affix अण् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is a weight or measure.

The word जातरूप means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus हाटकं निष्कः, हाटकं कार्षापणम्, जातरूपम्, तापनीयम् ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe यद्विरियं हाटकमथी ॥

प्राणिरजतादिभ्यो ऽञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ प्राणि-रजतादिभ्यः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणिगच्छिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो रजतादिभ्यश्चाञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अणादीनामपवादः ॥

154. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after रजत &c.

This debars अण् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudātta in the beginning. This sūtra applies to words other than those having anudātta in the beginning.

Thus:—कपातम्, मायम्, तैत्तिरम्; राजतम्, सैसम्; लौहम्, &c. In the class रजतादि those words like रजत, कण्टकार &c, which have anudātta on the beginning and would have taken अण् by IV. 3. 140, have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयद् to them.

1 रजत, 2 सैस, 3 लोह, 4 उडुम्बर, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 शरु, 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक), 8 विभीषक, 9 पीतशरु (कपात, शरु), 10 वीरशरु, 11 विकण्टक, 12 कण्टकार.

जितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जितः-च-तत्-प्रत्ययात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञित्येव । तदिति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः प्रत्ययमर्शः । अञित्येव विकारावयवप्रत्ययस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरेव । मयदोपवादः ॥

155. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicatory ञ् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory ञ् denoting product or part, are अञ् (IV. 3. 139), दलञ् (IV. 3. 142), अञ् (IV. 3. 154) बुञ् (IV. 3. 157), डञ् (IV. 3. 159), अञ्, यञ् (IV. 5. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अञ् is used. Thus देवदारवस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = देवदारवम्; so also राधित्यम्, पालाशम्, शामीलम्, कापोतम् औष्ट्रकम्, ऐणेयम्, कांस्यम्, पारशवम् ॥

Why do we say जितः? Witness बैल्वमयं. Here मयद् is used after बैल्व and the derivative is formed by अञ् of IV. 3. 136. So also बैदमञ् ॥

क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतवत्-परिमाणात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्वतेष्टमित्यत आरभ्य क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्ययाः परिमाणाद्विहितास्ते विकारोऽतिदिश्यन्ते । परिमाणात् क्रीत इव प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणादीनामपवादः ॥

156. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part' is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars अञ् &c. Thus निष्केन क्रीतम् = नैष्किकम् (V. 1. 20); It will denote vikāra also, निष्कस्य विकारः = नैष्किकः formed by डक् (V. 1. 20). As शतेन क्रीतं = शतम् or शतिकम् (V. 1. 21), so शतस्य विकारः = शतम् or शतिकः by डन् and यत् (V. 1. 21), सहस्रेण क्रीतं = साहस्रम् (V. 1. 27) so सहस्रस्य विकारः = साहस्रः (V. 1. 27 by अञ्) ॥

The word वत् in क्रीतवत् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sûtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्रः or द्विसाहस्रः (V. 1. 29), द्विनिष्कः or द्विनैष्किकः ॥ The word परिमाण in this sûtra includes संख्या 'the numerals' also; while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyâ. See IV. 1. 22 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of affix (V. 1. 28) as, द्विसहस्रः, द्विसाहस्रः &c.

उष्ट्रादुबुज् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रात्, बुज् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रशब्दादुबुज् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यमोपवादः ॥

157. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ushtra.

This debars **अञ्** (IV. 3. 154). उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = औष्ट्रकः ॥

उमोर्णयोर्वा ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उमा-ऊर्णयोः-वा (बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उमाशब्दादूर्णाशब्दाच्च वा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ।

158. The affix **बुञ्** comes optionally in the sense of 'its product or part, after the words **उमा** and **ऊर्णा**.

Thus औमञ् or औमकञ्, और्णम् or और्णकम् ॥

एण्या ढञ् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एण्याः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एणीशब्दाद् ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यञोपवादः ॥

159. The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the feminine word **एणी** ॥

Thus ऐणेयं मांसम् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एणस्य मांसम् = ऐ-मम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by **अञ्** ॥

गोपयसोर्यत् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-पयसोः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपयः शब्दाभ्यां यत् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

160. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words **गो** and **पयस्** ॥

Thus गव्यम् (VI. 1. 79), पयस्यम् ॥

द्रोश्च ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दाद्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । भोरञोपवादः ॥

161. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part' after the word 'dru.'

This debars **मञ्** (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रुव्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

माने वयः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ माने-वयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दान्माने विकारविशेषे वयः प्रत्ययो भवति । यतोपवादः ॥

162. The affix **वय** comes in the sense of 'its product,' after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.

This debars **यत्** ॥ As द्रुव्यम् 'a measure.'

फले लुक् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ फले, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकारयवयवयोरुत्पन्नस्य फले लुक् विशेषे विवक्षिते लुक् भवति ॥

163. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by *luk*, when such product or part is 'a fruit.'

Thus आमलक्याः फलं = आमलकी + मयद् लुक् = आमलकं 'the fruit of Myrobalans.' So also वृक्षम् ॥ The fruit is a "product" as well as a "part" of a fruit-bearing tree.

प्लक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लक्षादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फल इत्येव । प्लक्षादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः फले विकारावयवत्वेन विवक्षिते ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अ-
ओपवादः ॥

164. The affix अण् comes in/the sense of 'its product or part, it being a fruit,' after the word 'plaksha &c.'

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus प्लाक्षम्, नैयमोधम् ॥

1 प्लक्ष, 2 नैयमोध, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 इङ्गुली, 5 शिमु, 6 रुह, 7 कक्षतु (कर्कन्धु, कर्कन्तु वृक्षतु)
8 वृक्षती. ॥

जम्बूवा वा ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जम्बूवाः-वा (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फल इत्येव । जम्बूवाश्चात्फले ऽभिधेये वाऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अओपवादः ॥

165. The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word 'jambû'.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus जम्बु + अण् = जाम्बवं as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix अञ् is added, it is elided by IV. 3. 163. As जम्बु + अञ् (IV. 3. 139) = जम्बु, as जम्बूनि फलानि (VI. 4. 8) ॥

लुप् च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्येव । जम्बूवाः फलेभिधेये प्रत्ययस्य वा लुप् भवति । युक्तवशावे विशेषः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुप्प्रकरणे फलपाकशुषामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् ॥

166. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by *lup* after the word 'jambû'.

The word वा is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sūtra I. 2. 51. Thus जम्बु + अञ् लुप् = जम्बूः, as, जम्बूः फलं ॥ Optionally जम्बूवाः फलं = जम्बु फलं, or जाम्बवं ॥

Vārt :—There is lup-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens : Thus व्रीहिः-व्रीहयः, यवाः, माषाः, मुद्गाः, तिलाः ॥

Vārt :—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots : as, मालिकायां पुष्पं = मलिका, नवमलिका जातिः ; so also विशर्या मूलं = विशरी ॥ अशुमती वृक्षी ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As पाटलानि पुष्पाणि, शालानि मूलानि ॥ So कदम्बं पुष्पं, अशोकम्, करवीरम्, बैलानि फलानि &c.

हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरीतक्यादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरीतकी इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः फले प्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । लुकिप्राप्ते लुपो विधाने युक्तवद्भावे स्त्रीप्रत्ययभ्रवणे च विशेषः ॥

167. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by लुप, after the words 'Harîtakî' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I. 2. 51), As हरीतक्याः फलं=हरीतकी instead of हरीतकं ॥ So also कोशातकी, नखरजनी ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as हरीतकी फलं, हरीतक्यः फलानि ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कोशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखरजनी) 4 शक्कण्डी (शाकण्डी) 5 शडी, 6 शोडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 अर्जुनपाकी, 9 द्राक्षा, 10 काला, 11 ध्वाक्षा (ध्वाङ्क्षा) 12 गर्भीका (गर्गरिका) 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली*, 15 चिञ्चा* (चिम्पा), 16 शेफालिका, 17 इडी. ॥

कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञ्जौ लुक् च ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंसीय-परशव्ययोः, यञ्ज-अञ्जौ, लुक्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक्कीताच्छेन कंसीयः । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । परशव्यः । कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं य-अञ्जौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषय, तत्संनियोगेन च कंसीयपरशव्ययोरुल्गं भवति ॥

168. The affixes यञ्, and अञ् come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansîya' and 'parasavyā', and there is luk-elision (of the छ and यत् affixes of those words).

The word कंसीयः is formed by छ (V. I. 1), and परशव्य is formed by adding यत् (V. I. 2). These affixes छ and यत् are elided when the affixes यञ् and अञ् are added. Thus कंसीय+यञ्=कंस+यञ्=कांस्यः so also पारशव from परशव्य thus परशव्य+अञ्=परशु+अञ्=पारशवः ॥

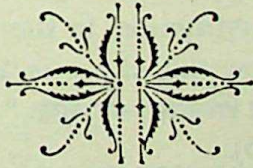
The words लुक् च mean 'there shall be elision'. Of what? Certainly not of the primitive, for लुक् is never applied to the elision of a base, but of an affix only (I. I. 61). It follows therefore that the elision is of the affixes of कंसीय and परशव्य ॥ Now these words have two affixes, thus. To the root कम् is added first the Uṇādi affix स (Uṇ III. 62) and we get कंस; next to कंस is added छ. So also to पर+शु is added the affix उ (Uṇ I. 33) and we have परशु, to which is then added यत् and we have परशव्य ॥ The question arises, should these affixes स and उ be also elided. The answer is 'no'. The word प्रातिपदिकान् of IV. I. 1 is understood is this sūtra; so the elision will take place of those affixes only

which follow a prâtipadika. But स and उ are added to a Dhâtu and not a prâtipadika, hence those affixes are saved from the operation of लुक् ॥

The word परशव्य being gravely accented on the first (VI. 1. 185) would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140. The present sūtra teaches the elision only of its affix यत्, अञ् being already obtained.

Q. The final अ of कसीय and परशव्य will be elided by VI. 4. 148 before these taddhita affixes, and after such elision, the final य् will be elided by VI. 4. 150, where is then the necessity of this sūtra?

A. The final य् will not be elided, because VI. 4. 150 will apply only then, when an affix beginning with long ई follows, which is not the case here.



ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

प्राग्वहतेष्टक् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्-चहतेः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागेतस्माद्वहति संशब्दनायानर्थाननुक्रमिष्यामः, ठक् प्रत्य-
यस्तेष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ठक्प्रकरणे तदाहोति माशब्दादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ भाहोप्रभूतादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पृच्छतौ सुस्नातादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गच्छतौ परशारादिभ्यः ॥

1. The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sūtra IV. 4. 76.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sūtra तद्वहति &c. Thus in the next sūtra it is said; "After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered." Now this sūtra is incomplete. We must read the word ठक् into it. Thus अक्षै रीव्यति = भाक्षिकः "who plays with aksha—a dicer." अक्ष + ठक् = भाक्षिकः (VII. 3. 50).

Vārt:—After the words माशब्द &c, the affix 'ṭhak' comes in the sense 'he said that.' Thus माशब्द इत्याह = माशब्दिकः who says 'don't make noise,' कार्य-
शाब्दिकः ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

Vārt:—So also after प्रभूत &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रभूतमाह = प्राभूतिकः,
प्रायान्तिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an adverb.

Vārt:—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति
= सौस्नातिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well". सौखराजिकः, सौखशायनिकः ॥

Vārt:—So also after परशारा &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits
adultery with': as परशारान् गच्छति = पारशारिकः, गौरुतात्पिक ॥ The word तत्प here refers
to "wife".

तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-दाव्यात-खनति-जयति
जितम् ॥

वार्तिकः ॥ तनति तृतीयासमर्थार्थं दीव्यति खनति जयति जितमित्येतेष्वर्थेषु ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षैर्दीव्यति = आक्षिकः 'who plays with dice—a dicer'. शालाक्रिकः ॥ अभ्या खनति = आभ्रिकः, कौशालिकः, अक्षैर्जयति = आक्षिकः, अक्षैर्जितं = आक्षिकम् ॥ शालाक्रिकम् ॥

Though the rule is couched in universal terms, yet the affix does not come after every instrumental case. Thus देवदत्तेन जितम् will not give rise to any affix, for the word देवदत्तिकः is not found in usage having this sense. So also अंगुल्या खनति gives rise to no affix. Though the verbs 'divyati' &c, are in the 3rd Person Present Tense, Singular number, the derivative is not limited by these conditions. Thus आक्षिकौ and आक्षिकाः are also valid, and so also अक्षैर्दीव्यत् will give also आक्षिकः ; so also आक्षिकस्त्वम् आक्षिकोऽहम् ॥ Though in a sentence the verb is generally the principal word (क्रियाप्रधान), here owing to the Taddhita affix, the instrument is taken as the principal.

संस्कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थ्यात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'. Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = दधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. So also शार्ङ्गवरिकम्, मारीचिकम् ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last. is for sake of the next sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of संस्कृतं only runs,

कुलत्थकोपधादण् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलत्थ-कोपधात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलत्थशब्दात्कारोपधाच्छब्दाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

4. After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars ठक् " Thus कौलत्थम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, दार्वभकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क् ॥

तरति ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थ्यात् तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses there by over the waters'.

Thus काण्डप्लवेनतरति = काण्डप्लविकः, औडुपिकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

गोपुच्छाद्ठञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोपुच्छात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपुच्छशब्दाद् ठञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

6. The affix ठञ् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus नौपुच्छिकः ॥

नौद्वयचष्ठन् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-द्वयचः-ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नौशब्दाद् द्व्यन्तश्च प्रातिपदिकाद् ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे : ठकोपवादः ॥

Kârîka

आकर्षात्पर्वदिभेदादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च ।

अवासयात्किशरादेः षितः षडेते ठगधिकारे ॥

7. The affix ठन् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus नावा तरति = नाविकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words : as, घटिकः, प्लविकः, बाहुकः ॥

The ष in छन् in the sūtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बाहुकः being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicator ष occurs in these sūtras only IV. 4, 9, 10, 18, ८२ and 74, in this book.

चरति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाचरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix ठक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus दध्ना चरति = दध्नाधिकः 'who gets on, with being fed on curd, ह्रीस्तकः 'who travels by an elephant'. शाकटिकः ॥

आकर्षान्ठल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आकर्षात्-ष्ठल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकर्षशब्दात् ठल् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

9. The affix ठल् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the word 'âkarsha.'

This debars ठक् ॥ The ल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193). The ष of ठल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sūtra 7 ante. To remove the doubt where ष is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed : "आकर्षात् पर्वदिभेदादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च, अवासयात्

किशरोः शितः षडेते ङाधिकारे ॥ In the six Sūtras 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, the affixes have indicatory 'sh.' Here च being इत्, the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आकर्षेण चरति = आकर्षिक f. आकर्षिकी ॥ आकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested.

पर्पादिभ्यः छन् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्पादिभ्यः, छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्ष इत्येवमादिभ्यः छत् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

10. The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars ठक्; the न् of छन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and ष् for डीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus पर्षिकः f. पर्षिकी, अश्विकः f. अश्विकी ॥ पदिकः f. पदिकी ॥ The पाव् is changed to पृ before this affix (VI. 3. 52).

1 पर्ष, 2 अश्व, 3 अश्वत्य, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 न्यास, 7 व्याल, 8 पावः पञ्च ॥

श्वगणाद्ठञ्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वगणात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वगणशब्दाद्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् छन्, चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् as well as the affix छन्, comes after the word श्वगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वगणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. f. श्वगणिकी ॥ ठन्, श्वगणिकः f. श्वगणिका ॥

The form श्वगणिकः is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 4. Thus श्वगण + ठञ् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, ञ् requires Vṛiddhi of अ of श्व ॥ But rule VII. 3. 4 says that instead of Vṛiddhi, the letter औ comes before व in the case of श्वन् &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been शौवगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when श्वन् is followed by इञ्, applies also to श्वन् followed by ठञ् ॥ In fact, the rule VII. 3. 4 does not apply, whenever the word श्वन् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ :

वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेतनादिभ्यः, जीवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वेतनादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो जीवतित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति = वैतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्दण्ड the affix applies to the compounds, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus धानुर्दण्डिकः, धानुष्कः, शण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन (वाह), 3 अर्धवाहन (अर्धवाह), 4 धनुर्ण्डः 5 जाल, 6 वेश (वेस), 7 उपवेश (उपवेश, उपवेस), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवास्ति (उपस्ति), 10 सुख, 11 शय्या, 12 शक्ति, 13 उपनिषद्, 14 उपदेश, 15 स्फिज* (स्फिज), 16 पाद्, 17 उपस्थ*, 18 उपस्थान, 19 उपहस्त*, 20 कर्ज ॥

वस्नक्रयविक्रयादठन् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वस्न, क्रय, विक्रयात्, ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वस्नक्रयविक्रयशब्दाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थ्यां ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ढकोषवाहः

13. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after-the words 'vasna', 'kraya', and 'vikraya'. being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars ढक् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्निकः 'who lives by hire--hireling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

आयुधाच्छ च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधात्, छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुधशब्दाच्छप्रत्ययो भवति, चकारादृच्छ जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

14. The affix छ as well as ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'âyudha'.

Thus आयुधेन जीवति = आयुधीयः (formed by छ), or आयुधिकः (by ठन्) 'a mercenary soldier'.

हरत्युत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरति, उत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । उत्सङ्गादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

15. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हरति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्साङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip'. औडुपिकः 'borne or transported on a raft'.

1 उत्सङ्ग, 2 उडुप्, 3 उत्पुत (उत्पत), 4 उत्पन्न*, 5 उत्पुट*, 6 पिट्क, 7 पिटाक, 8 उडप.

भस्त्रादिभ्यः घृन् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रादिभ्यः, घृन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्त्रेत्येवमादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे घृन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix घृन् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhasra &c' being in the third case in construction,

Thus भस्त्रया हरति = भस्त्रिकः "who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV. 1. 41). So भरटिकः f. भरटिकी ॥ The

word भक्ष means a leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c., is carried.

1 भक्षा, 2 भरद, 3 भरण (भारण), 4 शीर्षभार, 5 शीर्षेभार, 6 अंसभार, 7 अंसेभार. ॥

विभाषा विवधवीवधात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विवध, वीवधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । विवधवीवधशब्दाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थ्याभ्यां विभाषा छन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix छन् comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha', and 'vîvadha', being in the third case in construction.

In the alternative, the general affix ठक् will apply. Thus विवधेन हरति = विवधिकः f. विवधिकी ; So also वीवधेन हरति = वीवधिकः f. वीवधिकी ॥ When the affix is ठक्, we have वैवधिकः in both cases, the feminine being वैवधिकी ॥

The word विवध and वीवध are synonyms both meaning 'a piece of wood carried on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road.' विवधिकः meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler'. The real sūtra is विभाषा विवधान्, the Kāsikā has added वीवध from a Vārtika.

अणकुटिलिकायाः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कुटिलिकायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । कुटिलिकाशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थ्याण् प्रत्ययो भवति हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

18. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction.

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति मृगो व्याधं = कौटिलिको मृगः 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey'. कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गारान् = कौटिलिकः कर्मारः 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge'.

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths'.

निर्वृत्ते ऽक्षयूतादिभ्यः ॥ १९ ॥ निर्वृत्ते, अक्ष, यूतादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । अक्षयूतादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थ्याभ्यां निर्वृत्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyûta &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तम् = आक्षयूतिकं वैरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling'. So जानुप्रहतम् ॥

1 अक्षयूत, 2 जानुप्रहत (प्रहृत), 3 अङ्घ्राप्रहत (प्रहृत), 4 अङ्घ्राप्रहत*, 5 पादस्वेदन, 6 कण्ठकर्मदन, 7 गतानुगत*, 8 गतागत, 9 यातोपवात, 10 अनुगत. ॥

त्रैर्मस्रित्यम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, मप्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तइत्येव, द्वितः क्तिरित्ययं त्रिशब्दो गृह्यते । अघन्तान्नित्यं मप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix मप् comes always after the words ending in the affix त्रि, the in sense of 'completed thereby',

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 88). Thus the root डुषच् takes त्रि and forms पक्त्रि, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus षच् + त्रि + मप् = पक्त्रिमन् 'what is completed by being cooked'. So from डुवष् we have वष् + त्रि + मप् = वक्षिमन् (VI. 1. 15): from डुकृच् we have कृत्रिमम् ॥

The word नित्य in the sūtra indicates that the affix त्रि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Vart:—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus पाकेन निर्वृत्तं = पाकिमम् (षच् + घञ् III. 3. 18 + इमप्), so त्यागिमम्, सेकिमम्, कुट्टिमम् ॥

अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपमित्य-याचिताभ्याम्, कक्-कनौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तइत्येव । अपमित्ययाचितशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं कक् कन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो, निर्वृत्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

21. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yâchita', when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'. The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा (III. 4. 19). The क्त्वा is changed to ल्यप्, and इ substituted for आ (VI. 4. 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

संसृष्टे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संसृष्टे, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थात्संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus दध्ना संसृष्ट = दधिक् 'smeared with curds.' मारिचिकम्, शार्ङ्गवेरिकम्, वैष्णविकम् ॥ The word 'sanskṛtam' (IV. 4. 3) and 'sanskṛṣṭam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

चूर्णादिनिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णात्, इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चूर्णशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टे । ठकोपवादः ॥

23. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chūrṇa' when the sense is 'mixed therewith'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चूर्णे : संसृष्टा = चूर्णिनो ऽ पूषाः 'cakes sprinkled with powder.' चूर्णिनो धानाः ॥

लवणाल्लुक् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संसृष्टइत्यनेनोत्पन्नस्य ठको लवणशब्दाल्लुक् भवति ॥

24. The affix ठक् meaning 'mixed therewith', is elided by luk, after the word lavana.'

Thus लवणेन संसृष्टः = लवणः 'mixed with salt.' as लवणः सूपः 'soup mixed with salt.' So लवणं शाकं, लवणा यवगूः (I. I. 51). The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

मुद्गादण् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुद्गात्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुद्गशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

25. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga,' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus मौद्ग ओदनः 'rice mixed with mudga-pulse.' मौद्गे षवाशूः ॥

व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्ते ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यञ्जनैः, उपसिक्ते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । व्यञ्जनवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्य उपसिक्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ठक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus दध्ना उपसिक्तं = दधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd,' सौषिकम्, खारिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकेनोपसिक्तं ओदनः ॥

ओजः सहोम्भसा वर्तते ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजः, सहः, अम्भसा-वर्तते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् इत्येतेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वर्ततइत्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the words 'ojas,' 'sahas,' and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिकः शूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also :—साहसिकः 'a thief.' आम्भसिकः 'a fish.'

तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रति-अनु-पूर्वम्, ईप-लोम-
कूलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीया समर्थविभक्तिः । प्रति अनु इत्येवंपूर्वेभ्य ईपलोमकूलशब्देभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो व-
र्त्तत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'îpa,' 'loma,' and 'kûla,' preceded by 'anu' and 'prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तद् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्त्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्त्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रतीपं वर्त्तते = प्रातीपिकः (प्रतिगता आपो ऽ स्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V. 4. 74 and VI. 3. 97) retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आन्वीपिकः 'favourable.' प्रतिलोमिकः 'inverse' आनुलोमिकः 'direct.' पातिकूलिकः, आनुकूलिकः The two words प्रातीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

परिमुखं च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमुखम्, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमुखशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थवर्त्तत इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं वर्त्तते = परिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present'

The word च in the sūtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As परिपार्श्विकः ॥ The word परिमुख is an Avyayibhāva compound (II. 1. 12). If परि has the force of exclusion (I. 4. 88), then परिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा यः सेवको वर्त्तते,' and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं ततस्ततो वर्त्तते" ॥

प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयच्छति, गर्ह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थप्रयच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तद्वितीयासमर्थं गर्ह्यं चे-
त्तद्वति ॥

वा० ॥ वृद्धेर्धुभिभावो वक्तव्यः ॥

30. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति = द्विगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double' i, e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विगुण means द्विगुणार्थ 'for the sake of double'. Similarly त्रैगुणिकः ॥

Vart.—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृधुषि before this affix. As, वृद्धिं प्रयच्छति = वार्धुषिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase' Or the word वृधुषि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Why do we say गर्ह्यम् 'with a mean motive'? Observe द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति अधर्मणः 'the debtor gives double'.

कुसीददशैकादशात् ष्टन्ष्टचौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसीद, दश, एकादशात्, ष्टन्-
ष्टचौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यमित्येव । कुसीदं वृद्धि, स्तदर्थं द्रव्यं कुसीदम् । एकादशार्था दश, दशैकादशशब्देनो-
च्यन्ते । कुसीददशैकादशशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं ष्टन् ष्टच् इत्येता प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

31. The affixes ष्टन् and ष्टच् come respectively after the words 'kusîda' and 'dasaikâdasa'; when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीद means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condi-
tion that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकादशः ॥
This sūtra debars ठक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes ष्टन् and ष्टच् is in
the accent (VI. 1. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीद + ष्टन् = कुसीदिकः fem. कुसीदिकी (VI. 1.
41). So दशैकादशिकः fem. दशैकादशिकी ॥

उञ्छति ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्छति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थानुञ्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the se-
cond case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleans
that'.

Thus बह्मण्युञ्छति = बाह्रिकः 'who picks up jujubes'. इयामाकिकः, काणिकः ॥
To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उञ्छ ॥

रक्षति ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थानुक्षतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second
case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects
that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by
his presence'. So also सानिवेशिकः ॥

शब्ददुर्दुरं करोति ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-दुर्दुरम्, करोति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तादृशिति द्वितीयासमर्थ्यां शब्ददुर्दुरशब्दाभ्यां करोतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix ठक् comes after the words 'Sabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking".

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes a sound' i. e. a Grammarian. So शार्दुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान्हन्ति ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पक्षि, मत्स्य, मृगान्, हन्ति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । पक्ष्यादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो हन्तीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix ठक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणे हन्ति = पाक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. 1. 68). Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिकः, मायूरिकः, तैत्तिरिकः ॥ So also with मत्स्य, as, मात्स्यिकः, मेनिकः, साफरिकः, शाकुलिकः ॥ So also with मृगः, as, मार्गिकः, हारिणिकः, सौव-रिकः, सारङ्गिकः ॥

परिपन्थञ्च तिष्ठति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारिपन्थम्, च, तिष्ठति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपन्थश्चात्तादृशिति द्वितीयासमर्थ्यां तिष्ठतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction,

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिकः यः पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्य तिष्ठति 'a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man". The च in the sūtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sūtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = पारिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sūtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sūtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the secular form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ माथ-उत्तरपद, पदवी, अनुप-दम्, धावति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माथशब्देनरपदात्मातिपरिकल्पयती अनुपद इत्येताभ्यां च धावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of “who runs”, after a word having माथ as its second term, and after the words ‘padavi’ and ‘anupada’.

Thus ण्डमाथं धावति = ण्डमाथिकः ‘who runs on a high way’. So also शौल्कमाथिकः ॥ Similarly पारविकः, आनुपदिकः ॥ The word माथ means ‘a way’.

आक्रन्दाट्ठञ्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रन्दात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रन्दत्येतस्मिन्नित्याक्रन्दो वेशः । अथवा ऽऽकथयतइत्याक्रन्द, आर्तायनमुच्यते । विशेषाभावाद् द्वयोरपि ग्रहणम् । आक्रन्दाद्वात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थ्याद्भावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराट्ठक् ॥

38. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes after the word ‘âkranda’, being in the second case in construction, in the sense of ‘who runs’.

The word आक्रन्द means ‘a place where persons weep’ e. g. a battle-field. It also means ‘weeping’ ‘invoking’ &c. The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्दे धावति = आक्रन्धिकः or आँक्रन्धिकः, i. आक्रन्धिको ‘a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard’.

पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद, उत्तरपदम्, गृह्णाति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदशब्द उत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मात्पदोत्तरपदशब्दात् तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थ्याद्गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ‘who takes’, after a word having ‘pada’ as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति = पूर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥ The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule when पद is preceded by the affix बहु ॥

प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिकण्ठ, अर्थ, ललामम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामशब्देभ्यस्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ‘who takes’ after the words ‘pratikantha’, ‘artha’, and ‘lalâma’ being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति = प्रातिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, ललामिकः ॥ The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayi-bhâva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and not प्रतिगतः कण्ठं = प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

धमे चरात् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्मम्-चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धर्मशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थार्थचरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधर्माच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practices that'.

Thus धर्मम् चरति = धार्मिकः "religious". So also अधर्माच्चेति = "irreligious, undutiful", by a Vārtika.

प्रतिपथमेति ठञ्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिपथं, एति, ठन्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिपथशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थार्थ एतीत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराट्ठक् च ॥

42. The affix ठन् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes'.

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रतिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकः "who goes along the road" the ठक् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst ठन् does not..

समवायान् समवैति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवायान्, समवैति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यस्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थार्थः समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ठक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

The word समवाय means 'combination, collection &c'. The word समवायान् is in the plural number in the sūtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also. समवैति means coming together. Thus समवायान् समवैति = सामवायिकः 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also सामाजिकः, सामूहिकः, सान्निवेशिकः ॥

परिषदो ण्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषदः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषदो ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

44. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'parishad' in the sense of 'who assembles there',

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus परिषदं समवैति = परिषद्यः 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

सेनाया वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनायाः, वा (ण्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनाशब्दाद् वा ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

45. The affix ण्य comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word senâ.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus सेनां समवेति = सैन्यः or सैनिकः 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, ललाट, कुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ललाटकुक्कुटीशब्दाभ्यां तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां पश्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

46. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words 'lalâta' and 'kukkuṭi', in second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus ललाटं पश्यति = ललाटिकः 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also कौक्कुटिकः 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word कुक्कुटी ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the ground, and hence he is called कौक्कुटिकः ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

तस्य धर्म्यम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, धर्म्यं (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word धर्म्यं means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word तस्य shows the case of the word. Thus कुल्कशालाया धर्म्यं = कुल्कशालिकः 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also आकस्मिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौल्मिकम् ॥

अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महिषीत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

48. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after the word 'mahishî' &c.

This debars थक्. Thus महिष्या धर्म्यं = माहिषम् 'the usages of queens.' So प्राज्ञ, वतम् ॥

1 महिषी, 3 प्रजापति°, 3 प्रजावती, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुरोहित 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतृ, 11 यजमान.

ऋतो ऽञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, अञ् :

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ नराधेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ विशसितुरिङ्लोपश्च ॥ वा० ॥ विभाजयितुर्णिलोपश्च ॥

49. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus पोतु धर्म्यम् = पौत्रम् 'the office of a Potri.' औद्गात्रम् 'the office or duties of an Udgâtri.' Padamanjari gives the example of होतु धर्म्यम् under this sūtra, though the word होतु occurs in the list given in the preceding sūtra. The Hotri of the preceding sūtra means a Ritvik, here it means an invoker.

Vārt :—So also after the word नरः As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word विशसितु, the इट् affix being elided. Thus विशसितु + अञ् = वैशस्त्रम् ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word विभाजयितु, its णि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितु + अञ् = वैभाजित्रम् ॥

अवक्रयः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अव क्रयः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । षष्ठीसमर्थादवक्रय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । अवक्रीणीत ऽनेनेत्यवक्रयः ॥

50. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'its tax,' after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means 'Government-tax,' 'price,' wages,' 'rent' &c, coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase.' Thus शुल्कशालाया अवक्रयः = शौल्कशालिकः. So also आपणिकः, गौल्मिकः, आकरिकः ॥

Are not धर्म्य (IV. 4. 47) and अवक्रय the same? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious ; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

तदस्य पण्यम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्, अस्य, पण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्योति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं पण्यं चेत्तद्वति ॥

51. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपूपः पण्यं अस्य = आपूपिकः 'a cake-vendor.' So also शाष्कुलिकः, मौदकिकः &c.

लवणादठञ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लवणशब्दादठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

52. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavana.'

This debars ठक्, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यमस्य = लावणिकः 'a salt-vendor.'

किशरादिभ्यः छन् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किशरादिभ्यः, छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किशर इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

53. The affix छन् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c.

This debars ठक् ॥ The word किशर &c all denote perfumes. Thus किशराः पण्यमस्य = किशरिकः f किशरिकी (IV. I 41), नरदिकः f नरदिकी ॥

1 किसर (किशर), 2 नरद, 3 नलद, 4 स्थागल*, 5 तगर, 6 गुग्गुलु, 7 उशरि, 8 हरिद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु*, 10 पर्णी*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रायणी.

शालालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शालालुनः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालालुशब्दादन्यतरस्यां छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतद्विषये । ठकोपवादः । पक्षेऽपि भवति ॥

54. The affix छन् comes optionally, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity' after the word 'salâlun'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. शालालु is a kind of sweet scent. Thus शालालु पण्यमस्य = शालालुकः f. शालालुकी ॥ In the alternative with ठक्, शालालुक्; f. शालालुकी ॥

शिल्पम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे शिल्पं चेत्तद्वदति ॥

55. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of this is whose Art,' after a word denoting Art, in the first case in construction.

Thus मृदङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य = मर्दङ्गिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mṛidanga drum". So also पाणविकः, वैणिकः ॥

मड्डुकझझरादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मड्डुक, झझरात्, अण्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मड्डुकझझराशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शिल्पमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

56. The affix अण् comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose Art', after the words 'madduka', and 'jharjhara'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus मड्डुकवादनं शिल्पमस्य = माड्डुकः or माड्डुकिकः, so झझरः and झझरिकः ॥

प्रहरणम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहरणम् (ठक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं प्रहरणं चे-
त्तद्वति ।

57. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the 1st case in construction.

Thus असिः प्रहरणस्य = आसिकः 'a swordsman'. So प्रासिकः, चाक्रिकः, धानुष्कः ॥

परश्वधाट्ठञ् च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परश्वधात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्वधशब्दात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ठक् ॥

58. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the word परश्वध ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च, the difference being in accent. Thus परश्वधिकः or पारश्वधिकः ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'.

शक्तियष्ट्योरीकक् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति-यष्ट्योः, ईकक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तियष्टिशब्दाभ्यामीकक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य प्रहरणमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

59. The affix ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'sakti' and 'yashti'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शक्तिः प्रहरणस्य = शक्तीकः, So also याष्टीकः ॥

अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तिनास्ति-दिष्टम्-मतिः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थेभ्यो ऽस्ति नास्ति दिष्ट इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं मतिश्चेत्तद्वति ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', 'nasti' and 'dishta'.

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = आस्तिकः 'who believes that It is' i. e. a here after. नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no Here after', an athiest. दैष्टिकः 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट = दैव 'fate'.

The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is. Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

शीलम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीलम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे शीलं चे-
हवति ॥

61. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य = आपूपिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'. Similarly शाष्कुलिकः, मौदकिकः ॥ The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

छत्रादिभ्यो णः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छत्रादिभ्यः, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छत्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो णः प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शीलमित्येतस्मिन्विषये ठकोपवादः ॥

62. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus छत्रं शीलमस्य = छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the defects of his master'. The word स्था occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga; thus आस्था, संस्था, अवस्था &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुश्छत्रवत् गुरुणा शिष्य-
श्छत्रवत् छाद्यः "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or शिष्येण च गुरुश्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his Preceptor, as an Umbrella'.

1 छत्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 प्ररोह (पुरोह), 4 स्था (आस्था, संस्था, अवस्था), 5 बुभुक्षा, 6 चुरा, 7 तितिक्षा°, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (ऋषि), 10 कर्मन्, 11 विश्वधा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अनृत, 15 विशिखा*, 16 विशिका (शिबिका), 17 भक्षा*, 18 उदस्थान*, 19 पुरोडा (!)°, 20 विक्षा°, 21 चु-
क्षा*, 22 मन्द्र.

कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म, अध्ययने, वृत्तम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं कर्म चे-
द्वृत्तमध्ययनविषयं भवति ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occurring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vrittam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus एकमन्यदध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य = ऐकान्यिकः 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यत्) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist" Similarly त्रैयन्यिकः त्रैयन्यिकः &c. He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading,

is called ऐकान्यिकः ॥ So who commits two mistakes is called द्वैयान्यिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्तिकः &c, the whole phrase अध्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

बहुचपूर्वपदादठक् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुच्, पूर्व पदात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुच् पूर्वपदं यस्य तस्माद् बहुचपूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकाद् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य कर्माध्ययने वृत्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

64. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus:—द्वादशान्यानि कर्माप्यध्ययने वृत्तानि अस्य = द्वादशान्यिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So त्रयोदशान्यिकः, चतुर्दशान्यिकः ॥ The word अन्यत् in these sūtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अन्दात्त which ought to be udātta, or vice versa.

हितं भक्षाः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हितम्-भक्षाः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं हितं, चेत्तद्भवति तच्च भक्षाः ॥

65. The affix ठक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom".

The words तद् and अस्य (IV. 4. 5i) are understood. The word हितं governs dative (II. 3. 13, Vart). But the sūtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षाः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz. तदस्मै हितं भक्षाः 'this for whom is wholesome diet'. The best way however, to remove this objection is to read sūtras 65, and 66 in this wise : 65 हितं भक्षाः तदस्मै and दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ Thus अपूपंभक्षणं हितमस्मै = आपूपिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also शाकुलिकः, मौदिकिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आपूपिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-अस्मै-दीयते-नियुक्तम्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थाद् अस्मादिति चतुर्थ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं, तद्येदीयते नियुक्तम् ॥

66. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given right fully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).

The word दीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगेन i. e. अव्यभिचारेण दीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अग्रे भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते = आग्रभोजनिकः 'a Brāhmaṇa always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'. So also आपूपिकः 'entitled to get cakes', शाश्वतिकः ॥ Some say that the word नियुक्तं means नित्यं 'always'. According to them आपूपिकः would mean अपूपा नित्यमस्मै दीयन्ते 'to whom always cakes are given'.

आणामांसोदनादिठन् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदादि ॥ आणा-मांस-ओदनात्, टिठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आणाभांसौदनशब्दभ्यां टिठन् प्रत्ययी भवति तदस्यै दीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ढकोपवादः ।

67. The affix टिठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आणा and मांसोदन ॥

This टिठन् debars ढक् ॥ The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the ट् indicates that the feminine is formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15). Thus आणा नियुक्तमस्मै दीयते = आणिकः f. आणिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसोदनिकः f. मांसोदनिकी ॥

The difference between ढक् and टिठन् is in accent, the former having udātta on the final (VI. 1. 165), the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of ढक् and टिठन् will both be formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15). Now the affix ढक् resembles टिठन् both in accent (VI. 1. 197) and in feminine (IV. 1. 15). Why was not ढक् used instead of टिठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same forms? True, as regards the words आणा and मांसोदन the affix ढक् might have been employed instead of टिठन् ॥ According to some, however, the affix टिठन् applies to मांस and ओदन separately also. But ढक् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vriddhi (VII. 2. 117) which टिठन् does not. Thus ओदन + टिठन् = ओदनिकः, f. ओदनिकी ॥ With ढक् the form would have been ओदनिकः which is not wanted.

The word आणा is a Past Participle (क्त) of आ 'to cook.' The आ is not changed to ऋ as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The nisthā त् is changed to ण (VIII. 2. 43). The form आता is also found, as in VI. 1. 36; and the regular form is शृतं = क्षीरम् (VI. 1. 27).

भक्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदादि ॥ भक्ताद्-अण्-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां तदस्यै दीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ढकोपवादः ॥

68. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars ढक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्मै दीयते नियुक्तं = भक्तः ॥ In the alternative भक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' i. e. a retainer.

तत्र नियुक्तः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-नियुक्तः(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीतमर्थान्नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । नियुक्तो अधिकृतो व्यापारित इत्यर्थः ॥

69. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction.

Thus शुल्कशालायां नियुक्तः = शौल्कशालिकः 'a superintendent of custom-house.' So also आकरिकः, आपाणिकः, गौलमिकः, दौवारिकः ॥ The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tat-purusha compound formed by II. 1. 46. The word niyukta here has a different meaning from that in IV. 1. 60, hence its repetition here.

अगारान्ताद्ठन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगारान्तात्, ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अगारशब्दान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

70. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agâra.'

This debars ठक् । The difference is in accent and want of Vṛidubhi. Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः, कोष्ठागारिकः, भाण्डागारिकः ॥

अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्ययिनि-अदेशकालात् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थादेशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादकालवाचिनश्चाध्यायिन्यभिधेये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time.

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. अध्यायिन् means one who studies. Thus श्मशानेऽधीते = श्मशानिकः 'who reads in a funeral ground.' चतुष्पथिकः 'who studies where four roads meet.' So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चतुर्दशिकः, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day.' So also आमावात्यिकः ॥

Why do we say 'improper time and place?' Observe बुध्नेऽधीते, पूर्वाह्णेऽधीते ॥

कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहराते ॥ ७२ ॥ वदानि ॥ कठिन-अन्त, प्रस्तार-संस्थानेषु, व्यवहरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । कठिनशब्दान्तात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् प्रस्तारसंस्थानशब्दाभ्यां च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति व्यवहरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

72. The affix. ठक् comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kathina'

and after 'prastâra' and 'sansthâna,' being in seventh case in construction.

Thus वंशकठिने व्यवहरति = वांशकठिनिकः 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket.' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i. e. तस्मिन्नेषे वा क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया नां तथैवानुतिष्ठेति ॥ So also ब्राधकठिनिकः ॥ So also प्रास्तारिकः, सांस्थानिकः ॥

निकटे वसति ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ निकटे-वसति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निकटशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थ्याद्वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who dwells', after the locative word 'nikata.'

This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus आरण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations. Thus निकटे वसत = नैकटिकः 'an ascetic.'

आवसथात् छल् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवसथात्-छल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्वेव । आवसथशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थ्याद् वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The ह् of छल् is for accent (VI. I. 193), the ष् is for डीष् (IV. I. 41). Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i. e. a domestic person as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV. 4. I. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

प्राग्घिताद्यत् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्-हितात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मै हितामिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागेतस्माद्धितसंशब्दानाद्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामीत्यत्ययस्तेष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ।

75. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V, 1. 5), the affix यत् bears rule.

Thus in the next sūtra तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् we must read the affix यत् ॥ रथः, युग्यः, प्रासङ्गः ॥

तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-वहति-रथ-युग-प्रासङ्गम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो रथयुगप्रासङ्गेभ्यो वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prâsanga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथं वहति = रथः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly युग्यः 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासंग्यः 'being trained in a break'. प्रासङ्ग is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking. This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as, परमरथः ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or वोढु therefore रथस्य वोढु will get the affix यत् by IV. 2. 120. read with IV. 3. 121. Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 1. 88. Thus द्वौ रथौ वहति = द्विरथः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under IV. 3. 121. The word युग्य has been already formed by the kṛit affix (III. 1. 121), that युग्य differs from the present, in accent when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by ल्यप् and this is by यत्, and therefore by VI. 2. 156, अयुग्यम् will be finally acute when formed by यत् ॥ The word युगं must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here युगं वहति राजा कलिं द्वापरं वा ॥

धुरो यड्ढकौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुरः-यत्-ढकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । धुर इत्येतस्माद् द्वितीयासमर्थतद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् ढक् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

77. The affix यत् and ढक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction,

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by यत्) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 is prevented by VII. 2. 79 because धुर is Bha-stem, or धौरेयः (formed by ढक् VII. 1. 2) 'a beast of burden'. This sūtra might have stood as धुरो ढक् च, for यत् would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75.

खः सर्वधुरात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ खः-सर्वधुरात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । सर्वधुराशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थतद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurâ', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वहति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2). The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर, e. g. उत्तरधुरीणः, दक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर (II. 1. 49), the samâsânta अ being added by V. 4. 74. The word धूः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26. The word सर्वधुरात् in the sūtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulat-

ing the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sūtra should be taken as a nominal-stem or pratipadika equal to सवधुरा ॥

एकधुराल्लुक् च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-धुरात्-लुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । एकधुराशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य लुक् भवति ॥

79. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhurâ' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरां वहति = एकधुरीणः or एकधुरः ॥ The compounding is taddhitârtha (एकं धुरं वहति) to which is added the samâsânta ख, and then the affix ख ॥

शकटादण् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ शकटात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । शकटशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शाकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car. This could be evolved by तस्येदम् अण् as शाकटस्य वोढ = शाकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as द्वे शकटे वहति = द्वैशकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88).

हलसीराट्ठक् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलसीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । हलसीरशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the words 'hala' and 'sîra,' in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हालिकः a ploughman सैरिकः 'a plough ox.' The ठक् would have come by IV. 3. 124, the specification shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as द्वैहालिकः, द्वैसीरिकः ॥

संज्ञायाम्-जन्याः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्-जन्याः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । जनीशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

82. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it' after the word 'janî,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus जनी वहति = जन्यः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. जन्याः 'a bridesmaid.' The word जनी means 'bride.' जन्या lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bridegroom at the time of play &c..

विध्यत्यधनुषा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विध्यति-अधनुषा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्विति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् विध्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति न चेदधनुष्करणं भवति ॥

83. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it,' after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पैद्याः (VI. 3. 53) शर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles. ऊरव्याः कण्टकाः 'thorns' i. e. what pierce the thigh.

Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा"? Observe पादौ विध्यति धनुषा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of धनुष् indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौरं विध्यति, शत्रुं विध्यति ॥

धनगणं लब्धा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन-गणम्-लब्धा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वित्येव । धनगणशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gana,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्धा = धन्यः, so also गण्यः ॥ लब्ध् is formed from लभ् by तुन्, hence it takes the accusative.

अन्नाणः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नात्-णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नशब्दाच्चाद्विति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

85. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्धा = आन्नः 'fed' 'who has obtained food.'

वशं गतः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वशम्-गतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशशब्दाच्चाद्विति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् गत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word vasa, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वशगतः = वैश्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = काम इच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परेच्छानुगामी ॥

पदमस्मिन् दृश्यम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदम्-अस्मिन्-दृश्यम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव प्रथमा समर्थविभक्तिः । पदशब्दप्रथमासमर्थार्थं दृश्यार्थोपाधिकारस्मिन्नाति सप्तम्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

87. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'in it is visible,' after the word 'pada,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पद दृश्यमास्मिन् = पदः कर्म 'mud' lit. soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot. So पदः पांसवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of the foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word दृश्यम् means दृश्यते द्रष्टुम् this being the force of the कृत्या affix 'ya' in दृश् ॥

मूलमस्याबाह् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूलम्-अस्य-आबाह्-(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूलशब्दप्रथमासमर्थार्थाबाह्त्व्येवमुपाधिकादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । मूलमेषामाबाह् ॥

88. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mûla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आबाह् from बृह् 'to up root,' means 'uprooting,' = उत्पादनं ॥ मूलमेषामाबाह् = मूल्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. मूषा । मन्नाः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant. According to Padamañjari the word should be आबाह् and not आबाह्, with a व and not ब ॥

संज्ञायां धेनुष्या ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-धेनुष्या-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेनुष्येति निपात्यते संज्ञायां विषये । संज्ञामहणमभिधेयनियमार्थम् ॥

89. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding षुक् and य to धेनु ॥ It has udatta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतवृद्धा ॥ As धेनुष्यां भवते वृद्धा ॥

गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ज्यः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ गृहपतिना-संयुक्ते-ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव तृतीया समर्थविभक्तिः । गृहपतिशब्दास्तृतीयासमर्थार्थसंयुक्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'joined with', after the word 'grahapati' in the third case in construction.

Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः = गार्हपत्यः 'the Gārhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder. The word संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यः means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in which husband (grihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gārhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakshināgni. Or that fire in which Grihapati hymns are recited is called Gārhapatya.

नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्थतुल्यप्राप्यवद्भानाम्यसमसमित सस्मितेषु ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-वयो-धर्म-विष-मूल-मूल-सीता-तुलाभ्यः-तार्थ-तुल्य-प्राप्य-वद्भ्य-अनाम्य-सम-समित-सस्मितेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नावादिभ्यो ऽट्भ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽष्टत्वेव तार्थादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that it should be so. Thus.

1. नावा तार्थम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', lit what can be crossed by a boat.
2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्यः 'a friend', lit. one alike in age.
3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma. Could not this form have been evolved by the next sūtra धर्मादनपेते (IV. 4. 92)? No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.
4. विषेण वद्धः = विष्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.
5. मूलेनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit. or to be overpowered or bent by the root". The word आनाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix ण्यत् contrary to rule III. 1. 98 which required यत्), means अभिभवनीयम् 'what ought to be overpowered': hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mūlyam, the capital or mūla is overpowered.
6. मूलेन समः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth पटः i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.

7. सीतया समितं = सीत्यं 'a field'. lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne. The word समितं is equivalent to संगतं 'united with' according to Kāsika. सीत्यं therefore literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g. परमसीत्यं, उत्तमसीत्यं, द्विसीत्यं ॥
8. तुलया सम्मितं = तुल्यम् "equal" lit. 'meted by the balance'. सम्मित means समानं, सदृशं ॥

Note :—The fruits of good deeds, like happiness &c, which are attainable or prāpya through 'dharma', may be said also dharmād anapetam because an effect must have a cause. Hence arises the doubt as to what is the difference between this and the next sūtra. The 'anapetam' in the next sūtra means the fulfilling or following the Law established by the Shishthas, and has no reference to its fruits. Because the effect of dharma is to destroy dharma—i. e. the fruits in the shape of happiness &c lessen, and ultimately extinguish the dharma. Therefore, the fruit of dharma, which is to be taken in this sūtra, as referred to by the word prāpya, is diametrically opposed to the practising of dharma, referred to by the word anapeta of the next sūtra.

धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्म-पथि-अर्थ-न्यायात्-अनपेते(यत्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव पञ्चमी समर्थविभक्तिः । धर्मादिभ्यः पञ्चमीसमर्थेभ्योऽनपेतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyāya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sūtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेतं = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्रीयात् पथो यदनपेतं तत् पथ्यं, न तु तस्मादनपेतइचोरः 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'āt,' न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.' The word संज्ञायां (IV 4. 89) governs this sūtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings,

छन्दसो निर्मिते ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-निर्मिते (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थसामर्थ्यलभ्या समर्थविभक्तिः । छन्दः शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मितइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः = छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'me or Veda.'

उरसो ऽण् च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसः, अण्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दास्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च ॥

94. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras', in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sūtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = औरस 'own son not adopted, lit. produced through the loins.' With यत् the form will be उरस्यः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89) governs this sūtra also.

हृदयस्य प्रियः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य-प्रियः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । हृदयशब्दात्पृष्ठीसमर्थान् प्रिय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hridaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृद्यः 'pleasant to the heart.' e. g. हृद्यो देवः, हृद्यं वनम् ॥ But we cannot say हृद्यः पुत्रः, the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 99) governs this sūtra also. and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

बन्धने चर्षौ ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धने-च-ऋषौ (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्येत्येव । बन्धन इति प्रत्ययार्थः । तद्विशेषणमृषिग्रहणम् । बद्धते येन तद्बन्धनम् । हृदयशब्दात्पृष्ठीसमर्थान्बन्धने ऋषावभिधेये यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hridaya', being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sūtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धनम् ॥ The word ऋषि means here the Veda or the Vedic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनमृषि = हृद्यः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a वशीकरण मन्त्रः ॥

मतजनहलात् करणजल्पकूर्धेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत-जन-हलात्, करण-जल्प-कूर्धेषु (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतादिभ्यश्चिभ्यः शब्देभ्यश्चिभ्येव करणादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the senses respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मतस्य करणं=मैत्यः 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. जनस्य जल्पः=जैन्यः 'a rumour'. हलस्य कर्षः=हैत्यः 'ploughed'. So also त्रिहल्यः, त्रिहल्यः, the tadanta vidhi applies रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्धिधौ ॥

तत्र साधुः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-साधुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थान् साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto'.

Thus सामसु साधुः=सामन्यः (VI. 4. 168) conversant with the Sâma-Veda' So also वेमन्यः, कर्मण्यः, शरन्यः &c. The word साधु here means प्रवीण, or योग्य 'expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारक 'a benefactor or a good person' When the sense is that of 'good', the sūtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः-खञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

99. The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto', after the word 'pratijana' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः=प्रातिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2) 'suitable against an adversary', or 'who is excellent for every person'. So also एवं युगीनः, सांयुगीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 इदंयुग, 3 संयुग, 4 समयुग, 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्यकुल, 8 अमुष्यकुल, 9 सर्व जन, 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन. ॥

भक्ताणः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तात्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दात् णः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

100. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta'.

This debars यत्; thus, भक्ते साधुः=माक्तः शालिः 'rice' lit. suitable or excellent for food. भक्ता स्तण्डुलाः ॥

परिषदोऽप्यः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषद्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषद्शब्दात् ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

101. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'parishada'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः=पारिषद्यः ॥ The affix ण is also employed here. Thus परिषदि साधुः=पारिषदः 'one versed in the affairs of a council' 'a minister'.

कथादिभ्यश्च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कथादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

102. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathâ' &c.

Thus कथायां साधुः = काथिकः (कथा + ठक् = कथ् + ठक् VI. 4. 148 = काथ + इक् VII. 2. 116) 'a narrator of stories'. So वैकाथिकः &c.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा*, 4 संकथा*, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुट्ट विद्, कुष्टाचिन्) 7 जनवाद, 8 जनेवाद, 9 जानोवाद* (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संग्रह (सद्ग्रह), 12 गुण, 13 गण, 14 आयुर्वेद. ॥

गुडादिभ्यश्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुडादिभ्यः, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुडादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

103. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'gudâ &c.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुडे साधुः = गौडिकः 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. So कौलमाषिकः 'a kind of pulse' lit. 'excellent for making gruel'. साक्तुकः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्तु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसौदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 संग्राम, 9 संघात, 10 संक्राम*, 11 संवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास. ॥

पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्दञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि-अतिथि-वसति-स्वपतेः दञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो दञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

104. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधुः = पाथेयम् (VII. 1. 2) 'provision for journey'. आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेयं 'habitable' as वासतेयी रात्रिः, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

सभाया यः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाः, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दायः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये यतोपवादः ॥

105. The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhâ' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3, and VI. 1. 185) Thus सभायां साधुः = सभ्यः 'refined' lit. fit for society.

दृश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दाद् दृः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दसि । यस्यापवादः ॥

106. The affix ढ comes in the chhandas after the word 'sabhâ,' in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars य ॥ Thus सभेयः in सभेयोस्य युवा यजमानस्य वीरो जायताम् 'let a refined, youthful hero be born to this sacrificer'.

समानतीर्थे वासी ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानतीर्थे, वासी (यत्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ साधुरिति निवृत्तम् । वासीति प्रत्ययार्थः, समानतीर्थशब्दाच्चोति सप्तमीसमर्थाद्वासीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'resident, therein', after the word 'samâna-tîrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛitti of साधुः now ceases. The word तीर्थ means here गुरु 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी = सतीर्थः (VI. 3. 87)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-उदरे-शायतः, आ-च-उदात्तः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानोदरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाच्छयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ओकारश्चोदात्तः ॥

108. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sâmânodara' in the locative construction, and the udâtta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयितः is equal to स्थितः 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = समानोदर्यः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88.

सोदराद्य ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोदरात्, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोदरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix य comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sūtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word उदर when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = सोदर्यः ॥ Here ओ is not udâtta as it was in the last ; the udâtta here falls on य ॥

भवे छन्दसि ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ भवे-छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थाद्भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छन्दसि विषये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणानीनां घाणीनां चापवादः ॥

110. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a word in the locative case in construction, in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars अण्, घ &c (IV. 3, 53). Those affixes also are employed in the alternative, there being much latitude of grammatical rules in the Vedas. Thus the words मेध्यः and विदुष्य in the following hymn of the Yajur Veda (16. V. 38): नमो मेध्याय च विदुष्याय च ॥ All the sūtras henceforward up to the end of the chapter, are Vedic sūtras, the word छन्दसि being understood in them all. The word भवे governs all the sūtras up to IV. 4. 118.

पाथोनदीभ्यां ड्यण् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाथः-नदीभ्याम्-ड्यण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पाथशब्दान्नदीशब्दाच्च ड्यण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

111. The affix ड्यण् comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'pâthas' and 'nadî,' wherby the last vowel, with the consonant following, is elided.

This debars यन् ॥ Thus पाथसि भवः=पाथ्यः, so also नाद्यः ॥ As in the following hymns : तमुत्वा पाथ्यो वृषा, च नो दधीत नाद्यो गिरो मे ॥ पाथः means firmament.

वेशन्तहिमवद्भ्यामण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशन्त-हिमवत् भ्याम्, अण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेशन्तशब्दाद्दिमवच्छब्दाच्चाण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there' after the words 'vesanta' and 'himavat.'

This debars यन् ॥ Thus वैशन्तीभ्यः स्वाहा, हैमवतीभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

स्रोतसो विभाषा ड्यङ्ङ्यौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्रोतसः विभाषा, ड्यत्-ङ्यौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्रोतशब्दाद्विभाषा ड्यत् ड्यङ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

113. The affixes ड्यत् and ड्य come optionally in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word 'srotas', and before these affixes the final syllable अस् of srotas is elided.

This debars यन् which comes in the alternative. As स्रोतसि भवः=स्रोत्यः or स्रोत्यः the difference being in the accent (III. I. 3 and VI. I. 185). The anubandha ड causes the elision of अस् of स्रोतस् ॥ When यन् is added the form is स्रोतस्यः ॥

सगर्भसयूथसनुतायन् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सगर्भ-सयूथ-सनुतात्, यन् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सगर्भसयूथसनुतशब्देभ्यो यन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

114. The affix यन् comes in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'sagarbha,' 'sayûtha' and sanuta.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (VI. 1. 197). Thus अनुभ्राता सगर्भ्यः 'a younger brother'. अनुसखासदृश्यः 'a younger friend'. So also यो नः सनुत्यः उत वा जियन्तु thief lit. 'who stays in a concealed place', sanuta meaning 'concealed' (see Rig Veda II. 31. 9). The word समान is always changed into स in the Chhandas (VI. 3. 84).

तुग्रात् घन् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुग्रात्, घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृप्रशब्दात् घन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

115. The affix घन् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word, tugra.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus तुग्रियः as त्वमग्रे वृषभस् तुग्रियणां ॥ Which assumes the form तुग्रय-*tugrya* also. As आवः शमम् वृषभं तुग्र्यासु (Rig Veda I. 34. 15) *Tugrya* meaning 'sunk in the waters'. The word तुग्र means 'food, firmament, sacrifice and varishṭha'.

अग्राद्यत् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्रात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ।

116. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra',

Thus अग्रे भवं = अग्यम् ॥ Why this separate rule, for यत् would have come after अग्र by the general rule IV. 4. 110? The repetition is to show that यत् is not debarred by घ and छ of the next sūtra, which would have been the case, had this sūtra not existed.

घच्छौ च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घच्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रशब्दाद्यत् घच्छौ प्रत्ययो भवस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ।

117. The affixes 'ghach' and 'chha' come in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra.'

Thus अग्यम् (by यत्), अग्रीयम् (by छ) and अग्रियम् (by घच्). And अग्रियम् (by घन्) from IV. 4. 115. See R. V. I. 13. 10 (Śāyana) इहत्वष्टारमग्रियम् ॥

समुद्राभ्राद् घः ॥ ११८ ॥ पदादि ॥ समुद्र-अभ्रात्-घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रशब्दाद्भ्राद्भ्राच्च घः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

118. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'samudra' and 'abhra'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus समुद्रियः and अभ्रियः, as in समुद्रिया अप्सरसो मणीषि-
णम् and नानदतो अभ्रियस्येव घोषाः ॥ The word 'abhra' being a word of fewer
syllables than 'samudra' ought to have come first. Its coming as a second
member is an irregularity.

बर्हिषि दत्तम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बर्हिषि-दत्तम् (यत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भव इति निवृत्तम् । बर्हिः शब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थदत्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'given', after the word 'barhis' in the 7th. case in
construction.

The anuvṛitti of तत्र भवः ceases. Thus बर्हिष्येषु निधिषु प्रियेषु ॥ R. V. 10. 15 5

दूतस्य भागकर्मणी ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ दूतस्य-भाग-कर्मणी(यत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । दूतशब्दात् षष्ठीसमर्थाद्भागे कर्मणि चाभिधेये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after
the word 'dûta' in the genitive case in construction, in the
sense of 'its share' or 'its duty.'

Thus दूत्यम् 'the share of a messenger or the work of a messenger'.
As यत्ते अग्ने दूत्यम् ॥ According to VI. 1. 213, the accent will be दूत्यम्, but the
accented Text reads दूत्यम् ॥

रक्षोयातूनां हननी ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षः-यातूनाम्-हननी (यत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । रक्षःशब्दाद्यातुशब्दाच्च षष्ठीसमर्थाद्धननीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'killer', after the words 'raksha' and 'yātu' in the
sixth case in construction.

That by which anything is killed is called हननी ॥ Thus रक्षस्य and
यातव्य meaning 'that which kills the demons called Rakshas and Yâtus'. As
याते अग्ने रक्षस्या तनः i. e. रक्षसां हननी 'O Agni thy bodies are killers of Rakshas'.
So यातव्याः तनूः ॥ The word is in the plural as a mark of respect.

रेवतीजगतीहविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-जगती-हविष्याभ्यः
प्रशस्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवत्यादिभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रशस्ये वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'praising' after the words 'revatî', 'jagatî' and
'havishya' in the 6th case in construction.

The word प्रशस्य means प्रशंसन 'praising, extolling', formed by adding the
Kṛit affix क्यप् to the root, with the force of भाव or 'condition'. Thus रवत्यम्, जगत्यम्

and हविष्यम् 'praising of Revati, Jagâti or Havishya'. The word हविष्यम् is thus formed हविषे हिता = हविष्याः 'things fit for offering' i. e. butter &c, (हविष् + यत् V. I. 4) हविष्यानाम् प्रशंसनं = हविष्यम् (हविष्य + यत् IV. 4. 122 = हविष्य + यत् the final अ being elided by VI. 4. 148 = हविष् + यत् the य् being elided by VIII. 4. 64).

असुरस्य स्वम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ असुरस्य, स्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरराजशब्दादस्मिन्मर्यात्स्वमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

123. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'property', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus असुरस्य 'belonging to the Asuras'. As असुर्यं वा एतत् पात्रं यच्चक्रधृतं कुलालकृतम् 'this vessel made on a wheel by a potter belongs to the Asuras'. असुर्यं देवेभिर्धायि विश्वम् ॥ See Maitr S. I. 8. 3

मायायामण् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मायायाम्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरराजशब्दादस्मिन्मर्यान्मायायां स्वविशेषे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ॥

124. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'glamour', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars यत् ॥ असुरस्य माया = आसुरः feminine आसुरी ॥ As आसुरी माया स्वधया कृतासि ॥

तद्वानासामुपधानो मन्त्र इतीष्टकासुलुक् च मतोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्वान्-आसाम्-उपधानः-मन्त्र-इति-इष्टकासु-लुक्-च-मतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वानिति निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः मनुबन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रथमासमर्थारासामिति षष्ठ्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । यत्प्रथमासमर्थमुपधानोमन्त्रश्चेत्स भवति । यत्तद्वानामिति निर्दिष्टमिष्टकाश्वेत्ता भवन्ति । लुक् च मन्त्रेणैव प्रकृतिनिर्हासः । इतिकरणस्तत्तद्विवक्षा । तद्वानित्यवयवेन समुदायो व्यपदिश्यते ॥

125. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a nominal stem, in the 1st case in construction, ending with the affix 'matup', when the sense is "this is their mantra of putting up", provided that, the things put up are bricks: And the affix matup is elided by luk.

This sūtra requires analysis. तद्वान् is formed by adding मनुप् to तद् meaning 'having that', and refers to a noun formed by the affix मनुप् ॥ The word आसाम् is genitive plural fem. of इदं meaning 'of them'; the pronoun refers to the word इष्टका ॥ The word उपधान means 'putting up', and technically means 'used as a Mantra in the putting up of sacrificial bricks, pots &c'. मन्त्र "sacred hymn" इष्टका 'bricks', The whole sūtra means "the affix 'yat' is used with

the force of a genitive (âsâm), after a word which ends with matup (tadvân), and denotes a mantra used in putting up of sacrificial objects ; when such mantra refers to bricks : and when this affix yat is added, the affix matup is elided'. Thus वर्चस्वान् is a Mantra containing the word वर्चस् ॥ The bricks put up or collected (उपधीयते) with the recitation of वर्चस्वान् Mantra, will be called वर्चस्या (वर्चस्वत् + यत् = वर्चस् + यत् the affix वत् (मनुप्) being elided = वर्चस्य, fem वर्चस्या) ॥ Thus वर्चस्या उपधाति 'he collects Varchasya bricks i. e. on which Varchasvân mantra has been pronounced'. So तेजस्या उपधाति ॥ So पयस्याः, रेतस्याः ॥

Why do we say तद्वान् ? The affix is not to be added to the whole Mantra. Why do we say, उपधान 'putting up' ? The affix is not to be added to other Mantras such as those used in praying etc. e. g. वर्चस्वानुपस्थान मन्त्र आ-सामिष्टकानाम्, here there will be no affix. Why do we say Mantra ? Observe अंगुलिमानुपधानो हस्त आसाम् 'these bricks are collected with hand having fingers', here there will be no affix. Why do we say इष्टकासु ? Observe वर्चस्वानुपधानो मन्त्र एषां कपालानाम्, here there will be no affix, the thing collected being potsherds and not bricks.

अश्विमान् ॥ १२६ ॥ अश्विमान्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्विशब्दो यस्मिन्मन्त्रेऽस्ति सोऽश्विमान् । अश्विमच्छब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ।

126. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas, after the words asvimân, to denote bricks put up with the Mantra containing the word Asvin, and the affix matup is elided.

Thus अश्विमानुपधानो मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानां = आश्विनः fem. आश्विनीः ॥ The word is thus formed अश्विमान् + अण् = अश्वि + अण् the matup being elided IV. 4. 125 = अश्विन् + अण् VI. 4. 164 = आश्विन ॥ Thus आश्विनीरुपधाति 'he collects Aśvin bricks i. e. bricks at the time of collecting which Mantras containing अश्विन् were uttered. See Yajur Veda Tait S. 5. 3. 1. 1.

वयस्यासु मूर्ध्नी मनुप् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वयस्यासु-मूर्ध्नी-मनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयस्वानुपधानो मन्त्रो यासां ता वयस्यास्तास्वभिधेयासु मूर्ध्नी मनुप् प्रत्ययो भवति .

127. The affix 'matup' is added in the Chhandas, to the word 'mûrdhanvat', in expressing bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word 'vayas'.

The word वयस्या means the bricks, the Upadhâna mantras of which contain the word वयस् ॥ The affix मनुप् debaras यत् ॥ A mantra which contains both the word वयस् and मूर्ध्नी, that Mantra is both वयस्वान् and मूर्ध्नीवान् ॥ Now in denoting sacrificial bricks put up with such a mantra, the affix यत् would have come by IV. 4. 125 after both these words वयस्वान् and मूर्ध्नीवान् ॥ The present

sûtra ordains मत्तुप् after मूर्धन्वान् ॥ Thus मूर्धन्वैतीरुपधाति 'he collects Mûrdhanvatî bricks'. The words वयस्याः and मूर्धन्वत्यः denote the same object. See VI. I. 176.

Why do we say वयस्यासु? The affix 'matup' will not be added to 'mûrdhan', if the Mantra contains only the word 'mûrdhan' and not 'vayas' also. In that case मूर्धन्याः will be the form, meaning 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word मूर्धन्', while मूर्धन्वत्यः means 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the words mûrdhan and vayas'.

The sûtra contains the word मूर्धः ablative singular of मूर्धन् ॥ It ought to have been मूर्धन्वतः, for the affix matup is added to मूर्धन्वत्, the वत् being elided then by IV. 4. 125. The author has mentally elided the affix वत्, and shown in the aphorism the last stage of the word to which मत्तुप् is to be added.

मत्वर्थे मासतन्वोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत्वर्थे-मास-तन्वोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्नर्थे मत्तुप्प्रहितस्तस्मिच्छन्दसि विषये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति मासतन्वोः प्रत्ययार्थ विशेषणयोः ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ मासतन्वोरनन्तरार्थे वा ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ लुगकारेकाररेफाश्च वक्तव्याः ॥

128. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after a word in the first case in construction, the word so formed meaning a month or a body.

This debarb the affix मत्तुप् and those having the sense of मत्तुप् ॥ Thus नभांसि विद्यन्ते यस्मिन् मासे = नभस्यः 'the month of clouds' i. e. June-July. So also सहस्यः, तपस्यः मधव्यः, being the names of the months Pausha (Nov-Dec), Phalgun (Feb-March) and Vaisâkha (April-May). The word मधव्यः is thus formed:---मधु + यत् = मधा + यत् (VI. 4. 146) = मधव्यः (VI. I. 79) 'the month of honey'. Similarly ओजस्या तनूः 'the bodies full of vigour'.

Why do we say "in denoting a month or a body"? Observe मधुमता पात्रेण चरति, here मत्तुप् is used.

Vârt:—The affix यत् is optionally employed when the sense is 'immediately after'. As मध्वस्मिन्नस्ति मध्वस्मिन्नन्तरमिति वा = माधव्यः or माधवो मासः ॥

Vârt:—Sometimes the affix is elided, and sometimes the letters अ, इ and ए serve the same purpose as this affix. Thus तपः or तपस्यः, नभस् or नभस्यः, सहस् or सहस्यः, all in the neuter gender in the Chhandas. Sometimes अ serves the same purpose, e. g. इषो मासः, ऊर्जोमासः ॥ Sometimes इ, as शुचिर्मासः. Sometimes ए e. g. शुक्रो मासः ॥

मधोर्ज च ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः-अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुशब्दान्मत्वर्थे अः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यम् ॥

129. The affix अ as well as यत् comes with the force of matup, in the Chhandas, after the word मधु ॥

Thus माधवः or मधव्यः ॥ Sometimes the affix is elided, as मधुः, all these mean the month of Vaisākha. So also माधवाः, मधव्या and मधुः meaning तनूः or body.

ओजसो ऽहनि यत्खौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजसः-अहनि-यत्-खौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । ओजः शब्दान्मत्वर्थे यत्खौ प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽह्न्यभिधेये ॥

130. The affixes यत् and ख come with the force of matup, after the word 'ojas', when a day is meant.

Thus ओजस्यम् or ओजसीनं = अहः 'the day' lit. full of heat.

वेशोयशआदेर्भगाद्यल् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशः-यशः-आदेः-भगात्-यल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । वेशोयशसी आदौ यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य तस्माद्वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मत्वर्थे यल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix यल् comes in the Chhandas, with the force of matup, after the word bhaga, having the words 'vesas' or 'yasas' in the beginning.

The ल् of यल् shows that the accent falls on the vowel preceding the affix (VI. I. 193). Thus वेशोभगो विद्यते यस्य ल = वेशोर्भग्यः 'strong-fortune' so also यशोर्भग्यः 'famous-fortune'. The word वेश means 'strength': भग means 'fortune, desire, effort, greatness, virility and fame.' The word वेशोभगः may be taken as a Dvandva compound of वेशस् 'force' and भगः 'fortune.' The word वेशोभग्यः would then mean 'possessed of power and fortune'.

ख च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मत्वर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति । योगविभागो यथासंख्यनिरासार्थ उत्तरार्थश्च । चकाराद्यत् ॥

132. The affix ख also comes after the words 'vesobhaga' and 'yasobhaga', in the Chhandas, with the force of matup.

Thus वेशोभगीनः and यशोभगीनः ॥ This sūtra has been separated from last in order to prevent the application of the यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). For had the sūtra been वेशोयश आदेर्भगाद् यत्खौ, as it occurs in Siddhanta Kaumudi, then the affix यल् would apply to वेशोभग, and the affix ख to यशोभगः which is not what is intended. Another reason for making it a distinct aphorism is that the anuvṛitti of ख runs in the next sūtra, not so of यल् ॥

पूर्वेः कृतमिनयौ च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वेः-कृत-इन-यौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थ इति निवृत्तम् । निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । पूर्वशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थकृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इन य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । चकाराद्यत् च ॥

133. The affixes **इन्** and **य** as well as **ख** come in the sense of 'made by them', after the word 'purva' (forefathers) 'in the Instrumental case in construction

The **ख** is read into the sūtra by force of the word **य**; the anuvṛitti of मत्वर्थ ceases. Thus पूर्वैः कृतं = पूर्विणः 'made by the ancestors' i. e. a road. So also पूर्व्यः and पूर्वीणः ॥ The word पूर्वैः in the plural means पूर्वपुरुषाः "past generations, ancestors". These words occur generally in the plural, and mean "roads widened by the forefathers". Thus गम्भीरोभिः पथिभिः पूर्विणेभिः ॥ So also, ये ते पन्थाः सविताः पूर्व्यासः (Rig I. 35. 11) Another reading of this sūtra is पूर्वैः कृतमिनिद्यौच; the affixes then will be इनि (इन्), and य; and ख will be drawn in by virtue of य ॥ The examples then will be पूर्विन्; 3rd pl. पूर्विभिः (with इन्), as पथिभिः पूर्विभिः, or पूर्विणैः (ख), or पूर्व्यैः (य) ॥

अङ्गिः संस्कृतम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गिः-संस्कृतम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । अपञ्चशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थान् संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix **यत्** comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'sanctified', after the word 'apas' in the 3rd case in construction.

Thus अप्यय 'offering purified with water'. As यस्येदमप्यं हविः ॥ The case of construction is indicated in the sūtra itself.

सहस्रेण संमितौ घः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्रेण-संमितौ-घ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सहस्रशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थान् संमितौ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'like', after the word 'sahasra', in the 3rd case in construction.

The case of construction is indicated by the sūtra. Thus सहस्रेण संमितः = सहस्रियः 'like unto thousand'. As in the following verse:—सहस्रियासोऽपां नोर्भयः ॥ अयमग्निः सहस्रियः The word संमित means तुल्य 'equal to'. Some read the word समित instead of सम्मित, but the meaning will be the same.

मतौ च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थे च सहस्रशब्दाद् घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after the word 'sahasra'.

As सहस्रयस्य विद्यते = सहस्रियः ॥ This debarbs the मत्वर्थ affixes विनि and इनि and अण् of V. 2. 102 and 103.

सोममर्हति यः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमम्-अर्हति-यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सोमशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थान् अर्हतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', in the second case in construction, when the sense is that of 'who deserves that'.

Thus सोममर्हन्ति = सौम्या ब्राह्मणाः "The Brâhmaṇas who deserve Soma" i. e. honorable and learned, and worthy of performing sacrifices. The difference between यन् and घ is in accent.

मये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मये-च (य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमग्रहणं, यश्चानुवर्तते । मय इति मयड्यो लक्ष्यते । सोमशब्दान्मयड्ये यः प्रत्ययो भवति । आगतविकारावयवप्रकृता मयड्यः ॥

138. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', with the force of the affix mayat.

The force of the affix मयद् is that of ततः आगतः (IV. 3. 74 and 82), विकारावयव (IV. 3. 134 and 143) and प्रकृत (V. 4. 21). The case in construction will vary according to the sense. Thus सोम्यं मधुः पिबन्ति = सोमज्यः मधुः ॥

मधोः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यशब्दे निवृत्तः । मधुशब्दान्मयड्ये यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'madhu', with the force of the affix mayat.

Thus मधव्यान् स्तोकान् = मधुमयान् ॥

वसोः समूहे च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः-समूहे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसुशब्दात्समूहे वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारान्मयड्ये च । यथायोगं समर्थविभक्तिः ॥ शार्त्तिकम् ॥ अक्षरसमूहे छन्दसः स्वार्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वसुशब्दादपि यत्प्रत्ययः ॥

140. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after the word 'vasu', when a collection is meant, as well as with the force of mayat.

Thus वसव्यः = समूहः 'a collection'.

Vart:—The affix 'yat' comes without changing the sense, after the word छन्दस् when reference is made to the collection of letters. Thus the word छन्दस्यः in the following sentence: "सप्तावशाक्षरछन्दस्यः प्रजापतियज्ञो मन्त्रे विहिता". The 17 letters here referred to being ओ आनय, four; अस्तु औषद्, four; यज, two; ये यजामहे five; and दृषद् two ॥

Vart:—The affix यत् comes after वसु without changing the sense. As इस्तौ गृहीतस्य बहुभिर्ब्रह्मस्यैः ॥ Here वसव्यैः is equal to वसुभिः ॥ Similarly अग्निरीशे वसव्यस्य = वसोः ॥

नक्षत्राद् घः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रशब्दाद्घः प्रत्ययो भवति स्वार्ये ॥

141. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas after the word 'nakshatra', without altering the meaning.

The anuvṛitti of समूह does not extend to this sūtra. Thus नक्षत्रियेभ्यः स्वाहा = नक्षत्रेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

सर्वदेवात्तातिल् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व, देवात्, तातिल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वदेवशब्दाभ्यां तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये स्वार्थिकः ॥

142. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas after the words 'sarva' and 'deva', without altering the meaning.

As सर्वतातिः and देवतातिः in the following hymns : "सविता नः सुवतु सर्वतातिम् and प्रदक्षिणिदेवतातिर्मुखाणः ॥

शिवशममरिष्टस्य करे ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव, शम्, अरिष्टस्य, करे (तातिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतीति करः प्रत्ययार्थः । तत्सामर्थ्यलभ्या षष्ठी समर्थविभक्तिः । शिवादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः कर इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'tâtil' comes, in the Chhandas, after the word 'siva', 'sam', and 'arishṭa' in the sixth case in construction when the sense is 'he 'does'.

The word करः is equivalent to करोति formed by अच् (III. I. 134)

This shows that the construction must be genitive. With a kṛit-formed word, it has accusative force, as, शिवस्य करः = शिवं करोति ॥

Thus शिवस्य करः = शिवतातिः, So शन्तातिः and अरिष्टतातिः ॥ As याभिः शन्ताती भवन्थो वृद्धाशुषं (Rig I. 112. 20) शन्ताती being dual of शन्तातिः, and meaning सुखस्य कर्तारौ; so also अथो अरिष्टतातये ॥

भावे च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे-च (तातिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे चार्थे छन्दसि विषये शिवादिभ्यस्तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas, after the words 'siva', 'sam' and 'arishṭa', being in the 6th case in construction, the sense being that of condition.

Thus शिवस्य भावः = शिवतातिः 'the condition of blissfulness'. शन्तातिः 'the state of happiness or peace', अरिष्टतातिः ॥ Here these words have the force of Verbal nouns.



